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The struggle for power in education:
The nation-state versus the supranational in the evolution of European Union education policy, 1945-1976

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Abstract

European integration is a curious concept. There is stark disparity between some areas of policy that seemingly glide through the integration process, while others lag behind and despite decades of attempts, never reach the status of a fully-fledged area of European Union competence. Once such area is education.

Through integration theories, political scientists have sought to explain how policies develop and are implemented at European level. This interdisciplinary study borrows the opposing theories of neofunctionalism and intergovernmentalism with the aim of identifying the influence of the supranational and the strength of the state in the evolution of a European Union education policy. It seeks to pinpoint how education can be placed within the construction of Europe and the process of early European integration to determine the feasibility of these integration theories in explaining the journey of education policy in the European context.

Historical methodology is adopted, based on archival research at the Historical Archives of the European Union, using documentary analysis to trace the history of activities and initiatives relating to education between 1945-1976. Collective biography methodology is adopted to give space to the role of states in driving the scope, direction and extent of integration based on domestic interests, while a case study implements methodological triangulation to stress-test the case of education.

The study proposes that education is a complex case that does not slot neatly into a theory of integration. Education is multifaceted, a cultural – while at the same time – economic component: it is woven into the fabric of nation-states, it contributes to increasing global competitiveness, it diversifies across borders, and its development is attached to temporality and context. Despite suggestions that the state is diminishing in power, education serves as an example to demonstrate that the state is very much alive and at the centre of certain areas of policy development at European level.

Contents

Author's declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Sarah K. St. John

Signature:

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I am indebted to my parents for their supportive approach to helping me through life; by never stopping me from taking a path I want to take, but letting me try, making me work for it and being there if there were pieces to pick up. I am quite sure they were never thoroughly convinced I could take on a PhD, especially living abroad with a full-time job, but they let me try rather than protecting me against failure. They were there when times became tough, they always showed interest and because of that, I managed to get to this day. I hope I will be as good a parent as them, which is why I also owe this PhD to my daughter, Lavinia. She was born in my second year, but rather than creating an obstacle, she brought new impetus by giving me a purpose to push myself; to set an example in our family by showing that if you really want to achieve a goal, despite the odds, you will do it as long as you keep your eye on the ball and maintain your determination. I have been fortunate to have my own example to follow; that of my partner, Guido, who set the bar high. He has subtly pushed me to be the best I can be and never made me feel the bar was out of my reach. He has provided constant support and encouragement through the ups and downs by being my rock, my safe place when it became tough.

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Chapter One | Introduction

Background

In the current quest for a brighter economic future in Europe, the European Union's present education and training activities are framed by the Education and Training 2020 Strategy (ET2020), which comprises core objectives of the European Union's current ten-year growth strategy, the Europe 2020 Strategy. Education is framed centrally to a series of interrelating targets, being seen as a means to assisting increased employability through the development of skills for the labour market, thus heightening the employment rate, which will in turn facilitate a reduction in poverty and a growth in economy. The Directorate-General for Education and Culture at the European Commission develops evidence-based policy and supports a series of initiatives promoting education and training in Europe, the largest of which can be identified as the Erasmus Plus programme.

However, such Community interest in education policy, including higher education policy, has not always been so apparent and the dominating view is that, before the 1970s, education remained a competence governed solely at national level, with no involvement from the European Community. It can be noticed that higher education has been creeping to the forefront of the current European Union agenda, but education has never managed to be established as a fully-fledged area of European Union competence. Even with the utmost importance placed upon it in view of economic objectives, the responsibility of the European Commission in the field of education remains that of supporting the member states in the development of coherent education policies and supporting policy dialogue among member states. The European Commission can advise and benchmark, and introduce initiatives to promote education and training across the member states, but it does not hold the authority to impose legally-binding resolutions or a harmonised education and higher education policy.

This comes as a surprising discovery because European-level discussions in matters relating to education and culture can be traced back to the origins of European integration and the construction of Europe. The first activities at European level in the field of education and higher education originate from the 1948 European Congress in The Hague, which brought together delegates from Europe, Canada and the United States to discuss ideas about the development of European political cooperation. The Congress set up a

series of specialist committees, one of which was the Cultural Committee, granted the same importance as the Political and Economic Committees.

In 1949, the Culture Committee organised a European Cultural Conference and this led to the creation in 1950 of the European Cultural Centre, which developed a series of networks and activities in the field of education – and the College of Europe in Bruges – which is a post-graduate training institute with a view to European integration.

The intergovernmental organisation the Western European Union, set up in 1954 through the Treaty of Brussels (1948), demonstrated a concern for culture and education despite its diplomatic and military missions. During the actual establishment of the European Community, education was left unaddressed to focus on an economic mission, so the Council of Europe remained the key player in European cooperation in education for over 20 years. In the early 1960s, it initiated cooperation in areas such as adult education, lifelong education, higher education and language, which were eventually assumed by the European Community. However, the limitations of the intergovernmental organisation, especially from the point of view of political and financial resources, became apparent as challenges for education began to grow. In the late 1960s, campaigns began for a commitment from the European Community in the area of education and cooperation between the Council of Europe and the European Community supposedly began. However, the European Community continued to focus on its economic mission. Therefore, the Council of Europe remained the venue for European cooperation in education until the 1970s.

During early discussions on European integration, a highly significant project in the field of higher education ran parallel, which was that of the European University. Touched upon at The Hague Congress in 1948, the European University project emerged as an initiative to organise a university community alongside the Economic Community, and was presented more concretely in 1949 in London at the meeting of the cultural section of the European Movement. The aim was to teach universal disciplines in a European context at a fully-functioning university campus, but the initiative became the specialist centre for European education, the College of Europe. Nevertheless, the European University project did not stall at this point. Despite opposing opinions among the member states as well as changing advocates according to new delegations proposing different ideas and models

over the course of twenty years, the European University Institute in Florence was eventually created in 1972 and opened in 1976.

Although much of the literature suggests that cooperation in education and higher education did not take place until the 1970s, it can already be seen that a considerable degree of cooperation had already been taking place for a significant period since early European integration. Furthermore, discussions on the setting up of a European University had originally taken place at the European and supranational level.

Research questions

The title of this thesis indicates the tensions at play between the nation-state and the European Community on the issue of education policy. It may seem rigid to pitch one against the other, but the overall aim of this thesis is to determine the dominance of national or supranational influence in developing education policy at the European level. It will not be ruled out that there may be areas in which the influence of the two overlap.

The broader research question interrogates the factors that encouraged or discouraged the development of European Union education policy, tracing the development from the original considerations for activities in the field of education during early European integration unto the establishment of a recognised area of involvement at European level. To define this period, the timeframe of 1945-1976 has been established.

More specifically, the thesis uses education as a test case to consider whether the development of education policy follows the path of either the European integration theories of neofunctionalism and intergovernmentalism, which seek to explain the nature of policy development in European integration. On the one hand, the thesis tests the scope for competence expansion as a result of spillover according to neofunctionalist theory and the power of supranationality when developing education policy. On the other, it tests the role and power of states in driving or stalling policy development. In this latter case, while placing states at the centre of the argument, the thesis questions the potentiality for national interests to impact discussions and decisions at European level, and therefore states' ability to control the extent, scope and pace of policy development in the field of education.

Structure of the thesis

The thesis is structured into eleven chapters, which include this introduction and a conclusion. The second chapter outlines the existing studies in the field of Community education (including higher education) policy, which are presented in three broad themes that are relevant to the study: the relationship between education and the nation-state; the relationship between education and the European Community; and the relationship between the European Community and the nation-state in the context of education. The chapter highlights competing works and identifies the gap in the literature that this study seeks to occupy.

The third chapter outlines the theoretical framework assumed for this study, which is placed within the debate between neofunctionalism and intergovernmentalism. The chapter is divided into two sections to dedicate separate attention to explaining each of the two theories, aiming to provide the reader with a sound and comprehensive understanding of the theoretical framework adopted, especially those who are not specialists of political science.

The fourth chapter is dedicated to the study's methodology. It begins with a description of the methodological design, followed by a description of the methodology that inspired the version adapted for this study, namely collective biography. The chapter outlines the methods adopted for documentary analysis within the framework of historical research, and highlights the limitations that the methodology poses on responding to the research questions. Finally, it addresses several ethical questions.

The fifth chapter is a contextual chapter, presenting the profiles of the six founding member states of the European Community. The chapter aims to contextualise the discussions on education at Community level by providing an overview of each country's political and social history, and to illuminate relevant aspects of their education systems. This information is presented in profiles for Germany, France, Italy and the Benelux (Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg) in order to reflect the methodology adapted from collective biography. The chapter is key to assessing the presence of domestic interest

brought to the table at Community level and extent to which they may influence decision-making, and the pace and direction of policy development.

The four chapters that follow present the data collected from the archival research. The division of the data into four chapters represents three notable periods in the emergence and development of a Community level education policy, plus one case-study chapter. This chronological ordering of the data was a conscious decision to highlight the importance of temporality when assessing policy development, which responds the study's broader research aim of providing an account of the expansion of Community competence into education and education policy's development.

The sixth chapter accounts the discussions, initiatives and activities relevant to education that took place between 1945 and 1956. This timeframe corresponds to the beginning of post-war discussions on the 'European idea' and plans to unite the countries of Western Europe. The seventh chapter is dedicated to the period from 1957 to 1970, which is from the date the European Community was founded until concrete initiatives in education began to emerge. The chapter begins in the context of the signing of the Treaties of Rome creating the European Economic Community and European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom), outlining how education began to find a place at the European level despite no formal competence being assigned to the European Community in matters relating to education.

The eighth chapter addresses the period from 1971 to 1976, at the end of which education became a formal area of competence within the European Community. The implications of free movement on education are detailed along with resolutions in 1974 and 1976, which cemented in the beginning of a role for the European Community in education.

The ninth chapter is dedicated to the European University project, which resulted in the creation of the College of Europe in 1950 and the European University Institute in 1972. The aim of the chapter is to present the case studies of these two institutions because they act as concrete initiatives that took place during the construction of Europe and during the pre-history of education policy at Community level. By adopting such methodological triangulation, structural examples are provided of the dynamics occurring when member states collaborate in a matter relating to education at supranational level, highlighting the

complexities, implications and obstacles to such collaboration. In order to use the case study for stress-testing national influence in the European education context, a section of the case-study chapter hones in on the position of each member state vis-à-vis the European University project and their impact on project development.

The tenth chapter draws together the theoretical framework, the nation-state profiles of the contextual chapter and the content of the data chapters to make suggestions on the way in which education has developed, by using education to test the opposing theories of neofunctionalism and intergovernmentalism. In order to do so, analysis is presented on the role of the nation-state in the development of activities in the field of education, and the tensions at play between the national and supranational level when it comes to exerting power in the field.

A conclusion makes final statements in response to the study's research questions and connects it to the contemporary political arena, lastly identifying how the outcomes of the study could illuminate contemporary policymaking.

Chapter Two | Education and European Integration
Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of how the themes of this study have been addressed by other scholars within the field of European education and higher education policy. It seeks to contextualise the study within the discourse on the way in which Community-level education policy has developed. In doing so, it will identify gaps in the current literature and how the study can fill such gaps, while also presenting a fresh perspective on the development of education policy in the European context.

This study rests on three key thematic pillars: Education; the nation-state; and Europe. Education is principally the facilitation formal and non-formal learning in schools, universities and other academic institutions. Education also includes the notion of lifelong education, which has been chosen as the preferred terminology for such category as opposed to 'lifelong learning'. The former indicates planned, intentional learning, whereas 'lifelong learning' encompasses forms of informal learning at home, from mass-media and one's surroundings.

Education goes beyond the transfer of knowledge to the transfer of moral principles, skills, values, beliefs and habits to a nation. Along this thread, it has even been described in the past as "rescuing the great body of mankind from the slough of ignorance" to form "better" individuals (St. John, 1858). In the present day, however, education holds an eclectic role in society as a core element of the nation-state's sovereignty and autonomy, fostering national unity, enforcing discipline in the conduct of citizens, supporting the construction of cultural homogeneity, and identification with the national community, improving the smooth exchange of goods, people and services on the expanding market, and integrating migrants and minorities into society. It is seen as the key resource in successfully competing for wealth and power as well as being fundamental for national achievements in science and technology (Weymann, 2010).

The second thematic pillar is the nation-state. The nation-state should not be confused with the state, and in turn, the state should not be confused with the government (Dale, 1989; Chernilo, 2008). Although the government is considered to be the central point of the state, it does not represent the entire state, and the state does not depend on the government for

its existence. Dale suggests that governments represent the "short term interests of the temporarily dominant coalition of forces within a social formation" and that "these coalitions are represented in politicised parties, and partly policy reflects […] the shifts of interest and influence between the groups making up the coalition" (Dale, 1989). Within the concept of the state, the 'nation-state' is also found, which differs yet again from the state to entail the community living within the state. The community identifies itself as a social community with a common language and culture (Ward & Eden, 2009). Where this thesis refers to the 'state', it intends the governing entity, which implies the exertion of influence within state institutions in policymaking and the governing of the country. The thesis also then refers to the 'nation-state' when it intends to recognise the wider community, which brings social, cultural and historical components to the actions and behaviour of the state in European-level policymaking.

In this study, Europe refers to the European Community, not only the entity created in 1957 and now known as the European Union (EU), but also the entities that influenced and led to its creation in post-war western Europe. Specifically, this study focuses on the founding member states: Italy, Germany, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Belgium.

The review in this chapter is thus structured into these three broad themes, and specifically: the relationship between education and the nation-state; the relationship between education and the European Community; and the relationship between the European Community and the nation-state in the context of education.

Education and the nation-state

The emergence of a state system

The state is the immediate provider of education, which has its historical roots in domestic systems. Originally, however, state education systems – including university education – fell under the responsibility and governance of the church and religious societies. Before the creation of the nation-state, the university was the cornerstone of society, but the academic community was not defined by geographic location as it is known today, but by religious unity. The first university can be traced back to the

University of Bologna (founded in 1140[1]), which was far more advanced in terms of internationalisation in the current sense of the term than one would imagine. At the University of Bologna, towards the end of the twelfth century, foreign students grouped together to form a kind of 'nation' (Ridder-Symoens, 1992). Students travelled between the institutions across Europe, and although they were moving geographically from one country to another, students remained within the confines of the religious community, under the common language of Latin and a common set of examination procedures. Further facilitating mobility, university accreditation was granted by the Pope and sometimes the Emperor, who conferred a qualification allowing scholars to teach in any institution, whether in Italy, Scotland or any other state, without any further examination (Neave, 2001).

The significant transformation of education into formal state systems, of a secular and national orientation, was the work of the state during a transitional period of declining feudalism towards emerging Capitalist states (Green, 2013). In the university sector, the consequence of increased cooperation between universities and the state led to the erosion of the founding super-ordinate authority of the Pope and the Emperor, causing a type of 'de-europeanisation'. The sub-ordinate authority was gradually repatriated to the central national administration in a process that went beyond the reform of the university. The university began to be considered as a service to the government in a bigger project to create order, social stability and competition. Tensions arose as the nationalisation of higher education brought about the absorption of several sub-national cultures and languages into the national arena, imposing a common identity with a common language across the geographical confines of the state. During the creation of a nation-state and the nationalisation of higher education, states experienced a two-way dynamic in which the nation drew the control from above and below, from both the sub-ordinate authority of the church and the sub-units at regional level (Neave, 2001).

Education in the context of state formation and nation-building

According to Ward and Eden (2009), education is politics; the means by which "a nation defines itself and sustains its cultural existence, transmitting beliefs, ideas and knowledge

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[1]Other sources suggest the creation was in 1088. There is no evidence of the actual date, but it has been suggested that the poet Giosuè Carducci delivered lectures in Law between 1055 and 1125, indicating the beginning of university activities during this period (Ridder-Symoens, 1992).

from generation to generation". Green highlights the intertwine between public education systems and state formation, arguing that the development of the former can only be understood in relation to the latter. State formation is the historical process leading to the construction of a modern state, which does not only mean administrative and political construction by means of a government and its agencies, but also the construction of ideologies and collective beliefs in the creation of nationhood. Consequently, states defend education to protect national identity, culture and heritage. The design of an education system influences citizens' perception of the past, contributes to changes in the division of labour and has an impact on the future elites of a society (Walkenhorst, 2005).

Green adopts Gramsci's theory of hegemony to support his argument. Gramsci places the 'educational' and moral role of the state at the centre, providing the basis for an understanding of the historical genesis of state education. For Gramsci, education is a weapon in the struggle for hegemony and the school a vital agency in the state-formation process. He addresses the educative and moral role of the state in the context of class fractions and their competing ideologies in the maintenance of class domination, alongside the historical particularities of nation, region and cultural formation as the material context in which social leadership succeeds or fails (Green, 2013).

In the past, the link between universities and nation-building was strong due to the symbols that universities hold in nation-states (Neave, 2001). Higher education, through a collective study of history, literature, language, science and institutions began to foster national identities. For example, in Austria, uniformity, universality and utility became the three guiding principles of educational reform to create a uniform state of mind of civic virtues and national spirit. Throughout the nineteenth century, universities were gradually tied to the nation-state with the role of expressing cultural unity at the highest level, and ensuring the nation's political unity and stability as a historical and geographical entity. Therefore, the university became a symbol of national identity that preserved and promoted national culture, which placed higher education firmly within the domain of national responsibility. A natural progression from university involvement in the nation-state was the state's coordination of certification, validation and appointment, the setting of norms and standards required of students of medicine, law and teaching, as well as the financing of higher education though the state budget. With this, the national education system was established. A nation-state is constructed by uniting citizens through a common political,

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cultural and historic heritage, and the university acted as an invaluable instrument in this construction process by carrying out teaching and research in the cultural and human sciences and the reinterpretation and reaffirmation of the nation's past and present (Neave, 2001).

Education, and especially higher education bears the responsibility of training the teachers who will maintain national learning in the education systems of the future as well as providing qualified professionals who will occupy jobs in other parts of the future society. Teachers are required to engage with and convey to their students matters beyond the classroom to encompass the broader perspective of citizen education (Bottery & Wright, 2000). In this sense, they need to convey consciousness of the interdependence of nations, the diversity of societies, the global nature of the world's problems, the importance of cohesion and solidarity, and more inclusive forms of national identity (Green, 2013). In this context, the literature on teacher agency addressing the role of teachers as agents of change is relevant for further reading (Barber & Mourshed, 2007; Donaldson, 2010; Priestley et al., 2016). Through curriculum, students are familiarised with national symbols, which are presented in textbooks and citizen education has focused on political views relating to the founding of the modern state (Ward & Eden, 2009; Hutchins, 2016).

The economic dimension to education's role in the state

In an age of increasing capitalism, Marxist approaches to dealing with education can also be found in the literature (See Anyon, 2011; Small, 2005; Mallot & eds., 2015), and in particular Dale (1989) highlights the implication of Capitalist states on state education systems and the role of education as state apparatus. A connection between the Capitalist state and education implicates the up-skilling of the population to develop industry, specifically the expansion of educational offerings to include varying forms of informal education and training (see Ball, 2012). Weymann (2010) emphasises this economic dimension to education's role in the modern state. He suggests that if a knowledge-based economy is to be created, it requires a high level of public and private investment in lifelong education, the mobility of scarce human resources and the control of quality assurance in educational investments. However, the return for industry on educational investment justifies spending on education since it considerably promotes the development of individuals by facilitating literacy, participation in secondary education, which leads to

increased participation in higher education. In a prosperous global economic world, industry continues to demand well-educated graduates of higher education to stimulate creativity, innovation, flexibility, professionalism, multilingualism and context sensitivity. In the same way individuals seek social positions in society, they are increasingly seeking educational credentials. This is linked to the fact that a growing number of higher education graduates are from a middle-class background, climbing the social ladder from the lower and lower-middle classes, and these graduates are replacing leadership positions in industry that would have previously been filled through hereditary succession. This replacement signifies a role for education in turning skilled business and industrial jobs into professions of meritocratic credential society.

When European states took control of their education systems, they began to consider how they could utilise education, particularly universities, in a way that could be deemed useful for the state. In France, the 'École des Ponts et Chaussées' (School for Motorway Engineers) was created in 1773, which made France the first country to establish a specialist training centre that was independent from a university for the purpose of serving the state. The School provided a way to overcome the need for governments to use higher education to respond to the issues of society without having to call on the cooperation of the university institutions already in place. France went on to invest in 'useful knowledge', introducing it into the curriculum and linking it to state service as a means of survival for the nation, which was demonstrated by the creation of the 'École Polytechnique' and the 'École Normale Supérieure' (Neave, 2001).

In modern states, universities are able to offer advances in technology and scientific knowledge, which are linked to the political organisation and economic modernisation of nation-states. Higher education provides two essential resources for economic and social development, which are knowledge and status. States will keep a tight hold on control over higher education because renewed knowledge and educated manpower are crucial for the effectiveness of modern economies (Salter & Tapper, 1994). However, the relationship between universities and state in this context is complex. There is an interaction of three dynamics: the economy, the dominant state bureaucracy, and political institutions and interests (Salter & Tapper, 1994). There is a mutual dependence between educational institutions and the nation-state; political institutions sustain schools and universities, while in turn schools and universities sustain other national institutions (Gornitzka, 2009). The

modern economy needs the education system to train and research effective educational products for optimum economic advance, but intervening between education's potential effect on the economic dynamic upsets the dynamic of political institutions and interests (Salter & Tapper, 1994).

Where in the past states strove for administrative cohesion and political stability, they have turned their attention to economic viability and technological innovation. This change has been compared to the previous change experienced by higher education from the religious to the secular during the rise of the nation-state. Higher education is no longer considered to be a privilege offered by the state to its most talented citizens, but a service and commodity in a service economy. There has been a shift in the relationship between 'the university', 'the state' and 'the market', with industry at the centre (Weymann, 2010). In the tangle of economic integration, universities have found themselves with a new role in a productive process, in which students have become 'consumers' and universities have become 'producers'. Here, the power could have been directed in one of two ways, either the renouncement of responsibility to the supra-national level or the repatriation of responsibility to the university. The latter occurred by taking control in higher education away from a 'state-control model' to 'remote steering' by the universities, which allowed them to manage their own resources, establish their own priorities and pursue their own initiatives. Furthermore, control has been repatriated to the regional level as universities are in better contact with their 'consumers' and local enterprises (Weymann, 2010).

Education and the European Community

Now in the twenty-first century, a new player influencing the field of higher education has emerged: the European Union, with its own legal, administrative and revenue-raising powers the exceed those of the nation-state. Despite the return of control to the universities, the impact of the European Union on higher education should not be underestimated since its influence and activity is already demonstrable through the series of initiatives promoting mobility, harmonised accreditation and the recognition of qualifications. In September 2011, the European Commission produced COM (2011) 567 on the modernisation of higher education systems, which harks back to the role of universities in providing 'useful knowledge' to states, and to Europe as a whole. Previous ideas that knowledge was universal had been shattered when education was transferred

from church to state control and, in the emergence of a proto-professional civil service, knowledge became territory-valued in the sense that knowledge to rule a specific territory had to come from within that same territory (Neave, 2001). As the global market emerges, the commission's communication suggests there is also a re-emergence of the definition 'universal knowledge'.

As a fundamental part of welfare systems, a typically national domain, it comes as rather a surprise that education is now considered to be a matter of international governance and that national governments have turned to international organisations, namely the EU. Although member states maintain ultimate control over their education policies, the influence of such organisations has grown despite limited –non-existent even – legally-binding competence in the field of education.

The Europeanisation of education, addressing and analysing the key EU initiatives implemented during the 1980s, such as ERASMUS (European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students), COMETT (Community Programme for Education and Training in Technology), LINGUA (or training and skills in foreign languages), and TEMPUS (Trans-Mobility Programme for University Students), has been documented fairly substantially (Jacobone, 2015; Cairns, 2017; Sigalas, 2010; Wielemans, 1991; Absalom, 1993). The increasing role of higher education institutions as actors received attention from the mid-1980s, including their role on the international arena, and the internationalisation of education became a key theme during the 1990s (Teichler, 2005). Although not within the framework of the European Community but still at European level, the Bologna Process and the creation of a European Higher Education Area are also well-analysed subjects of study (Lazetic, 2010; Corbett, 2006; Huissman & Van der Wende, 2004; Piro, 2016). With the growing effects of globalisation, education has not escaped analysis from the perspective of how European Union policies have had an impact (see Field, 1997; Ball, 2012) and the use of the Open Method of Communication in recent policy-making in education (Souto-Ortero, Fleckenstein & Dacombe, 2008; De Ruiter, 2010). It would be easy to get bogged down in the literature relating to the issues surrounding education and the European sphere in the post-1970s, and especially those that emerged in the 1990s. However, studying the themes arising when education became a recognised area of EU competence is not the aim of this study, and for this reason, this

section of this chapter will hone in on themes that are relevant for the timeframe or focus established for this study.

The cloudy emergence and identifying a timeline

The Treaty of Rome was signed in 1957 to set up the European Community, which had a fundamental aim as an economic entity to create a common market (article 2) in which its activities included "the abolition, as between member states, of obstacles to freedom of movement for persons, services and capital" (article 3c). Due to the economic nature of its mission, education was not immediately apparent in the construction of a European Community and specific reference to it was therefore entirely missing from the Treaty of Rome. Educational matters did not fall within the responsibilities of the Community (Shaw, 1992). It can be said that, together with the economic mission, the significance of the construction of Europe and European integration in establishing peace within the continent overshadowed the development of a common education policy for Europe. The received view therefore dictates that before the 1970s the Community was involved in neither university affairs nor education in more general terms (Corbett, 2005; Field, 1998; Frazier, 1995; Shaw, 1992; Neave, 1984). With a lack of provision specifically for education in the Treaty of Rome, the general assumption accepted is that the first activity in the field of education, hosted in the framework of the European Community, is that of vocational training and the education of migrant workers' children.

However, the development of a European University project – the idea for which was born with the idea to create a European Community – throws into question this received view that education was not addressed by the European Community until the 1970s. If we take into consideration the postwar discussions that took place at the European level, the 1970s constitute a third phase (Corbett, 2005). The work of an Interim Committee on the European University not only advanced the establishment of the European University, but also made provisions for development in other areas of higher education. The Report of the Interim Committee on the European University (April, 1960), which Palayret (1996) considers to be the founding charter for any real European University policy, stated that the Interim Committee aimed to strengthen the common heritage of European cultures and civilisations, and high-level institutions and universities. Its strategy was to bind the European University, the European institutes for higher education and research, and the

university exchanges between existing universities. As the first instance of Community incentive funding for higher education, the report provided access to Community funding to the national research institutes if they applied for a 'European' label on the basis of their scientific standing and a third of their academic body coming from other countries. Furthermore, the report proposed structured cooperation, suggesting also university twinning, and exchanges between existing universities to include common languages and publications. It also recommended a series of administrative measures including a student passport and a database to facilitate mobility. It suggested an equivalence of degrees in line with a minimum harmonisation of curricula (Corbett, 2005).

In order to clarify the development of activities that have taken place within the realm of education and higher education at European level, a distinction can be made between intergovernmental cooperation taking place between the ministers of education within the framework of the Council of Europe, and action within the framework of the European Community as a formal competence. It is true to say that a formal Community competence in the field of education was not present before the 1970s, but activities within the framework of the Council of Europe suggest that education policy at European level had been considered. The provision for vocational training and the mutual recognition of qualifications is important in suggesting a starting point to a formal Community competence in education and higher education, which authors such as Field (1998) use as the starting blocks of their accounts of EU education. It is of significance that, already stated in the founding Treaty of 1957, there was an awareness within the Community of issues that were closely related to education, namely vocational training. It was also held that university education fulfils the requirements of vocational training, except for studies that improve general knowledge rather than prepare for an occupation (Khan, 1994). Therefore, since education is linked so tightly to vocational training, the events that influenced the evolution of community policy on vocational training should be accounted for in the context of education policy. Taking into consideration matters relating to vocational training, the history of policy development in education enriches, and any assumption that Europe is not progressing as quickly as it should, it can be seen that achievements in the development of EU education policy span over 30 years (Pépin, 2005).

It has been possible to identify stages in the policy development in education over these 30 years. Pépin focuses on Community cooperation undertaken over the years when the

European Economic Community became the European Community and part of the EU upon the signing of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, devising five key phases of the history of EU education policy. These phases take into account the progress made by the cooperation itself and the general context of European integration and its events that greatly influenced the evolution of cooperation in this area.

The period 1948-1968 constitutes a 'pre-history' describing cooperation in education and training during the postwar period and why the Community finally intervened and the factors leading to this. 1969-1984 are described as the founding years, which included the first meeting of Education Ministers at Community level in 1971, the first resolution laying down the principles of cooperation in 1974, the formal adoption of the first Community action programme in education in 1976 and the key years of its implementation up to 1984. The period 1985-1992 saw the development of major programmes and the path towards enshrining education in the treaty, including a series of key events for the sector such as the Single European Act and the creation of the 'people's Europe' in 1985, and the Court of Justice's decision to include higher education in the Treaty's sphere of application, which facilitated Community programmes with greater scope than before. From 1985, the Community produced draft decisions to the Council for the programmes COMETT and Erasmus, followed by PETRA, FORCE and LINGUA. In 1992, education and higher education were included in the Maastricht Treaty. Between 1993-1999, with paths towards a knowledge-based society and an even closer link between education and training, the notion of the knowledge-based society and lifelong education emerged, which consequently featured in the Lisbon European Council of 2000. The Commission made known its focus on economic development and social cohesion through a knowledge-based society and economy. Of course, the creation of a European area of higher education was pushed to the fore with the Bologna Process. Finally, between 2000-2005, education and training was at the heart of the EU's economic and social strategy for 2010, which increased its visibility, continuity and created new working methods.

Distinct stages in the early development of Community education policy have also been identified by Field (1998): 1957-1973, when education and training were of relatively minor interest; 1974-1985, when the Union demonstrated some interest in education, but it was predominantly concerned with vocational training; 1986-1992, when education as

training became significant policy areas, which included action programmes contributing to the steady achievement of the single market.

Within a focus on the policy regimes of the supranational, the intergovernmental and the transgovernmental (a combination of the two), Walkenhorst (2008) breaks down the policy development into three key stages: 1958-1993, which saw the policy's initiation through to the inclusion of articles 126 and 127 in the Maastricht Treaty, ending the 'policy competence creep' (Pollack, 1994) that had until then dominated the discussions on education; 1993-1999, described as an interim period dominated by other EU issues, when no radical change took place; and post 1999, which saw a new approach to policy-making and in particular the adoption of a new co-operation strategy, with extra-EU co-operation in the Bologna Process and the adoption of the Open Method of Co-ordination (OMC).

Education in the supranational context

Studies on European educational policy tend to take an institution-centred stance on describing and analysing activities in education at European level. For example, Murphy (2003) argues that "the transformation of education and training policy is mainly due to the work of two European institutions – the European Commission and the ECJ". For Murphy, the European Court of Justice cases of *Gravier*, *Casagrande* and *Blaizot*[2] played a pivitol role in the development of education policy at European Community level. However, there are some scholars who focus on the intergovernmental nature of governance and cooperation.

Focusing specifically on the role of the European institutions, Neave (1984) provides the first account of the development of a Community competence in education.[3] The study addresses the development of actions strictly from the point of view of the Community rather than at the level of the member states, paying particular attention to the areas closely relating to education, such as vocational training and the education of migrants' children,

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[2] Case 9/74, *Donato Casagrande v. Landeshaupstadt Munchen*, [1974] ECR 773; Case 293/83, *Gravier v. City of Liege*, [1985] ECR 593; *Blaizot*, [1988] ECR 379.

[3] Lord Lord Briggs of Lewes states in his foreword, Neave's study constitutes: "The first printed record of the educational interests and activities of the European Community [...]. It is more than a work of reference, however, for it explains as far as possible why as well as how the Community has become involved in education"

which acted as a kind of launch-pad for furthering the Community's competence into the field of education.

Similarly, Field (1998) focuses specifically on the role of the Commission, providing a detailed description of the elements constituting the development of a Community competence from 1970 onwards, starting with the Janne Report, vocational training and the 1974 Resolution. In addition to Neave's study, Field is able to shed light on the decade after 1984. Field's overall aim is to provide a critical examination of the formation of EU policies, and an assessment of their impact and place them in the wider analytical context of globalisation, which has been a dramatic expansion in international competition leading to a shift in economic decision-making. He suggests that no education system has ever been complete isolated from external influences. In fact, this is resonant with the way that universities of the medieval age have been described from the point of view of their mobility and creation of communities through religious unity. In addition, this mobility facilitated medieval higher education's own version of a brain drain, which was feared by monarchs, as highly educated members of society departed from their country of origin. In the fifteenth century, in an attempt to counteract such brain drain, the French public administration imposed an obligation on its future officials to study at a local university, which gradually caught on across Europe and eventually came to shape the role and function of the nation-state. As the number of universities grew throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth century, cross-territorial mobility nevertheless diminished and became confined to high society as students became more inclined to move within boundaries of the same territory (Neave, 1984).

For Field, globalisation challenges the very existence of national education systems, arguing that education and training is part and parcel of the nation-state, but now the nation-state is no longer able to contain an increasingly international economy from a political, economic and intellectual point of view. In a globalised world, nation-states are required to be more competitive on the global market for goods, services and finances, and the way to maintain a competitive edge is to foster a knowledge-economy, which was first explored by Jacques Delors in the European Commission in 1993.[4] This notion has brought education and training to play a central role within European Union policymaking.

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[4]European Commission White Paper on Growth, Competitiveness and Employment (COM (93)700, 05/12/1993)

Lawn and Grek (2012) recognise the complexities of education as a policy area at European level. Over time, the field of education policy has shifted from a small vocational training area to an integrated policy of benchmarking. It has been redefined as lifelong education and in this context, it seeps into different areas of public policy, but understanding education across political borders adds to the already complex area of education that entails the tight connection to the nation-state, to include histories and languages. However, Lawn and Grek suggest that states and economies change in speed and scale, which impacts on education systems and their relationships with the state to the point when education can no longer be contained within its natural borders. They highlight that nation-states are losing power in the new world order, which diminishes the importance of their education systems in the national context. Education is taking different forms, and the internationalisation of education is being used to explain the shifts taking place in national education arenas. Consequently, a new space of work, thinking and policy has been created and a new shared policy space has emerged. A European Education Area is emerging and its governance is increasingly produced by networks and communities that are external to the national context. According to Lawn and Grek, governance in European-level education takes place thanks to the creation and consolidation of networks in an attempt to join the public and private sectors and to overcome older national border systems. The complexity, diversity and difference in policy processes in the context of lifelong education, bringing about a communicative and distributive approach to policy, has also been highlighted by Edwards and Boreham (2003).

Other studies provide valuable accounts of the developments that have taken place towards the creation of an established education policy, but they deal with those that are more recent. One such study is that of Hackl (2001), which focuses specifically on the creation of a European Higher Education Area.

Education in the intergovernmental context

There has been much attention directed at the intergovernmental initiatives in education, notably the Bologna Process.[5] One additional scholar to those mentioned earlier is Garben

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[5]Initiated in 1999, the Bologna Process is an intergovernmental process which facilitates the mutual recognition of diplomas in higher education across 48 countries (COM (2017 673, 14.11.2017).

(2011), who also provides an account of education policy's development at the European level, including its pre-history. From a legal standpoint, Garben's main question surrounds the reason why countries that had previously been so resistant to collaborating in education were embracing the opportunity to collaborate in the Bologna Process. Highlighting the failed attempts to create common educational institutions through the Community method, such as the European schools and the European University, Garben argues that the Bologna Process has been as much a 'de-nationalisation' of higher education as a 're-nationalisation' by taking matters of EU higher education policy away from the European organisations. The complete exclusion of the European Community in the Bologna Process indicates a preference for member states to use 'back-door' policy making to carry out activities in education at the European level, where they can exert the most influence in the 'Europeanisation' process.

Walkenhorst (2008) has contributed to the discussion on the educational dimension of EU competence by providing an account of the evolution of a recognised EU education policy from a policy-change analysis perspective. By analysing the context and process of a developing EU education policy, he identifies that increased salience has caused a shift in policy aims towards the existence of a recognised area of EU education policy. With a main temporal focus in the 1990s, Walkenhorst claims that much of EU education policy's history dictates a classical intergovernmental policy regime, but the 1990s saw two turns in policy direction. The first is a functional-economic turn when the European Commission identified the need for education to play a central role in Europe's global competitiveness, making education an important economic commodity. The second, in the late 1990s, was a functional-transgovernmental turn, which acted as avoidance to uploading competence in education to the supranational level and thus avoiding top-down binding EU legislations, while keeping it in the European arena. Here, an intensive regime can be seen, which adopts intergovernmental decision-making, while also relying on a certain degree of supranational entrepreneurship and institutionalised guidance. However, it is a regime that entails extensive legal uncertainty and facilitates 'back-door integration', which is essentially 'Europeanisation without European policy-making'. Nevertheless, Walkenhorst claims that education policy is unlikely to evolve into a supranational regime as this would entail the development of homogenous education systems, but rather the emergence of a new transgovernmental European policy, dealing predominantly with higher education.

Policy entrepreneurship: Individuals at the centre

The development of education policy at European level has also been dealt with from a policy-entrepreneur approach, which, rather than placing the European institutions or states at the centre, places individuals at the centre. Calling on the model developed by John Kingdon[6] as inspiration, Corbett (2005) hones in on the issues dealt with by decision-makers and the policy modification events that determine the solutions chosen by decision-makers, identifying the individuals promoting the idea as 'policy entrepreneurs'. Challenging the notion of the 'competence creep' (Pollack, 1994) in European Community policy-making, Corbett uses policy entrepreneurship to explain the actions of individuals in the policy-making institutions involved in the development of a Community-level education policy, and specifically higher education. She questions how certain individuals emerge in the policy process as the promotors of ideas affect policy change. Her study includes around 30 officials from national ministries, ministers of education, commissioners and desk officers as well as the President of the EEC Commission, Walter Hallstein, and President of the Euratom Commission, Etienne Hirsch. She focuses on seven individuals at European level: Walter Hallstein, in his role of head of the ministry of foreign affairs in the German Federal Republic in 1955; Etienne Hirsch; Olivier Guichard, French Education Minister from 1969-71; Altiero Spinelli, Commissioner for industry and technology from 19970-72; Hywel Ceri Jones, the Commission's most active policy official on education from 1973; Peter Sutherland, Commissioner for education, training and youth in 1985; and Michel Richonnier, cabinet official to Peter Sutherland.

Challenging the assumption in the literature that policy entrepreneurs are institutions, Corbett considers how and why these individuals acted how and why they did, setting out to answer the question by focusing on those working in and around the Commission and connecting the 'career' of an issue with the 'career' of an individual. For Corbett, individual beliefs and identities were likely to play a notable role in providing an explanation to the efforts made by a policy entrepreneur to develop policy, which she seeks to understand through the analysis of the entrepreneur's life experience, including their national identity, professional identity and experience of historical events. Corbett suggests

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[6] Corbett suggests that Kingdon challenges the idea of rational policy processes, by defining the stages of agenda setting, decision making and implementation. Kingdon's most well-known work *Agendas, alternatives and public policy* (1984) presents a policy-making model in the agenda-setting phase whereby ideas advance due to linkages between the three processes. (Corbett, 2005)

that, alongside the use of archival material and other sources, the use of biographical information can help to understand the past.

The European Community and nation-states in education

The discourse on European education and higher education policy places great emphasis on the role of the European Community or individual actors within it, but there is an important need to consider the role of the nation-state in education at European level. The aim of this section is not to outline the impact of European Community actions of national education systems, as this has already been done by Corner (2015), and by Brock and Tulasiewicz (2000). Instead it is to question the role of the nation-state in Europeanising education. The role of the nation-state in policymaking has been questioned by the increased involvement of a supranational element, especially in the context of globlisation (Lawn & Grek, 2012). The nation-state has traditionally been seen as sensitive towards the development of activities at European level involving education, whose policy field is considered to be nestled within the heart of the nation (Garben, 2011). As Western States engage in international – namely the OECD – and supranational – namely EU – cooperation and benchmarking, national policy arenas, including education, shift towards a loss of power on the nation's part. In this sense, it can be argued that nations are facing a power struggle for the national powers that they previously acquired over history. The emerging international and supranational influence stimulates thought on the role of the nation-state in the development of education policy, questioning whether the state's power is at stake.

Scholars of the European Community are struck by the apparent contradiction between pressures towards increased centralisation under political and monetary union on the one hand, and on the other, nations using the Community to develop a sense of their own identity as separate states, with no government indicating it would renounce sovereignty (Taylor, 1991). Indeed, the distribution of Community and national power and the potential threat to the latter is a sensitive issue, which raises the question of whether the evolution of the Community implies the replacement of the nation-state as an organisational framework (Milward, 1992). According to Milward, by 1941, most nation-states were not capable of defending their national territories and protecting their citizens; their oldest and primary duties. Therefore, the development of the European Community and the process of the

European integration constituted the rescue of the nation-state. For this rescue to take place, the new political consensus required the renouncement of limited areas of national competence to the supranation.

It can be questioned why nation-states would turn to international organisations such as the EU if seemingly they had no intention of creating a common education policy (Garben, 2011). It can be suggested – from the perspective of actor-centred concepts such as the neo-liberal governmental approach – that, to avoid domestic opposition, national governments wanted to pool their problem-solving resources and reduce transaction costs, while also gaining leverage on the domestic level. They feel the intergovernmental arena is the place to achieve this (Moravcski, 1998; Martens & Wolf, 2009). Martens and Wolf's explanation suggests that by importing new modes of governance, the EU shifted responsibilities from governmental actors to new actors, which – together with the economic rationale – weakened the importance of the member states and demonstrates the member states inability to control EU inclusion. The international organisations took advantage of the national governments' strategic requests for collaboration by engineering education policy into their own agenda in ways that were unintended by the states. Consequently, the member states experienced a loss of control. However, this loss of control should not be misinterpreted as a permanent, especially as there have been recent efforts, particularly in Germany, to achieve 'roll back' (Martens & Wolf, 2009).

In the context of the motives and institutional dynamics that caused a shift in education policy from the national to the European level, Martens and Wolf argue that international organisations gained influence through actor-centred analysis – that of the actors initiating the internationalisation of education policy – combined with a neo-institutionalist theoretical analysis, which explains the outcomes of internationalisation. The French were the main advocates of a common initiative since they looked to other states for support in reforming their higher education system to streamline it and move towards the 3-5-8 model. The French Minister for Education admitted to believing that domestic reform could be achieved if it were linked to the European arena since Europe could be used as a scapegoat for bad reception to the changes. Germany needed to overcome the lack of willing and the incapability of the individual Länder to agree on significant reforms, which it felt could be achieved by international pressure convincing them that single courses or whole degrees could become recognised on the European level instead of solely on the

national level. Both Italy and Germany also sought reform since their degree programmes were longer than in other states.

In fact, we can note that the ministers of education originally opted for intergovernmental rather than supranational control in the Bologna Process and the European Commission was only involved once the key goals had been established. The national governments wanted to control the European Commission's inclusion, allowing the states to institutionalise and put pressure on their domestic systems. In this regard, the deliberate accession to the Bologna Process of non-EU countries aimed to protect against too much leverage from the European Commission (Garben, 2011).

Although complex, multi-level governance systems can now be found in the higher education sector, education in general has traditionally been regarded as an area of national sensitivity, which can provide an explanation to the obstacles encountered in education policy's history. The notion of the Europeanisation causes concern in member states, who fear a homogenisation of their education systems, which would imply a loss of national identity (Beukel, 2001). When states need to slightly adjust the need for cooperation with other states, it is met with restriction due to potentially jeopardising statehood (Taylor, 1991). National sensitivity has surrounded education since the European Coal and Steel Community (Gornitzka, 2009). It has been suggested that national sensitivity is based on the recognition of legitimate diversity between states, which can be seen across all levels of education, especially as education is a service that public authorities are obliged to provide to their national populations. National sensitivity derives from the role of educational institutions to act as instruments for transferring cultural-national heritage. For example, schools create and shape identities through the teaching of history and language, which shape how the population interprets the past and how it fosters memories of societies and national history. Language teaching reinforces and maintains the dominant language(s) to contribute to nation-building. There is also diversity between states in the content and the way in which teaching and learning takes place, which shapes a nation and sets it apart from others (Gornitzka, 2009).

An analysis of the relationship between international organisations and nation-states is lacking in the increasing research on international organisations' education policy, but it is suggested that nation-states are able to retain power while operating in the international

arena (Kupfer, 2008). Nevertheless, Taylor (1991) suggests that this is not necessarily the case and that the two are capable of being mutually reinforcing. Education policy can no longer be considered an exclusively national area of competence, but it should not be assumed that nation-states will not have a role to play, since they will be interpreting the "rules" imposed by the international organisations. Power consists in accomplishing rules in the interest of the Nation-states rather than to satisfy the international organisations (Kupfer, 2008).

The European Commission's publication "Accomplishing Europe through Education and Training" (1997), recognises that the nation-state was established through the creation of education systems. States formed a pedagogical strategy in line with the needs of the state and education became a powerful instrument for shaping the nation and individual consciousness whereby the system's structure, teacher identity, national identity and cultural identity were all intertwined (Lawn, 2003). In a certain sense, Europe can be seen as a nation-state, but without education, there can be no Europe. If the European Commission were to forge a community with a common identity, a key element had to be education, together with increased cultural cooperation, to affirm to European citizens their place in a new, shared space, known as Europe. This strategy adopted to promote a shared European culture and identity, reflected the traditional strategies adopted by the nation-states from the point of view of editing national histories and inserting them into national curriculum. However, the European Union does not have many institutions and organisations in education, which means that it must rely on the member states to promote such an identity. Gradually creating a common European education space is an attempt to build a European identity in which a form of governance emerges, in which lifelong education, citizenship and the knowledge economy are shaping and shaped together (Lawn, 2003).

Conclusion

Addressing education in the post-1970s European context is not the aim of this study because it is rather well-trodden academic ground. Instead, this study seeks to fill a gap in the explanation of the origins and development of activities in education at the European level, which have fostered the post-1970s initiatives and shaped the type of competence in educational matters exercised by the European Union today. In this regard,

there are only a handful of scholars that provide detailed and comprehensive studies of the early development of education and higher education policy at the European level, especially during the pre-history and early European integration, namely Corbett, Pépin, Garben and specifically on the European University project, Palayret.

Pépin's account is significant in that it illuminates the stages and initiatives in the development of a European Union Education Policy, but the neutrality of such a publication has to be considered. Its conclusion heavily focuses on the future without much basis on what has occurred in the past that can be learnt from. From this point of view, it does not put forth an argument as such or frame the study within a theory, and therefore remains for the most part a merely descriptive study. Its contribution is a detailed account of the proceedings and stages involved in developing an education policy, which in itself is nevertheless significantly useful in providing substantial background knowledge to a study that is placed within a theoretical framework. It is, however, difficult to distance oneself from the self-praise and words of self-conviction adopted by the Commission in this study, and question whether the European Community is truly creating a 'people's Europe' and resolving economic and social troubles through the adoption of elaborated education policy strategies. It cannot be denied, however, that the road to an established EU policy as described by Pépin may have seemed long, but the study convinces us of the fundamental developments it has experienced.

By deliberately not dedicating attention to the intergovernmental aspect of development in the area of education policy, Field and Neave's studies begin from the 1970s onwards, with the exception of a brief outline of the vocational training aspect to the Treaty of Rome. Field and Neave both give a valuable account of the actions taken by the Commission towards the advancement of a Community competence in the area of education, which provides the foundations for a further study placed within a specific argument. However, if this study is to keep within the boundaries of a strict timeframe focusing on a 'pre-history', the majority of their studies, that of Field in particular which dedicates a large proportion of the study to developments in the 1990s, concentrate on stages that are too late for the timeframe of this study.

The majority of studies in the field of European education and higher education policy focus on post-1970s activities and do not flesh out the activities that have taken place

during early European integration and during the development of the European idea to unite the continent. It would be important to demonstrate an awareness of such studies, but it would be a mistake to broaden the parametres implemented for this study to also incorporate the studies of more recent developments. Corbett's study can be taken as the closest example to the aims of this study, to shed light on the process of policy development in education at European level. Although the study also deals with post-1970s activities in education, covering a broad time frame until 2005, it begins at 1955, which already provides much more insight into the pre-1970s activities than the rest of the literature. However, Corbett takes an individual-centred approach to explaining how education emerged in the European arena, without dedicating space the role that states play in the process.

The contribution that this study makes to the field is two-fold. First, it fills a gap by outlining and analysing activities relating to education that took place at a European level from 1945 during early discussions on the uniting of Europe. Second, it provides a fresh perspective to studies such as that of Corbett's by taking a state-centred approach to analysing policy development in education at European level, which is of significant relevance given education's role in the nation-state and in state formation.

Chapter Three | Theoretical Framework

Introduction

This chapter aims to detail the theoretical framework adopted to analyse the development of activities at European level in the field of education. The profound interdisciplinarity of this study makes 'theoretical-framework shopping' a rather difficult task, leaving numerous possibilities depending on the approach and aim of the study, with no particularly correct avenue to take. Although this study addresses education, the theme of education is nestled into the broader context of European integration and the construction of Europe, which has led to borrowing a theoretical framework from political science. Specifically, the study finds its place within the neofunctionalism-versus-intergovernmentalism debate in integration theory. The chapter outlines the emergence of integration theory before dealing with the two theories of neofunctionalism and intergovernmentalism individually, explaining the theories, and the ways they have been criticised, developed and discussed by other scholars.

The emergence of integration theory

Scholars face a puzzling situation when studying European integration. Some policy sectors show a clear degree of political integration beyond the nation-state, while other sectors show little or no integration at all and continue to lag behind. The Maastricht Treaty integrated the last two sectors of national sovereignty: foreign and security policy, and justice and home affairs, but rather than integrate the sectors into the existing institutions, the member states created a completely new set of institutions – the European Court of Justice and the European Parliament – in order separate them from the Commission. Although the Amsterdam Treaty later shifted sections of the European Parliament to the European Commission, common foreign and security policy has remained within the control of the member states, which is also the case for other areas such as social welfare, economic governance, and culture and education. The question we ask here is: why do member states give up control in certain areas but not in others? The two important issues that emerge are the relationship between economics and politics, and the future of the nation-state as a means to organising human affairs in advanced societies (Rosamond, 2000). It was recognised that the problems being faced by contemporary

society, principally peace and security, had reached a climax that required assistance beyond the nation-state in the form of international cooperation.

Since the early twentieth century, following the first experience of World War, scholars and politicians have sought solutions to secure peace and speculated about the ways in which communities form. Particularly in post-Second-World-War Europe, the development of new European institutions and international cooperation fostered speculations, predictions and descriptions by political and social scientists on the new environment that was evolving. Consequently, several schools of thought emerged in an attempt to explain the construction of Europe and the integration of state competence. First on the scene were the Federalists, who believed the upward delegation of power with a mutual constitutional agreement was the most efficient system to secure peace. Federalists value the role of supranational political institutions in the rational decision-making structure at the European level, and see constitutional transformation as a means to establishing a constructive relationship between European institutions, the states and the subordinate regions. functionalism, founded by David Mittrany, suggest that nation-states are not capable of coping with the economic and social needs of the citizens, and therefore, supranational institutions are necessary to exercise the function that rational individuals attribute to them (Saurugger, 2014).

From functionalism came neofunctionalism, born out of the study of a group of American political scientist scholars, who applied Functionalist thinking to the formation of the European Coal and Steel Community and the European Economic Community. They sought to provide an explanation for the convergence of economic activities across borders as a driver of wider economic integration, and how this would then trigger political integration, facilitated by supranational institutions. Neofunctionalists emphasise the difficulties encountered by public authorities when coping with economic and social issues. However, in order to advance the integration process, neofunctionalists insist on the need for deliberate and entrepreneurial action by European authorities already established rather than relying on the spontaneous emergence of new functional agencies.

Neofunctionalism faced criticism from scholars wanting to defend the implied death of the nation-state and the presence of national interests during the integration process. Intergovernmentalists suggest that the creation of supranational institutions is only possible

if the states are in agreement and that the advancement of the integration process depends on the states. Since the 1960s, the emergence of the neofunctionalism-versus-intergovernmentalism debate can be found in integration theory literature. Since Functionalism and Federalism can be seen as more preoccupied with the notion of governance on a macro level, this study will be framed within the two theories of neofunctionalism and intergovernmentalism, which both address more specifically task expansion. The two theories are opposing; neofunctionalism being described as the 'top-down approach', while intergovernmentalism is the 'bottom-up approach'.

Neofunctionalism

The theory of neofunctionalism emerged when in the early 1950s a group of American scholars, including Ernst B. Haas, began to explore and hypothesise the dynamic process in which communities and supranational institutions form and function. During early European integration and the establishment of the European Community in post-war Western Europe, scholars found a valuable place in neofunctionalism to not only apply existing theories, such as that of David Mittrany's Functionalism, but also address them from new angles. The theory matured in the 1950s and throughout the 1960s, and was heavily linked to the strategies of the architects of the European Community, recognising an evident resemblance between the 'Monnet Method' and propositions developed by neofunctionalists such as Ernst Haas (Rosamond, 2000). At least initially, neofunctionalism could be seen as a means to theorising the strategies of those who founded the European Community after the Second World War.

Of the architects of a united Europe, the ideas of Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman were rather explicit, rejecting the idealism of the Federalist movement and the 'United States of Europe', who had at which point seemingly failed in working towards post-war unity (Rosamond, 2005). Failure in combining the European Coal and Steel Community with a new European Defense Community to create a European Political Community in the early 1950s was further confirmation that integration would have to follow a neofunctionalist rather than federalist route. While carrying out research for his thesis on the European Coal and Steel Community – a relatively understudied topic at the time – Haas met Jean Monnet. Monnet was devoted to his aim of erasing further risk of war in Europe, which involved remedying relations between France and Germany and had previously failed to do

so through federalism and military unification. He found the solution in the unification of the two industrial sectors necessary should conflict occur, namely coal and steel (Schmitter, 2005). Haas went on to analyse the implications and limitations of Monnet's coal-and-steel solution in his book *The Uniting of Europe*, which in summary aimed to theorise the dynamics of the European integration process from the Treaty of Paris in 1951 to the Treaty of Rome in 1957.

The aim of neofunctionalism is to understand why states accept membership to an international or supranational organisation, and furthermore, to analyse the reasons and drivers of the regional integration process (Saurugger, 2014). The basic argument of neofunctionalism can be explained as the following: two or more countries agree to collaborate for integration in a given economic sector, which can be called sector *a*. To increase effectiveness, they agree to delegate the operations to a supranational bureaucracy. While the integration of sector *a* achieves some of the supposed benefits, the full advantage will not be reached until associated economic sectors are also drawn in. A functional linkage is created, which puts pressure on associated sectors *b* and *c* until they become part of the equation (Rosamond, 2000). This concept, known as spillover, is at the centre of Haas's theory. For example, integration of the coal and steel sectors would lead to integration in the transport sector to facilitate the movement of raw materials, products and the like. Two processes are generated automatically in the neofunctional model. The first is that as a result of economic integration, there is an increase in the level of transactions between actors, and second, that new interest groups tend to be created at regional level. Spillover is an explanation for the way in which the creation and development of integration in the economic sector spurs pressures for further economic integration into other sectors and increased authority at the European level (Rosamond, 2000). Spillover is otherwise defined as 'a situation in which a given action, related to a specific goal, creates a situation in which the original goal can be assured only by taking further actions, which in turn create a further condition and need for further action and so forth' (Lindberg, 1963) and that spillover assumes that member-state economies were relatively interdependent before the integration process began (Mutimer, 1989). Spillover was seen as a positive outcome, where problems in one sector could be resolved, but only though intervention in other sectors, and it would be recognised that only gradually increasing integration would be the solution to national economic problems. Neofunctionalism identifies two types of spillover: functional spillover and political spillover. The former is the interconnection of

various economic sectors and the integration of one sector spilling into another. The latter is the creation of supranational governance models such as the EU (Saurugger, 2014).

Neofunctionalists uphold the conviction that political integration and increased authority at the supranational level occur as a long-term consequence of modest economic integration. Based on their experiences of the European Coal and Steel Community and then the European Economic Community, they aimed to describe how the deliberate merger of economic activity could bring about greater economic integration. Furthermore, they sought to explain how economic integration would lead to political integration and how these processes could be accelerated by a supranational entity (Rosamond, 2000).

In his book, Haas himself describes neofunctionalism as:

> "the process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities toward a new centre, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over pre-existing national states. The end result of a process of political integration is a new political community, superimposed over pre-existing ones" (Haas, 1958).

While Haas never denied that member states pursued their own national interests during European unification, he was among the first to realise that regional integration could transform the interstate system if the flows of trade, investments and persons across previously guarded borders were liberalised (Schmitter, 2005).

There are three key assumptions that neofunctionalism makes. The first is that the relevant actors in the regional integration process are economically rational beings, and their attitudes are based on interests. When they transfer their loyalty to the supranational level, they choose their options rationally. Second, once decisions are made, they have unintentional consequences which lead to spillover into new areas of policy (Saurugger, 2014). Once launched, the process is difficult to predict. Although member states can decide the terms of the initial agreement and try to control subsequent events, they cannot exclusively determine the direction, extent and pace of change (Schmitter, 2005). Finally, the supranational institutions do not act as secretariats to the member states' preferences,

but instead become actors in their own right and influences the interests and beliefs of public and private actors in the integration process (Schmitter, 2005).

Actors in neofunctionalism

In neofunctionalist theory, economic interest groups are the central actors, which drive the process by pressuring national governments and administrations towards further integration. They can also be considered as a variable in the transfer of loyalty from the national to supranational level (Saurugger, 2014). In this process, two prominent aspects emerge: spillover and the transfer of loyalty. In order for spillover to take place, it requires the transfer of loyalty. Member states may be willing to shift loyalty because if some domestic interest groups fail to pass their policies at the domestic level, they will push for the transfer of powers to the supranational organisation, which creates a supranational policy arena around it (Greer, 2006). Interest groups transfer loyalty to the supranational institution, which becomes the key generator of further integration, highlighting the potential areas for spillover, developing strategies for deeper economic integration in further economic sectors and increasing the institutionalisation of authority at the regional level. Neofunctionalists anticipated that the benefits of integration to their material interests would become clear to national interest groups, which would lobby to their governments accordingly. Consequently, technocratically-minded state actors would become aware of linkage and increased transaction between actors at the regional level, and integration would be more widely advocated at national level.

However, neofunctionalists later found faults in the idea of spillover, namely during the empty-chair crisis, when the French President Charles De Gaulle temporarily put the brakes on the establishment of the Common Agricultural Policy. They were forced to acknowledge the possibility of what Philippe Schmitter later coined 'spill-back'. Neofunctionalists had ignored the possibility of a change in actors' preferences at the time of integration and their expectations once members. The power of national interests was underestimated, especially when they were seen to be threatened, and it became apparent that spillover was not necessarily automatic.

Drawing on the earlier theory of functionalism, neofunctionalists suggested reinstating the political agency into the integration process. It was not only the technocratic 'atomicity'

suggested by Mitrany's functionalism that provided the driving force, but also that the process would be advocated by purposeful actors pursuing their own self-interests (Rosamond, 2000). Neofunctionalists highlighted the clumsiness of such actors' interaction and the process emerged from a group of actors pursuing their interests in a pluralist political environment. Early functionalism envisaged the movement of the pluralist polity from the national to the supranational level. It was thought that integration processes would change the attitudes and strategies of interest groups influencing policy outcomes, and there would be a shift in loyalty from the national governments to the supranational arena, but also that groups might transnationalise their organisational make-up. In this context, Haas saw the supranational polity as a stage beyond nationhood:

> "The supranational scheme of government at the regional level bears a very striking resemblance to the prevailing nature of government at the level of the industrial nation in everything but constitutional terminology... [It] seems to be the appropriate regional counterpart to the nation-state which no longer feels capable of realising welfare aims within its own narrow borders, which has made its peace with the fact of interdependence in an industrial and egalitarian age" (Haas, 1964).

However, this assumption that citizens would transfer their loyalty to the supranational institutions, and its lack of consideration for citizens because the political and economic elites were perceived to be the principle actors, proved to be another downfall to neofunctionalism. This process was later known as 'ideational spillover', which was considered to be required for a new political community (Saurugger, 2014).

In this context, Thomas Risse's (2005) study focuses on the relationship between neofunctionalist reasoning and the study of collective identities, highlighting Haas's claim that transferring loyalty to the EU is possible without renouncing one's national identity. Risse's approach is closest to moderate social constructivism, or in Haas's terms, 'pragmatic constructivism'. In Haas's definition of political integration as 'the process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities towards a new centre' (Haas, 1958), the 'shifting loyalties' concept – known as a 'sense of community' by Deutsch – is translated into collective identity formation, which is at the heart of the work of social constructivists. Haas argues that actors do not give up national loyalties, but acquire new ones, which is

due to three reasons. First, because the new centre of authority puts pressure on them to conform, second, because they value the new centre of attachment as an end in itself and third, they are a side-product of otherwise instrumental behavior towards another ultimate end (Risse, 2005). Quoting Haas: 'if the process of developing dual loyalties via this mechanism continues for a sufficiently protracted period, the new central institutions may ultimately acquire the symbolic significance of end values', the 'symbolic significance of end values' acquired by the supranational institutions implies that socialisation appears to be complete in the sense that actors internalise its values and norms as part of their collective identities (Risse, 2005).

Although neofunctionalism recognises the importance of nation-states, it places great emphasis on the role of two sets of non-state actors in developing European integration. First, the 'secretariat' of the organisation involved, and second, those interest associations and social movements that form around it at regional level. Member states agree on the initial terms and attempt to control subsequent events, but they cannot determine the direction, the extent and pace of change. Instead, the 'unintended consequences' of allocating supranational responsibility are exploited by regional bureaucrats, creating spillover. According to Haas's approach, integration is a sporadic process that instigates conflict, in which national governments will find themselves entangled with regional pressures and resolving their conflicts through a wider scope and off-loading further authority to the supranational level. Citizens' expectations will be increasingly shifted to the regional level and satisfying them will increase the probability of economic-social integration spilling over into political integration. Economic interdependence, crises of sufficient magnitude due to unintended consequences, development of political competence and autonomy intervention by regional bureaucrats and the emergence of interest associations capable of acting on the regional level independent of national constraints had to occur before spillover could take place. However, these were never converted into concrete hypotheses (Schmitter, 2005).

Critique on neofunctionalism

Critique emerged in the 1970s, but it has been suggested that it often misinterpreted neofunctionalism's claims and distorted its argument. The fact that continuous spillover into new arenas had not been seen during the first thirty years of the European

Community's existence did not necessarily mean that neofunctionalism was not a valid approach to explaining task expansion, since none of neofunctionalism's proponents attached a specific timeframe to it (Schmitter, 2005). It is true that neofunctionalism lost its presence in the 1970s, but it returned in the 1980s. For the decline, a subjective feeling can be suggested that Europe was in decline as far as its competitiveness was concerned compared to other developed regions such as Japan, the Pacific Basin and North America, while for the incline in the 1980s, it can be proposed that an objective demonstration by the socialist government of François Mitterand (1981-1983) that measures taken independently by national policy-makers did not attain the desired macro-economic outcomes and could often lead to the opposite outcomes in terms of growth and monetary stability. Questioning why Haas himself lost faith in neofunctionalism, a suggestion is that Charles de Gaulle was to blame, since he halted the gradual expansion of tasks and authority by the European Commission and the prospective shift to majority voting in the European Council. Furthermore, he attempted to transform the European Economic Community and the European Commission into an instrument of French foreign policy. Haas came to fear that a united Europe had the potential to be as nationalistic and even as aggressive as the states that compose it.

Neo-neofunctionalism

Philippe Schmitter (2005) revisited the core of neofunctionalism and reconstructs its main ontological assumptions and hypotheses. By reviewing the evolution of European integration, he was able to identify a number of developments that challenged the explanatory power of neofunctionalism and created a balance sheet of neofunctionalism's strengths and weaknesses. He concluded that while no one theory or approach is able to explain the complex web that is the EU, a revised – what Schmitter calls – 'neo-neo' version could provide a good start-point. Schmitter explains that Ernst Haas may have fostered a different approach to the study of neofunctionalism compared to the likes of Karl Deutsch and Stanley Hoffmann, but they all harboured the same normative objective to explain how to conceive, design and guide the process of regional integration in such a way that it would transform the European state system to make war between the states impossible. Haas draws on the work of David Mittrany (functionalism), transforming Mittrany's technocratic vision, which was an expanding world system of functionally specialised global organisations run by experts, into a concept of explaining cooperation on

the basis of competing and colluding sub-national, non-state interests. In Schmitter's 'neo-neofunctionalism', he coins several new terms to address the imprecisions of spillover in its neofunctionalist version: 'spill-around' (integration spreading into new areas but without the increase in supranational competence); 'build-up' (increasing supranational competence without allowing them to exercise the competence); 'retrench'(increasing joint deliberation but outside the institutions); 'muddle-about' (debating without decisions being made by supranational institutions); and 'spill-back' or 'encapsulate' (not reacting or reacting late) (Saurugger, 2014). Together with Arne Niemann, Schmitter states that spillover will occur if interest groups are sufficiently convinced they will gain from European integration, and that the supranational institution must be able to forge internal cohesion, shape the agenda, establish close relationships with the member-state governments and know its limits (Saurugger, 2014; Schmitter, 2005).

On the legal perspective of Haas's approach, it can be said that although neofunctionalism echoes legal scholarship, Haas did not pay particular attention to the role of law in European integration and neofunctionalists have tended to shift their dependent variable from political to legal integration. Consequently, the role of law in political integration has only been studied in a limited dimension, focusing mainly on courts and other legal rather than political integration (De Burca, 2005).

Discourse on neofunctionalism

The question of task expansion along neofunctionalist lines has been widely discussed in the literature. In the context of EU policy-making, it can be described and analysed in the form of level and scope, as provided by Borzël, following from studies by Lindberg and Scheingold, who define scope as 'the initial expansion of EU authority to new policy areas' and locus (level) as the 'relative importance of the Community decision-making processes as compared with national processes' (Börzel, 2005). Lindberg and Scheingold look at the level while others concentrate on policy outputs at the EU level, measured in legislation. However, Börzel criticises legal output as the best indicator for task expansion since it cannot be told whether the number of legal acts adopted by the EU are relevant or provide substantive content. Moreover, many directives and regulations have life spans of only a few years and quickly become irrelevant, making it necessary to

carry out a comparative analysis of EU legal output and member state legal output. Instead, rather than focus on the legal output, Börzel decides to focus on the formal decision rules, drawing on the formal allocation of competencies and institutional decision-making procedures during various treaty reforms. The analysis is also based on the text in the actual Treaties rather than relying on secondary sources. Börzel admits that the findings did not contradict similar studies, highlighting scholars such as Schmitter, and Lindberg and Scheingold, but she suggests that studying the level and scope of integration provides a clearer redefinition of disparity of regional integration and at a minimum, challenges the way in which task expansion is portrayed in the existing literature. In the 1950s, competencies were mostly at national level with only market making (old regulatory) policies being under the responsibility of the EU in order to promote the free movement of goods and services. In the 1960s and 1970s, EU competencies expanded to the market-correcting arena (new regulatory polices), shared with the member states, due to the need for harmonisation of the non-tariff barriers to trade, such as the environment, consumer protection, industrial health and security and labour markets. The member states coordinate together at the EU level competencies for macroeconomic policies, justice and home affairs, and foreign and security policy, but remain mostly responsible for redistributive policy, including taxation and expenditure though with some constraints imposed by the EU (Börzel, 2005).

Similarly to Börzel, Farrell and Héritier (2005) also address level and scope of European integration, focusing in particular on changes in the scope. They address the role of technical and expert knowledge of epistemic communities in Haas's work, criticising however Haas's lack of explanation on the conditions under which epistemic factors matter. Their study develops a negotiation-centred approach that conceptualises regional integration as endogenous institutional change. The extension of scope can be accounted for through power-based bargaining, but it can be said that the level of integration depends on bargaining power as well as epistemic knowledge of the EU decision-makers.

Stone Sweet and Sandholtz (1997) argue that European integration is provoked and sustained by the development of causal connections between transnational exchange, supranational organisation and European Community rule-making. They provide two explanations for the transition from national to intergovernmental and then to supranational. The first is through cross-border transactions and communications

generating a social demand for European Community rules and regulations, which supranational organisations seek to supply. Second, further integration is provoked once European Community rules are established and a process of institutionalisation follows. They highlight that although their theory acknowledges the significance of intergovernmental bargaining in European Community politics, their theory is not compatible with existing theorising on intergovernmentalism.

Creeping competence

Mark Pollack (1994; 2000) coins the concept of the expansion of the European Community (EC) policy agenda to new policy areas and variations in policy development from one area to another as the 'creeping competence'. Policy-making in the 1950s was overwhelmingly at the national level with a secondary EU presence in the core common market areas. However, by the late 1960s and early 1970s, the EU began to expand into number of issue-areas and by 1992 it had a shared competence in nearly every issue-area, except police and public order.

Pollack's main questions address how and why the European Community moved into new areas, including technology, education and cultural policies; why policymaking in some areas began earlier and proceeded more rapidly than in others; and how the patchwork of regulations and spending programmes comprising EC policy in each of these areas can be explained. He creates the foundations to his argument by adopting Theodore Lowi's classification of policy types: regulatory, redistributive and distributive, which he adapts for use in the EC context. He argues that each of these policy types corresponds to a distinct process of task expansion because each is dealt with in a distinct political arena, encompassing different actors and managed by different decision rules, and generates a distinctive bargaining style among the national interests represented in the Council of Ministers and the European Council.

In his study, Pollack presents the six policy areas of environment, consumer protection, regional development, research and technological development, education, and culture and audiovisual policy, all of which show similarities and differences. They are similar for the fact that they are not mentioned in the 1957 Treaty of Rome, but nevertheless grew in the two decades between 1969 and 1993, representing an example of task expansion. They

differ in their substantive content, how quickly they developed and in the mix of distributive, regulatory and redistributive policies.

Described as the result of functional or economic spill-over, regulatory policies at community level are defined as policies whereby member states agree to adopt common Community regulations on the activities of public and private actors within their national jurisdictions. Key actors are the Commission with the power of initiative, the Council of Ministers taking the final decisions, and the minor actor, the Parliament with the right to propose amendments to the regulatory legislation. This harmonisation of regulations implies a loss of autonomy on the part of the national governments, which the governments can expect to resist, preferring to maintain their control and sovereignty. For this reason, regulatory policy proposals were often opposed due to the principle of assigning control to the supranational level, rather than due to the content of the proposal itself.

Redistributive policies are seen as tactical or bargaining linkages to major intergovernmental bargains and generally decided at the highest level of EC governance, the European Council. They are considered to be the least complex as they are defined in terms of the redistribution of resources from some member states to others. As these redistributive policies are zero-sum, they are expected to be favoured by the national winners (net recipients) against the national losers (net contributors), who are likely to oppose it. What remains unclear is how any redistributive policies are adopted since no member state has an incentive to agree to transfer resources from itself to another member state. The proposed answer is that these redistributive policies comprise only a part of a larger intergovernmental bargaining agreement in exchange for non-financial concessions from net recipients in issues such as market integration, monetary integration or enlargement (Pollack, 1994).

Distributive policies also involve the allocation of Community financial resources to the member states, but through a rough approximation according to the member state contribution to the EC budget. Although the line between distributive and redistributive policies tends to blur, their distinction can be maintained in particular due to the different styles of bargaining among member states: redistributive is considered to be conflictual and cross-sectoral and generally takes place in the European Council, whereas distributive policies are characterised by logrolling and intrasectoral bargaining in the Council of

Ministers. Furthermore, the Commission's role is more prominent for distributive policies (Pollack, 1994).

Education can be classified as a primarily distributive policy along with research, culture and audiovisual policy. Nevertheless, regulatory policies in education included the mutual recognition of degrees and the provision for migrant workers' children. Education shows a similar growth pattern in Community legislation to the environment and consumer policy areas, which is steady from the early 1970s to the early 1990s. Education's development pattern, however, is described as sparser and erratic. Education experienced the political backlash of the 1990s against the growth of centralised EU policies, when member states contested not only the content of directives, but the Community's competence to regulate in sensitive national areas, which included education.

In the context of regulatory policies and spillover into education policy, Pollack addresses the free movement of persons, as dealt with in Articles 48-58 of the EEC Treaty, which is divided into the provisions for the free movement of workers and the right of establishment for self-employed professionals. With regard to the former, article 51 allows the Council to adopt such measures in the field of social security as necessary to provide freedom of movement for workers' and their children'. As for the freedom of establishment for self-employed persons, the rule dictates that all EEC nationals should receive equality of treatment with nationals. Consequently, article 57 of the Treaty therefore provides for the Council to agree on the mutual recognition of diplomas, certificates and other formal qualifications, which has been the subject of a series of Community directives since the mid-1970s.

In terms of distributive policies, we see a particular growth spurt in the development of education policy and in expenditure on education during the mid-1980s, following the adoption of programmes like COMETT, ERASMUS and LINGUA. Pollack offers the suggestion that the fundamental cause of the new distributive policies, along with the Internal Market programme adopted in the same period, was the perceived crisis of European competitiveness of European industry and the entrepreneurship of the Commission, which devised a policy model stressing Community co-financing, administrative flexibility, participation of and support from private-sector firms in a

bottom-up pattern of initiative, and the achievement of strategic economies of scale with respect to competition from third countries.

Overall, Pollack's argument does not accept or reject the conflicting claims of the neofunctionalists or the intergovernmentalists, but rather aims to avoid the common over-generalisations of both by specifying the domain within which the claims of each theory apply. In this sense, without want of over-simplification, he claims that the neofunctionalist predictions seem to hold for regulatory policies and to a lesser extent distributive policies, while intergovernmentalist ideas relate to the adoption of redistributive policies.

To conclude, it can be said that neofunctionalism remains an important approach in the study of European integration. Neofunctionalism was open to critique, particularly regarding the role of the nation states in the integration process, but neofunctionalists did have the advantage of being able to offer a believable explanation for the task expansion that appeared to be taking place.

Intergovernmentalism

The plausibility of neofunctionalist theory was thrown into question after the 'empty-chair crisis' of 1965/66 when France refused to attend any intergovernmental meeting in Brussels, in addition to refusing British accession to the European Community. Scholars highlighted the importance of state sovereignty, placing it at the centre of the European integration process and focussing on the significance of the 'national' in contrast to the 'supranational'. According to intergovernmentalists, European integration takes place thanks to cooperation between sovereign states, behaving as rational actors and whose interactions are managed by the principles of authority and hierarchy. The independence of each state is not reduced as a result, but instead strengthened by helping states to adjust to the constraints imposed by the international environment (Saurugger, 2014). It is a common observation that European integration has arisen due to the pressure on states from above in the form of globalisation, which limits the state's autonomy and capacity to act. For intergovernmentalists, states are therefore the primary actors in decision-making and the advancement of the European integration process, maintaining that the most effective means to understanding the dynamics of European integration is through the interaction of national governmental preferences. Throughout European

integration national leaders have not only played a significant role in furthering European integration, but they have done so for very precise self-interested national motives. European integration was able to advance thanks to national decisions and it allowed for states to better provide economic prosperity and social welfare of their citizens, by proposing that the very motivation of the national leaders to construct Europe was to salvage the nation state from the point of view of chronic inadequacy in the face of detrimental experiences during the Second World War (Milward, 1992).

There are two principal types of intergovernmentalism: conventional intergovernmentalism, developed by Stanley Hoffmann and Alan Milward; and liberal intergovernmentalism, later developed by Andrew Moravcsik. The intergovernmental approach in general, is bottom-up, suggesting that it is necessary to understand the domestic roots of state preferences, which drive the bargaining that takes place at European-level. Hoffmann emphasises the internal diversity of the states, which opposes the neofunctionalist assumption that there is convergence amongst the elites (Saurugger, 2014).

The main assumptions of conventional intergovernmentalism are that states are the central actors in European integration and "their behaviour is based on rational cost-benefit analysis with four perspectives: analysing the attitudes of governmental elites; European integration as savior of state sovereignty; neorealist accounts; and two-level games" (Saurugger, 2014). Intergovernmentalists draw on the realist paradigm of international relations, which depicts states acting according to established preferences and behaving rationally. Conventional realists such as Edward H. Carr and Hans Morgenthau suggest that states' external policy is influenced by their domestic policy and dismiss the idea that a state's main objective is to simply survive. It is important to understand the conditions that are necessary for the emergence of power, which implies an understanding of the history, values and ambitions of the states and their societies, by studying the historical, political and economic foundations of states' foreign policies to flesh out national preferences.

Therefore, historical and cultural analysis is fundamental to the intergovernmentalist model. For example, Hoffmann includes accounts of the influence of France's foreign policy on European integration, which are rooted in the study of the cultural and historical foundations of French policy. He focuses on the principal political actors, which are heads

of state (ministers of foreign affairs, defense, economy and finance), and criticises the neofunctionalists for their lack of consideration for the context in which states act. Hoffmann distinguishes between state and society to guide his analysis, and sees the nation state as a social system in which the state plays a dominating role. He claims that each state is different, from the point of view of its economic structure as well as its political culture, and must be analysed according to structural, procedural and ideological variables. This diversity among states means that achieving a homogenous system through cooperation is unlikely. A final assumption is that economic constraints limit the states' room for manœuvre. He coins the terms 'high' and 'low' politics to distinguish between those where integration is easier and other more sensitive areas that potentially pose a threat to national autonomy and identity.

The notion of 'two-level games' constitutes an integral component of intergovernmentalism as observed by Hoffmann, and rejects the typical international relations paradigm that states develop foreign policy based solely on military, economic and political capabilities. Two-level games theory looks at the 'national' level and the 'international' levels together, suggesting that the two are not independent, but instead closely connected and influence each other. States are constantly playing two games simultaneously, and what happens inside the nation state will have an impact on the bargaining that takes place on the international level. In the case of the European Community, this means states are bargaining inside the nation-state and within the European institutions, and they have to be prepared to make concessions in a given area in order to benefit from counter-concessions in another (Saurugger, 2014).

Liberal intergovernmentalism

In the same way that neofunctionalist theory was developed further to the establishment of neo-neofunctionalism, intergovernmentalism was elaborated by Andrew Moravcsik in his study *A Choice for Europe*, resulting in 'liberal intergovernmentalism'. Liberal intergovernmentalism is subtler when it comes to the formation of national preferences and the way states shape the policy positions with which they enter negotiations. For liberal intergovernmentalists, European integration is the result of strategic calculations by national governments to promote their main economic interests, and of choices made by national elites (Saurugger, 2014). The term 'liberal' implies an

interpretation of national preference-formation, taking into consideration a nation's different commercial, industrial, monetary and social interests and the nation-state's readiness to negotiate agreements if the complex balance of varying domestic interest warrants it, as well as its readiness to establish institutions to ensure that the agreements are respected (Morgan, 2000).

Central to liberal intergovernmentalism is the notion of international bargaining as a three-stage process: the formation of national preferences; inter-state negotiations; and the choice of institution. It is important to question what constitutes a national preference: how are national preferences formed? They are linked to a specific international and national political environment. At the domestic level, there are conflicting opinions from internal actors, so it cannot be assumed that the preference brought to the table at the international level is that of the entire state. Already at the national level, intra-state bargaining has had to take place. Once a compromise is reached at national level, it is converted into the official position of the state, which can then be conceptualised as a single, rational actor (Saurugger, 2014).

For Moravcsik, there were two opposing notions of national preference formation. The first is political and diplomatic, where national preferences are guided by potential threats to national sovereignty or to ideological, territorial or military integrity. Security is deemed most important, pushing aside economic interests, which are considered a mere matter of politics. In this respect, inter-state cooperation can take place if states share similar ideological and geopolitical visions. The second notion upheld by Moravcsik is that economic interest directly drives national preference and international cooperation takes place to foster economic policies that will benefit all parties by improving the competitiveness of national manufacturers, offering them new markets and limiting public spending through cost-sharing. Once national preferences have been established, two-level-game theory can be applied as a second stage where inter-state bargaining takes place.

Intergovernmentalists believe it is the states that drive European integration within the context of this inter-state bargaining rather than supranational civil servants. States exercise their power in such contexts by using vetoes, creating alternative coalitions and economic sanctions, and threatening to withdraw. The weighting of the state should not be overlooked, since 'big states' can invariably exert more bargaining power than 'small

states', and states need to be aware of other states that pursue only their own agendas at international level and those of nation-state partners who defend their own national preferences. An increase or decrease in actors does not change the bargaining process, but does render it more complex due to more interests to take into consideration. States may also seek a decision at the supranational level to resolve demands and conflicts taking place at the domestic level, which leads to the questioning of the institution choice.

Why do states upload decision-making to a supranational institution? Moravcsik suggests that they do so when the supranational institution can benefit states' interests, especially to ensure that other states and partners commit to specific policies. If states can maintain control of the process, they cannot lose out. With a positivist, methodologically analytical research design, testing a series of hypotheses with qualitative methods, *A Choice for Europe* aims to explain why sovereign governments in Europe have chosen repeatedly to use an international institution to coordinate their core economic policies and renounce sovereign prerogatives. The study focuses on German, French and British policies and suggests underlying causes of integration found in general socio-scientific theories of shape preferences, interstate bargaining and institutional choice (Moravcsik, 1998). The study is based on two conceptual frameworks, assuming first that key actors in politics are autonomous, rational individuals and groups (rationalist framework), which act in their own interest and seek to avoid risk. Second, that the interests and identity of the state are constrained by the domestic society, which is represented by the government, and that state behaviour and patterns of conflict and cooperation reflect the nature and configuration of state interests (Rosamond, 2000). Each state attempts to fulfill its own objectives, taking other states' objectives and various obstacles into account (international bargaining framework). If the priorities of a singles state are followed, interdependence among states creates both positive (profits) and negative (cost) consequences for each state involved, and states create institutions to lower the transaction costs as these objectives are being pursued. In the case of the European Community, liberal intergovernmentalism dictates that institutions are therefore agencies created by states to facilitate interstate bargaining (Saurugger, 2014).

The study tests a series of standardised hypotheses across five critical stages in the European integration process: the negotiations among the six European countries producing the Treaty of Rome in 1957; the series of agreements during the 1960s which

removed tariffs between the member states, establishing a common external trade policy, finalising a common agricultural policy and clarifying the roles of European institutions; the establishment of the European Monetary System in the late 1970s-early 1980s; the negotiation and the adoption of the Single European Act in 1986, which allowed the liberation of the internal market by 1992 and provided for a number of related procedural and institutional changes; and the negotiation of the Maastricht Treaty on European Union, signed in 1991, which advanced economic and monetary union and provided for increased coordination in matters of foreign and security policy, policing, immigration and juridical affairs. Moravcsik's historical approach, comparing different situations over time, allows him to identify continuities without detracting from the obvious fluctuations and mutations that also took place (Morgan, 2000).

Moravcsik's main claim is that three factors have influenced the broad lines of European integration since 1955: the patterns of commercial advantage, the relative bargaining power of important governments, and the incentives to enhance the credibility of interstate commitments. He argues that a series of rational choices made by national leaders explain European integration and these choices responded to constraints and opportunities stemming from the economic interests of the most powerful governments, the relative power of each state in the international system and the role of international institutions in strengthening the credibility of interstate commitments. With respect to economic preferences, national leaders pursued the commercial interests of the powerful economic producers as well as the macroeconomic preferences of governmental coalitions, which gradually evolved as a result of structural incentives in the global economy (Moravcsik, 1998). When convergence of these interests occurred, and economic interests often did, European integration could move forward. Moravcsik is careful to point out that his explanation of national preferences for integration is grounded in political economy rather than economics.

Furthermore, Moravcsik describes important distributional conflicts among states, which were only resolved through hard interstate bargaining. The power of the state and asymmetric interdependence was reflected in the outcome and those who gained the most from an economic point of view compromised the most, whereas conditions were imposed by those who gained the least or for whom the costs were highest. In order to secure such

bargains, states delegated to international institutions in order to commit one another to cooperate and respect the agreements established.

Moravcsik recognises that his explanation of European integration breaks with the majority of studies in the field, rejecting the neofunctionalist view that integration has advanced due to a technocratic process that reflects the need for modern economic planning, unintended consequences of past decisions and the entrepreneurship of disinterested supranational experts. In Moravcsik's view, the integration process did not take place against the will of national leaders. He argues that while technocratic obligations, geopolitical concerns and European idealism had a role to play in the advancement of integration, the states were the central actors in major decision-making, cooperating when induced or constrained by economic self-interest, relative power and strategically imposed commitments. If certain European leaders had distinctive motivations to advance integration, Moravcsik suggests it will have been because their economic interests were greater, notably due to the rapidly increasing potential for industrial trade among industrialised nations after the Second World War, disorder in the European Monetary System after 1970 and the spread in recent decades of pressures to disintegrate. Moravcsik describes the European integration process as a modern form of peaceful power politics between states for economic motives by exploiting asymmetrical interdependence and manipulating institutional commitments.

To explain the first stage in the outcome of an international negotiation, Moravcsik lays great emphasis on national preferences, defining them as 'an ordered and weighted set of values placed on future substantive outcomes […] that might result from political international political interaction' (Moravcsik, 1998). They are described as the state's objectives, the 'tastes' of each state, which are distinguished from national strategies, tactics and powers. He identifies two broad categories that explain underlying national preferences for and against European integration; geopolitical interests, relating to perceived threats to national sovereignty or territorial integrity, and economic interests, reflecting the obligations resulting from interdependence and particularly the opportunities for cross-border trade and capital movements.

Moravcsik's study starts by evaluating alternative explanations for German, French and British preferences, then for the outcomes given those preferences and for the decisions to host the negotiated outcomes in international institutions. When assessing the period 1955-

1958 concerning the Treaty of Rome, he rejects the hypothesis that geopolitical considerations, supranational entrepreneurship and technocratic or ideological motives for institution-building were vital, and argues that hard evidence demonstrates that of greater importance were commercial interests, the distribution of power and the desire to create credible commitments to advancing policy. In the context of the 1960s, consolidating the common market, Moravcsik claims that the primary motivations of France, Britain and Germany were economic, especially were commercial advantages for agriculture and industry were concerned. He acknowledges that geopolitical interests had a part to play, such as in Germany's interest in Franco-German relations, but they came as a second consideration, once the economic interests were satisfied. Moreover, Moravcsik claims that governments were able to act as their own policy entrepreneurs and negotiations managed by governments were efficient, while interventions by supranational actors were unsuccessful or even counterproductive. Nevertheless, the need for credible commitments led to choices to delegate or pool sovereignty to supranational institutions, which helped them to lock in agreements against defection by foreign governments.

Paul Taylors's (1982) study *The nation-state in the European Communities in the 1970s: Patterns and perspectives* contains many an argument seen in intergovernmental discourse. The study evaluates the extent to which nation states in the European Community are now constrained by their membership and to which European integration has challenged national sovereignty. Governments recognise the benefits as well as the costs of being involved in the regional organisation and manage the relationship as far as possible on the basis of self-interested circulation. They are willing to accept restrictions on their autonomy if it means they can promote the well-being of the regional system as long as the benefits exceed the costs. The states in turn limit the expansion of the powers of the regional institutions, as the institutions become instruments of the state or actors with the states.

In addition to using historical data to support general explanations of European integration, a further approach is that of historical institutionalism, which also studies European policy developments over time, but suggests that officials acting as policy entrepreneurs within the European institutions are assigned a causal role, who spur member states into new agreements into which they would not otherwise enter (Morgan, 2000). Such approach can

provide a worthy explanation when considering areas of low politics such as education and social policy, but less so for the high politics addressed by Moravcsik.

Actors and trends for intergovernmentalism

Although recent theories of European integration tend to favour intergovernmentalism, there was a brief period between 1969-1973 when European integration was leaning more towards a Community Europe. However, the approach reverted back to intergovernmentalism at the beginning of the 1970s when the need for institutions to reflect the global interdependence as well as the need to retain national autonomy was much greater than in previous years. The number of obstacles standing in the way of the integration process is much greater than the integrative dynamics, stressing the underlying vulnerability of the state (Taylor, 1982). During the 1970s, there were several developments reducing enthusiasm for European integration, which led to a protectionist attitude by the member states and a revived emphasis on national autonomy. An intergovernmental approach was the way to satisfy the continuation of European integration to respond to the pressures of global interdependence, while allowing the states to closely monitor their national autonomy. One of the causes for the shift can be considered the change in the British and Western German governments (Taylor, 1982). In Britain, the Labour party had resumed power and was determined to protect national autonomy despite potential economic costs and in West Germany, Willy Brandt was succeeded by Helmut Schmidt, who was less favourable to integration and more concerned with West Germany's short-term interests. The changes in these two countries brought them closer to the French opinion; Pompidou had tolerated rather than supported the enthusiasm for integration of his fellow leaders and now welcomed the change in direction towards intergovernmentalism. In addition, economic challenges external to the European Community, including turbulence in the International Monetary System and the impact of the oil crisis, as well as economic divergences between member states, also put pressure on a shift towards intergovernmentalism. They increased diversity amongst the states regarding the appropriate policies to adopt in order to confront the economic problems, and emphasised the differences in opinion, which resulted in a reluctance to agree on a common solution. The economic problems challenged the states to different degrees and the governments became aware of how their own situation differed to that of other member states, causing them to be determined to retain their national autonomy in economic policy,

aware that common policies would benefit more greatly the wealthier states. Therefore, the economic climate played a significant role in the disposition of states to delegate and pool sovereignty to European institutions or act with a protectionist attitude in order to keep a tight hold on national autonomy. However, even in the latter situations, states remain aware of the benefits associated with the European institutions, in particular the existence of the common market.

The significant presence of intergovernmentalist theory can be explained in part by the national governments' insistence on maintaining their authority and the strength of national citizens to maintain their national identities, making the states the central actors in European integration. States are cautious of the effects that European integration has on them and are careful not to enter into new bargains that could jeopardise their autonomy. They appear determined to protect and further define their national interests, while also committing to strengthening common institutions. However, if states are so determined to guard national interests, we can question why they make the move towards integration in the first place. It can be suggested that states become too small and vulnerable to face manifold challenges such as military defense and environmental protection alone, nor can they avoid being conditioned by economic globalisation which hinders their ability to determine economic, fiscal, industrial or social policies and finally, today's nation states are confronted with internal disintegration. As a result, they turn to an intergovernmental approach to liaising with the European institutions as means of benefitting from their common policies to defend national interests against such threats (Morgan, 2000).

Conclusion

The theoretical framework identified for this study is found in the context of integration theory. The study is placed within the debate between neofuctionalist theory and intergovernmentalist theory, which each provide opposing views as to the way that policy develops within the European Community. Neofunctionalism places the supranational at the centre of the debate as the key driver of integration, in a context in which member-state control diminishes as nation-states are unable to contain actions within their borders if they are to meet objectives in a determined policy area. Intergovernmentalism, on the other hand, puts forward the argument that policy does not develop unless member states are in agreement, most often according to domestic interests.

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Intergovernmentalists therefore place the nation-state at the centre of the policy development process.

This chapter has illuminated the framework hosting the study, which provides the backbone to responses to the research questions that seek to identify the policy development process in education and whether the supranational or the nation-state sits at the centre of the process. Throughout the study, the European-level activities and developments in education policy uncovered through documentary analysis will be analysed in the context of this theoretical debate. In doing so, the study aims to propose the determining influence in the policy process, and whether one of these theories can be adopted to explain how policy develops in the field of education.

Chapter Four | Methodology

Introduction

This chapter presents the methodological approach to the study. It begins by outlining the methodology of collective biography, used by historians to study individuals to explain historical events and social phenomena, the basis of which has been adapted to this study to test the place of nation-states within the study's argument. The chapter continues by detailing the methods used to collect, analyse and interpret primary sources. Finally, it explains the limitations in the methodology and comments on potential ethical issues.

Finding a methodology for a multidisciplinary study

As a research project that aims to trace the development of a European Union Higher Education policy during the early European integration process and to identify the actors' conditioning its development, the research questions take a multidisciplinary approach, framed within education and political science as well as political history. In the first instance, the study sits within a social-science setting, but as it is also a historical analysis, its methodology will weigh heavily on documentary analysis. Over the past twenty years, social scientists have increasingly neglected documentary analysis and one suggestion for this is that they are more inclined to create their own data which is tailored to their project, rather than to use existing data and adapt it (McCulloch, 2004). Therefore, the methodology commonly adopted by social scientists is that of interviews and questionnaires, which is to say contacting and extracting information from people. However, this type of methodology can already be excluded for this research project due to the fundamental lack of living people to interview or reply to a survey. For this reason, historical methodology – as opposed to traditional social-science methodology – provides the foundations to designing the methodology for this project. In the absence of living subjects and the inability to create one's own data, a researcher of history turns to historical documents, remains and images to study events or ideas by means of documentary analysis and archival research.

Despite identifying a historical approach with documentary analysis and archival research, the methodology remains far from clear-cut. Upon consultation of studies on historical methodology, it became apparent that it is difficult to recognise common research methods and generally-speaking, the teaching of research methods for history is more limited compared to other disciplines. Since each historical research project is often unique with many varying elements, it is difficult to identify a common methodology for archival study. L'Eplattenier (2009) seeks to explain the lack of study on archival research methods; she describes historians as a small subgroup within rhetoric and composition, researching a range of time periods and rhetorical activities. They do not have a critical mass within departments and have not been able to recognise common research methods, finding aids or resources in the same way as other researchers.

The methodology devised to apply to this research project is therefore not a tried and tested model, but rather a model that has been tailored to accommodate the specificities of this project. It will entail four layers of analysis:

1. *Collective biography of nation states* (Italy, France, Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg, Netherlands) to underpin and contextualise findings from archival research leading to national interests emerging in the development process of education and higher education policy at the European level;

2. *Archival research findings*, to which documentary analysis is applied, to explore the nature of activities that contributed to developing education and higher education policy at the European level, and the roles that certain governments played in those activities;

3. *Correlations between national circumstances (1) and the motivations expressed at the European level (2)* to establish the impact of national interests as a driving force for the extent and direction of the development of education and higher education policy;

4. *A Case Study* to add a methodological triangulation dimension to stress test the outcomes in point 3.

Collective biography

Many historians have turned to the study of individuals to explain events, phenomena and circumstances in history, for which one methodology adopted is that of collective biography. Written accounts of lives constructed by an author were some of the earliest histories, arranged chronologically and set in wide historical contexts. Biographies can be considered as part of a broader shift away from a focus on nation-states, collective parties and systems to a consideration of how the individual acts within these or how the individual is affected by them (Gunn & Faire, 2012). When biography is adopted for this purpose, the historian tends to focus on several lives producing a collective biography rather than of a single subject. Such methodology can be identified in studies on women's history, social history and political history.

Rather than simply providing an account of an individual's life, a collective biographer aims to view a specific historical period from the perspective of individual lives by using the subject's life to explore a particular theme. For example, Sandra Holton's study *Suffrage Days* uses the lives of seven individuals to explore the changing preoccupations and priorities of the women's suffrage movement in Britain. The lives are linked by a theme rather than deep personal connections and assessed according to their concerns and activities in the suffrage movement (Gunn & Faire, 2012).

Laurence Stone defined the methodology as:

> "The investigation of the common background characteristics of a group of actors in history by means of collective study of their lives and that, along with other levels of enquiry, its principle use was to understand the roots of political action as well as in its ability to engage in social structure and mobility" (Stone, 1971)

Essentially, collective biography assesses the common characteristics of a well-defined historical group in a collective study of their lives in multiple career-line analysis. Through such research, patterns in relationships and activities emerge in a group of individual actors interacting in a delimited spatial and temporal range.

Stone describes such methodology as a tool with which to attack two basic problems in history. First:

> "The roots of political action, which is to say the uncovering of the deeper interests that are thought to lie beneath the rhetoric of politics, the analysis of the social and economic affiliations of political groupings, the exposure of the workings of a political machine, and the identification those who pull the levers" (Stone, 1971).

Second:

> "It attacks the social structure and social mobility, with the analysis of the role in society and the changes in that role over time, of specific status groups, holders of titles, members of professional associations, office-holders, occupational groups or economic classes. Social mobility is determined through the study of family origins, recruits to a certain political status or occupation, the significance of that position in a career and the effect of holding that position upon the fortunes of the family" (Stone, 1971).

Collective biography's purpose is to understand political action to help explain ideological or cultural change, to identify social reality, and to describe and analyse society's structure, and the degree and nature of the movements within it.

Collective biography as a methodology does not come without criticism. In addition to the superficiality claimed by scholars outside the field, a pitfall for the biographer can include an imbalance in the quantity of data collected for each individual. The obstacles that can be encountered when constructing a biography for a public figure include the lack of secrets, but instead large quantities of public writing such as press articles, pamphlets and political speeches. Looking at memories can be criticised for its unreliability due to the fact that an account made at the time of an event can vary greatly from what is told later. When it is told later, it is told in hindsight, which can alter the perspective and what was important at the time.

Anne Corbett's study "Universities and the Europe of Knowledge: Ideas, Institutions and Policy Entrepreneurship in European Union Higher Education Policy, 1955-2005" (2005) can be described as, to date, one of the most detailed studies of the development of European Higher Education policy. As a study that can be used as key

benchmark, it is important to have analysed the methodology Corbett adopted, which places emphasis on individuals, specifically at European level, in the policy development process.

Corbett's research questions ask how and why the EC developed policy making activities in education and how the actions of the individuals working in, or otherwise related to the Commission, affect policy change. To seek answers to these questions, she focuses on seven individuals that she classifies as policy entrepreneurs. The individuals were Walter Hallstein (Head of the Foreign Ministry of the German Federal Republic in 1955), Etienne Hirsch (President of the Euratom Commission in 1958-1961), Olivier Guichard (French Minister of Education in 1969-1971), Altiero Spinelli (Commissioner for Industry and Technology in 1970-1972), Hywel Ceri Jones (Policy Official on Education at the European Commission), Peter Sutherland (Commissioner for Education, Training and Youth, and Social Affairs in 1985) and Michel Richionner (Cabinet Official working with Peter Sutherland). Similar to a collective biographer's argument, Corbett claims that a better understanding of the policy change within the EC can be achieved by taking account of these individuals. She describes a policy entrepreneur's function as to "advance an agenda issue – an idea – towards decision, his or her goal to manipulate the dominant understandings of issues and influence the institutions which exert jurisdiction over them" (Corbett, 2005).

Her methodology thus takes a qualitative approach with a mixed method of predominant use of interviewing, complemented by documentary analysis. While recognising that a drawback to interviewing individuals discussing the past is the actors' tendency to rewrite the script so that they become the heroes, Corbett claims to have found interviewing participants or observers of the European Union higher education policy process of irreplaceable value in her aim to understand the beliefs and motivations of the actors. In total, Corbett interviewed or corresponded with some 64 individuals, though it should be pointed out that interviews with all the seven individuals identified as policy entrepreneurs were not carried out. Of course, this is common for a historical study where contact with the subjects studied is not always possible. Interviews were supported by archival research, which included the consultation of primary documentary sources such as the documents of the EC institutions, the historical archives of the EC and the private papers of some actors. In the EU archives, she consulted material that was relevant to higher education in the

personal files of Emile Noël (Secretary General of the European Economic Community Commission from 1958-1987). She highlights that finding documents with personal comments and exchanges of correspondence with other EU actors provided confirmation that it was necessary to consult official documents with actors' own accounts in order to better understand how the EU works. This latter consideration was taken into account when consulting sources for this project.

Corbett focuses on the individuals' life experiences, which include national identity, professional identity and experience of historical events, to explain their beliefs and how they faced certain political situations. It can therefore be said that a primary method to Corbett's research is in line with that of collective biography, even though this is not explicitly stated. Biographical information has been used to draw inferences about the past to use alongside archives and other evidence to demonstrate policy entrepreneurship, asking why the policy entrepreneurs did what they did and how biographical factors affected the individual's identity and action.

By identifying individuals in the European Community, Corbett's study takes the perspective of the European Community rather than the nation-state, which contrasts the nation-state-centred approach of this study. This means that overlapping between the two studies should not occur.

Adapting collective biography

Although my aim was to veer away from a primary focus on individuals, I did not want to completely dismiss collective biography as a methodology to incorporate into this study. In order to understand whether strong national interests are brought forth to the discussions at European level on cooperation in the field of education and higher education, background research was carried out to situate the archival accounts into a historical context. As McCulloch suggests, documents need to be understood in relation to their milieux: the 'text' needs to relate to its 'context'. It is important to know how and why a text was produced and received. He proposes that documents are social and historical constructs, so it would be wrong to omit their consideration (McCulloch, 2004).

Considering that national interests are embedded in the culture, history and politics of the nation-state, I adopted the methodological concepts of collective biography to apply to the six key nation-states (Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands and Belgium) as subjects, which aimed to underpin archival findings on the national interests involved in the development of a European-level education and higher education policy. By personifying the nation-states and considering their 'life stories', it was possible to determine whether national interests surfaced at the European level, leading to government representatives advancing, stalling or changing the direction of development. It should be noted that since the policy was effectively developed by individuals representing either the member states or the European Community, it was assumed that these individuals acted wholly in representation of their alliance rather than also acting according to their own personal interests. Therefore, although sources may have been produced by individuals, the content can be considered to be that of nation-state.

Methodological triangulation and stress-testing

A case study is included in the methodology for this study. The European University project, which entails the creation of the College of Europe and the European University Institute, is a concrete action in the field of education that spans the period of this study. It was first mentioned within the context of European integration during the congress at The Hague in 1948, and led to the opening of the College of Europe in 1957 and the European University Institute in 1976.

Such methodological triangulation provides another dimension to the study because it is an example that witnessed the dynamics between the European Community and the member states in collaboration in the field of education, as well as the pragmatics of attempting to achieve some degree of harmonisation in the field. In this sense, the case study provides a means to stress-testing the viability of tangible cooperation in the field of education at European level both from the point of view of the willingness in practice of member states to collaborate along with the power that the European Community can exert, and the practical tangibility of cooperation.

Methods

A collective biography of nation-states

The method applied to the creation of a collective biography of nation-states was library research, based on secondary sources, which reflected the study's temporal limitations. Since the aim of the collective biography is to contextualise the data found in the archives and does not attempt to compose the project's principle findings, research based on secondary sources was considered sufficient.

The themes of the overall study that connect the six subjects featured in the collective biography are: the activities and affairs in national education; the member states' allegiance to the European Community project; and their involvement in activities and initiatives to advance European cooperation in education and higher education. Therefore, the specific areas of the nation states' history addressed were the general political situation, including key actors, and the country's political orientation and opinion, especially towards Europe, along with notable events impacting the political arena, and the functioning and key elements of the national education and higher education systems. The contextual data is organised into profiles for Germany, France, Italy and the Benelux. This organisation is to emphasise the individuality of states and therefore further cement the notion of collective biography in this study.

Primary sources

In a second stage, primary documents linked more closely to discussions, activities and initiatives on the development of an education and higher education policy at European level were consulted. These included primarily institutional documents and meeting proceedings. The intention was to explore areas of correlation between national circumstances, understood from the nation-state profiles using the methodological concepts of collective biography, and positions taken by representatives acting at the European level, discovered through the consultation of documents in archival research.

The primary documents consulted are in the Historical Archives of the European Union (HAEU), located at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy. The principle

finding aid was the online catalogue, which was consulted via a list of collections and the online search tool. In addition, once at the archives, a reference service given by archive staff was available to assist in the search for documents relevant to the theme.

Therefore, the first step in the methods was to search the online catalogue. Having explored the holdings available according to the catalogue via the list of collections, the collections consulted from the European Union institutions were those of the Council of Ministers of the EEC and EURATOM; the Council of ECC and Eurotom ministers - 1958-1974; the CEE/CEEA Commissions - Collections BAC; and the Economic and Social Committee 1958-1977. From corporate bodies, the relevant collections are those of the European University Institute, including the Convention and the establishment; the Assembly of Western European Union, including the Proceedings of the Assembly of Western European Union, Sessions 1957 - 1962, Sessions 1963 - 1967, Sessions 1968 - 1973, Sessions 1974 - 1979; the Association européenne des enseignants (from 1956) (European Teachers Association), the Centre international de formation européenne (from 1938) (International Centre for European Training); the European Movement (from 1940); the European Federalist Movement (from 1945); and the European Union of Federalists (from 1946).

The next stage in identifying the documents to consult was to carry out a detailed search using the catalogue's online search tool. By carrying out an "advanced search", more specific criteria could be applied to the search, including the date range, the type of collection, the language, the type of material and the level of access. The main feature is a key-word search, which searches the entire catalogue based on the description for each dossier within the catalogue. A dossier may contain one or several documents, and therefore, it should be noted that a key-word search does not therefore generate a list of documents in which the key-word appears in the text of the actual document. Therefore, a list of all possible key-words that would generate dossiers in which education may feature should be compiled. This list had to contain key-words predominantly in French, since this was the most commonly adopted language at the intergovernmental level. Other languages that have the potential to generate useful dossiers are Italian and English.

A preliminary visit to the archives was carried out for a better insight into the documents available and the consultation process, which assisted in foreseeing a realistic timeframe

for carrying out the archival research stage of this study. The reference service at the HAEU was also very helpful in identifying relevant documents. Then, a thorough exploration of the catalogue took place to compose a comprehensive list of the documents to consult that are relevant to the study.

Archival documents can only be consulted in the reading room at the HAEU. Therefore, days were assigned to consulting the documents. The archives are open from 08:30 until 17:00 and documents can be requested between 08:30 and 12:45, and between 14:00 and 16:45. A maximum of three dossiers can be consulted at one time. Some files were bulky and included large amounts of relevant data, while others contained little relevant material. This meant that it was necessary to be very flexible when planning which documents to consult on which days. However, since it was permitted to take photographs of the documents, this made the time actually spent in the archives much less than originally anticipated. Photographs of any relevant documentation were taken for electronic archiving and consultation away from the archives.

Analysing primary sources

In order for a document to be used in a historical argument, it should be comprehensible at the most basic level of language, handwriting and vocabulary; be carefully located in time and place; and be checked for authenticity (Howell & Prevenir, 2001). Once it was confirmed that it satisfies these criteria, the content of the document was analysed.

When analysing a document, the elements to consider are identification, form and content, interpretation and contextualisation. It should be identified whether the document is of public or personal nature. If it is public, it will have been written for an audience, which increases its capacity for repetition, relative predictability and symbolism. We can question the kind of institution or individual it was produced by, and with what authority and under what circumstances it was produced.

When analysing the form and content, we should question when the writing of the document occurred, whether it is part of a series of documents that were written regularly or a one-off document, who was it written by and why, what exactly took place and who

were the actors, who was the audience, who or what was it aimed at, who witnessed it, and how firm the line is between its author and its intended audience.

The document can then be interpreted to flesh out meanings and significances, and it can be contextualised by placing it in a wider set of events of which it forms an instance or part for a much larger historical interpretation. The extent to which the author has been selective in the content should be analysed, particularly when consulting reports, as well as what may have interested the author or what events and nuances may have been ignored. Sometimes the silences in a document may speak louder than the actual content.
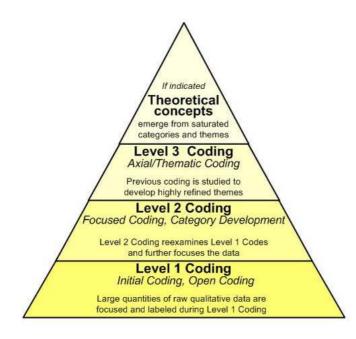
With all documents, the authenticity should be analysed to establish whether the document is genuine, complete, reliable and of unquestioned authorship. Government documents conceptualised and produced by experts and not ministers can be considered authentic as they have been endorsed by the government, but the 'intellectual author' of the document should nevertheless be carefully regarded. The document's credibility should be questioned as to whether the document is free of error and distortion, and its representativeness regarding whether the documents available can be said to constitute a representative sample of the original documents that existed. Published reports, including those produced by governments, also constitute a source of research evidence, commonly published to highlight a problem and propose solutions and can provide a useful outlook on a specific topic. However, the information the report contains cannot always be proved accurate since the information is usually assessed, selected and presented in such a way to support a particular argument, or the government's credibility. It would be appropriate to check the information against other sources. Furthermore, policy reports should be compared with other policy reports by tracing the character of reports in a particular area over time. Reports can also be compared to other reports of the same period in different areas, or similar international reports. It should not be assumed that policy reports represent the reality of the situation at that time since not all proposals in policy reports are adopted (McCulloch, 2004).

To ensure that all these aspects have been considered for each document consulted, an excel spreadsheet in the form of an annotated check-list was used. This also provided an effective overview of the whole data and highlighted any gaps in reliability and

contextualisation. Documents were listed in the order they were consulted in order to follow the research sequence during data analysis and the write-up.

Interpreting primary sources

As for any qualitative study, a coding system was implemented to record the information extracted from the documents consulted. This took the form of a four-step coding system, as per the example borrowed below:[7]

At level 1, the raw data is recorded in Word and broadly classified. Once the raw data was collected and consulted, it then passed through two further levels of coding, recording in Excel to develop more refined themes, which formed the emergence of theoretical concepts.

In the first instance, raw data in the dossiers consulted was reviewed on hard-copy printouts, which were photographs taken of the documents in the archives. Striking and seemingly relevant sections of text were highlighted and some initial annotation added at the side of the text as preliminary coding. As codes (keywords) quickly accumulated, a list of codes was kept in a codebook as they emerged (see Appendix 2) and the preliminary

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[7] Source: Christopher Hahn (2008) http://qrtips.com/coding.htm

codes were stated on the cover of each dossier. This stage represents the 'Level 1 Coding' illustrated in the above diagram. It should be noted that although the documents consulted were in several languages, coding was recorded in English only in order to maintain coherence in the coding process.

Keeping in mind the study's research focus, theoretical framework and objectives, the highlighted text was subject to a second review and the highlighted text in the document was recorded on the Excel file. The preliminary codes were confirmed or relabelled, and classified into groups of codes (subcategories) sharing similar characteristics. This stage constituted the 'Level 2 Coding' indicated above. Some texts contained several subcategories and in which case, the texts were split across each one.

By teasing out how the junctures between different subcategories, it was possible to identify categories, which were indicated on the Excel file so that the data could easily be ordered electronically into the codes that constituted a specific category. The juxtaposition of these categories was then able to inform the thematic and conceptual orientation of the data. This process formed the 'Level 3 Coding' and 'Theoretical Concepts' sections of Hahn's diagram.

An example of the coding process can be seen in the illustration below (not exhaustive of the entire coding for the theme), which demonstrates how the data arrived at the theme of 'statism' presented in the analysis:

Theme: STATISM
    Category: RESISTANCE FROM STATES
        Subcategory 1: Domestic interests
            Codes: De Gaulle (European Uni.)
                    De Gaule (European integration)
                    College of Europe (Belgium | European Uni.)
                    Nuclear Centre (France/Netherlands | European Uni.)
                    Culture (Italy | European Uni.)
        Subcategory 2: Intergovernmentalism
            Codes: De Gaulle (European Uni.)
                    De Gaulle (European integration)
                    Recognition of qualifications
        Subcategory 3: Spillover
            Codes: Language learning
                    Migration
                    Recognition of qualifications

An organised and precise coding system was fundamental in order to efficiently trace back the data produced after archival research took place. If systematic coding of the data had not taken place, the consecutive stage of data analysis would have been near impossible to complete with satisfactory results.

The interpretation of documents will lead to a search for causality. Historians will agree that change occurs and in the case of this project, it comes in the form of the gradual development of a policy area at the European level. To identify this development, information is to be ordered chronologically in order to demonstrate the causal relationships between the events described. For example, an event may be identified as the cause if the course of history would have been fundamentally different if the event had not occurred. However, problems arise in this proposal when the suggested motivating event was produced by many different people with different intentions. For example, we can consider Hitler's coming into power, which was the outcome of actions by different groups of people who were not satisfied with the Weimar regime, but who did not necessarily have the same goals when they put Hitler into power (Howell & Prevenir, 2001). In some cases, cause may be considered to be combined factors that contributed the outcome. These considerations were particularly relevant in identifying the origins of European Union Education policy and whether the development of the policy area was initiated by one particular event or actor. Similarly, motivating events may have caused the development to change direction, stall or accelerate. It is therefore expected that causality will play an important role in correlations between national interests and the archival findings shedding light on the way European Union education and higher education policy developed. However, care must be taken and sufficient evidence should be present before arguing cause through correlation.

Limitations

The interpretation of documents comes with its limitations. Historians are required to be objective with the ability to avoid being succumbed to biases, untruths and the limitations of the information available. However, it should be accepted that it is almost impossible to be completely objective since historians are conditioned by their own

ideologies and capacities, and therefore interpretations need to be constructed responsibly. A historian's knowledge comes through sources that are known to be imperfect reflections of reality and it is hence the historian's task to deconstruct the document to understand the true reality. Often, however, historians have to accept the reality that is constructed by the sources rather than the reality itself.

Furthermore, historians are required to make assumptions and fill in the gaps, to make intuitive guesses and reason from the specific to the general. There are, however, several rules to follow: the reasoning must be plausible and not from the isolated case to the general rule; correlation cannot be confused with cause when the two events are irrelevant to each other; two unconnected facts cannot be used to prove a third; and unrelated evidence cannot be used to prove an argument (Howell & Prevenir, 2001). This is part of the historical interpretation process and the researcher has to accept that they may never be able to fully support their argument because the precise documents they need to do so are not available. Therefore, a historian must face the possibility that their hypotheses may not hold water if the evidence is not available. It is an easy task to formulate a hypothesis, but less easy to formulate a hypothesis that actually links to the observed evidence and which can explain the facts available rather than those that the historian wishes to have (Howell & Prevenir, 2001). Documents should therefore be interpreted as widely as possible to avoid the historian only seeing what they want to see in view of satisfying their hypothesis. It is for this reason that the aim of this study has not been to determine the individual national interests that may have impacted decisions made at European level, consequently altering the policy development. Such endeavour could not realistically be achieved within the boundaries of a PhD project as it would not be possible to put forth water-tight arguments for six governments taking particular actions due to specific national interests. It may be possible within the framework of a PhD project to focus on the motivations of one of the six governments, but not all. Therefore, the aim of this study is to determine whether national interests emerged during discussions at European level and whether they conditioned the decisions and actions taken.

Since the documents to consult were in different languages, there were language limitations regarding which documents could be consulted. It was possible to read and use all documents in English, French and Italian, but documents were also available in German and in Dutch. Therefore, due to this language limitation, it was not possible to consult

these fully. Nevertheless, as these documents were much fewer than those in French and English, I do not feel the study was jeopardised by this limitation.

Ethics

The ethical issues considered when conducting documentary research included a judgment of whether specific institutions and individuals should be identified in the case that the research might reveal problematic or embarrassing information for the institution or individual. However, I did not find myself in this position.

Furthermore, dilemmas might become apparent when the documentary researcher is an insider of the institution, where information has been made accessible thanks to the researcher's position within the institution, in which case the researcher may be constrained from using information that may be damaging to the institution's reputation or from interpreting documents in an unfavourable way. This would particularly be the case if the study were commissioned by the institution. If, on the other hand, the study was an individual's own, the researcher may still feel uncomfortable in casting critique on the institution and the people within it, fearing that it may jeopardise the researcher's position within the institution. Equally, it would be ethically problematic if legal or harmful activities discovered were not reported. In this study, these ethical considerations are relevant for the study of documents on the European University Institute and were taken into careful consideration.

Conclusion

The methodology entails four layers of analysis: a collective biography of states; archival research; comparing archival research and state circumstances; and a case study. The collective biography of states gives emphasis to the state dimension in the policy development process, to provide sufficient attention to the assessment of policy development according to intergovernmentalism, which places states at the centre of the process. Archival research traces the development process, which will highlight the presence of supranational influence in education according to the actions that the European Community was able to achieve. Comparing this development to national circumstances aims to shed light on the way that member states reacted at supranational level in matters

relating to education. The objective of this methodology is to establish the dynamics at play in education-policy development at European level to determine the roles of the supranational and the nation-states, in line with the theories of intergovernmentalism (state oriented) and neofunctionalism (supranational oriented).

Chapter Five | Post-war Europe: The Social and Political History of the Six, 1945-1975

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the contextual foundations of European integration by producing above all historical profiles for the six founding states of the European Community: Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. Through an understanding of the social and political circumstances in which government representatives of the Six approached the European project, it is intended that a clearer vision can be achieved of the extent to which national interests penetrated the construction of Europe, and more specifically, activities in the field of education at the European level. A more coherent understanding of the events 'back home' will also shed more light on the proposal that political entrepreneurship, as per Corbett's study in which individuals are the drivers of educational activities towards the European level, is responsible for development in the field of European Union Higher Education policy, or whether national interests are equally as involved.

In addition, the chapter concludes by outlining the origins of the construction of Europe, which, due to the interdisciplinarity of the study, aims to provide a contextual basis for readers who are not specialists in the field of European studies.

Germany

Having been defeated in the Second World War, and more importantly, with the weight of Nazism hanging from her shoulders, Germany was in a desperate condition in 1945. For a better understanding of the horrific actions that took place in Germany, one can look to the work of Hannah Arendt,[8] specifically her book *The Origins of Totalitarianism*,[9]

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[8] Hannah Arendt was a German-American political theorist, born into a family of German Jews in 1906. She attended the University of Marburg, studying theology, ancient Greek literature and philosophy. In the Nazi crackdown of 1933, Arendt began collecting information on the persecution of German Jews and was consequently arrested by the Gestapo. When she was released, she fled to Paris and thereafter remained stateless for eighteen years. She made her way to New York with her husband, Heinrich Blücher, and precisely a year later, she published The Origins of Totalitarianism.

[9] While studying the atrocities and eliminist ideologies of Hitler, she did not get bogged down in the German situation, but began to also observe the developments in the Soviet Union. During the final stages in the writing, she changed the focus of the book to totalitarianism to include Stalinism as well as Nazism. The final

which was described by the New York Times as "the work of one who has thought as well as suffered".[10] Discovering the harsh truth of Hitler's death camps in 1943 spurred Arendt to begin a study of monumental scope and, in 1944 she proposed a volume to the Houghton Mifflin publishing house on "The Elements of Shame: Anti-Semitism - Imperialism - Racism", which she also referred to as the "Three Pillars of Hell". Arendt gives a historical account of the elements which formed totalitarianism. It describes the rise of anti-Semitism in central and Western Europe in the early and middle nineteenth century, continuing with the examination of the new imperialism period spanning 1884 to the outbreak of the Second World War, and culminating in totalitarianism. Arendt is determined to differentiate the exceptional totalitarian state from the one-party dictatorship and the elements that Arendt believes make totalitarian states different can be pieced together. To summarise, Arendt claims that they live by the 'leader principle'; they tell lies; they take advantage of the 'unthinkability' of their atrocities; they target 'objective enemies', whole classes of people that are harmless citizens who must be eliminated not because of their particular views, but because they belong to a certain group; they organise themselves in such a way that creates shifting structures and carefully graduated militant hierarchies; they rely on concentration camps to promote terror; they demand total loyalty and manage total domination on an individual and collective level; they aspire to conquer and rule the world.

A particularly notable point in Arendt's career was her work on the trail of Adolf Eichmann, the man labelled for masterminding the Holocaust, for which she wrote "Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil" in 1963. Arendt was controversial in suggesting Eichmann bore no direct responsibility for his actions, that he was simply carrying out the tasks assigned to him and he had been stripped of his ability to think. In the report, she also came dangerously close to implying that Jews bore a certain amount of blame for their extermination by suggesting that certain Jewish leaders had been too submissive in the Holocaust.

We need to remember that while dialogue and study on the Holocaust has become acceptable today, in 1951 Arendt was way ahead of her time. Arendt was going against the

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version of the book was divided into three parts: 1. Anti-Semitism, 2. Imperialism, 3. Totalitarianism. The idea was to demonstrate a connection between nineteenth century anti-Semitism and imperialism, but Arendt was in a rush to raise awareness since she feared world political developments may well build up around hostility to Jews.

[10] E. H. Carr, "The Ultimate Denial", *The New York Times*, March 25 1951, in Arendt, Hannah, The Origins of Totalitarianism, Schocken Books, New York, 2004 (Introduction by Samantha Power)

grain; while most Jews were turning away from the Final Solution, Arendt was digging deeper.

In post-war Germany, the population was living among the physical ruins of the war, but also the emotional ruin that followed these totalitarian and barbaric actions of Adolf Hitler. There was a dire need for food and housing after many large cities were heavily bombed, and while waiting for husbands to return home, women continued to take responsibility for the survival of their families.

Writers such as Arendt have been fundamental in bringing to light the actions of the German government during the Second World War and it was evident to the other states of Europe that the 'German problem' needed to be managed. The Postdam Conference of 17 July – 2 August 1945, which was led by the three leaders of the then USSR, USA and UK to discuss how best to administer Nazi Germany, agreed that the hundreds of thousands of Germans living in Eastern Europe (Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary) should be humanely returned to Germany. Therefore, Germany experienced large influxes of returning Germans into the country, not only those returning from fighting the war, but also refugees arriving in East Germany. Such massive migration flows had a great demographic impact, weighing heavily on already difficult social, medical and housing policies.

In 1945, Germany was managed by means of allied occupation by the Soviet Union, the USA, the UK and France. They faced challenges in assuring the basic needs of the population, including sanitation, housing, transportation, food. Malnutrition, homelessness and disease were common problems, especially amongst the refugees arriving from the East. This, coupled with a weariness of who they could turn to for support within a society that had been dominated by Nazism, posed great implications for the task of leading Germany. Before resulting to allied occupation of Germany, the Allies were unsure how to face its management to avoid the threat to the balance of power in Central Europe, and opinions differed between Soviet and Western powers, especially on whether the Germans should be punished or re-educated for their totalitarian actions. The result was a state divided into a Communist East Germany and a conservative West Germany, with three zones of occupation. Overall, there was an agreement to denazify, democratise and

demilitarise Germany. However, precise definitions of these were hardly ever reached and were often open to interpretation, and policies differed between each zone of occupation.

The Western Allies believed a grass-roots approach would be most effective, allowing new political parties to be established at local level and, although strictly controlled to ensure the democratic nature, those wanting to form new political parties could apply for licenses in the autumn of 1945. After more than a decade of Nazism, it seemed that the concept of democracy did not take off immediately and concerted efforts had to be made to make the German society understand that their ruined country was due to Nazism and its consequences. Many saw Allied occupation as the fourth Reich and no better than its predecessor. Nevertheless, by the spring of 1946, local governments were formed and could begin cooperation for the reconstruction of post-war West Germany.

Ultimately, neither approach – the negative approach in the form of denazification, nor the positive approach of re-education – was particularly successful. One of the only activities that was marginally successful were the Nuremburg Trials (20 November 1945 – 1 October 1946), which identified and charged major Nazi war criminals. The trails raised numerous questions, but, when a need to transform a society was the task at hand, it did not uncover more on the nature of guilt in Nazi Germany. Transforming German society depended on tracing the roots of Nazism as a socio-political system and the basis of certain beliefs and behaviour. Were all Germans guilty? If not, how could the negative individuals be distinguished?

In the re-education approach, great efforts were made to revise curricula in schools, as well as the production newspapers with a Soviet influence, and to promote evening classes and party schools to teach on the modern views of Marxism and Leninism. Nevertheless, re-education was difficult to implement since the Allies were unsuccessful in restructuring the education system due to insistence from the Germans to maintain the tripartite selective system and the confessional schools. Although Nazism had disappeared, the introduction of new systems, new teachers, new textbooks and new aims and ethos was not welcomed and attempts to reform the school system were resisted by the local governments, which controlled them. There was a return to pre-Nazi educational traditions, and while the local governments controlled their own education systems, there was a move towards rationalisation in the 1950s. By the 1960s, the aims and structures of West German

education systems were considerably re-evaluated, though serious problems were still present until they began to be further addressed in the 1970s.

In the denazification approach, it was never truly clear whether the aim was to punish or rehabilitate former Nazis, or whether the aim was to cleanse the German society of individual Nazis or cleanse the individual Nazis of Nazism. Whatever the aim, the approach was criticised for only combating Nazism through the 'small fry' and never the 'large fry' (Fulbrook, 2015), who largely managed to escape harsh punishments. In general, those accused did not appear to accept their responsibilities and recognise their wrong-doings, but instead they sought justifications for their actions. At times, it would have seemed that Hitler was the only guilty Nazi in Germany.

Higher Education was criticised for its failure to denazify since former Nazis were protected by senior university administrators and academics. There was also a certain persistence of Right-wing and radical attitudes amongst students. Perhaps the most successful means of re-education and denazification was through the use of the licensed press, which helped to transform attitudes.

At the end of the war, there was uncertainty among the German population about what the postwar period would bring. Some were yearning for freedom from the totalitarian regime and the possibility of a radical transformation, while others were wary about future retribution. There was a wariness linked to politics and its implications, and only a few were ideologically committed and active. The Germans' main concern was day-to-day survival.

However, in the West, a change from the use of punishment – especially in the reduction of industrial capacity – to a concentration on economic recovery laid the way for a capitalist economy in Germany. Further aid from America through the Marshall Plan facilitated West Germany's economic growth, material prosperity, political conservation and Western integration, and these economic measures were more effective in transforming German political attitudes than re-education. The USA had provided funding with a European Recovery Programme (the Marshall Plan) because it realised that if Europe were to be orderly and prosperous, it required economic contributions from a stable and prosperous Germany and the industrial capacity limit was lifted. Aid from the Marshall Plan also

encouraged investment in the Germany economy as investors were comforted by the American backing. As the economy grew, the black market shrank and even the refugees began to find work and create new lives. By 1949, Germany was officially divided into two States, and the Berlin wall was then constructed in 1961.

1948-1949 saw the re-writing of Germany's constitution and elections took place for the regional (Länder) governments, which possessed considerable power, particularly in matters such as culture and education. In 1949, West Germany saw the potential for Europe and became a member of the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) and in March 1951, the occupation statute was revised. A month later it joined the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and the following May, it became a full member of the Council of Europe.

Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's time in office was positive as the population experienced an economic boom, living conditions drastically improved and people even began to afford luxuries. He was considered to be bringing positivity back to Germany and German society began to cast Nazism to the past. Adenauer was even prepared to include former Nazis in his cabinet, which was a strong indication of Germany's readiness to integrate former Nazis back into society.

The American influence and involvement in the reconstruction of Germany, namely through the Marshall Plan, was significant. With an aim to reintegrate Germany into a peace-loving world community as well as to negotiate this integration through the allied powers, America involved itself in the re-education policy of Germany. After the German defeat, America feared the ideological legacy, present in educational institutions and the American Youth Work Programme, with new ideals and content developed as a central part of educational policy in postwar Germany. Greenburg also suggests that the US sought to tie the re-education of Germany with its own political traditions and cold war goals (Greenburg, 2011). Finding reliable and trustworthy collaborators was challenging, but America found the churches to be compatible partners and thus preserved it as an influential factor in the reconstruction of Germany. Eugene Anderson of the US Division of Cultural Cooperation State Department maintained the view that the generation of 25-45 year olds was a lost generation that had been brutally affected by war combat and others were shut out of intellectual and cultural life due to their Nazi past. However, if the

younger generation would be the ones to lead Germany away from its unpleasant past, adequate education would need to be offered from this generation. He asked for intensified support to the Germans because they were unable to establish a new intellectual orientation under their own initiative (Fuessel & Wegner, 1996).

In 1948, student resentment towards the Communist authorities at the University of Berlin reached a high and the US authorities, under pressure from the local activists, considered expanding their education policy to create a new university to serve as a centre for democratic intellectual life. The Americans questioned the role that German intellectuals and universities would have in the process of reconstruction and even in the oldest of German universities, such as Heidelberg, the prospect of finding democratic traditions in deeply nazified institutions was unlikely (Greenburg, 2011). Richard Alexander, Supervisor of the Civil Administration Branch, highlighted a pessimistic attitude to the Germans' lack of capacity to create such an institution since they were almost completely lacking in entirely democratic professors and suggested the initiative was abandoned. Carl J. Friedrich, an important early intellectual of the cold war, sought support and maintained that a semi-independent, semi-state run university in which the state and intellectuals would work together was fundamental for the creation of a democracy. He regarded universities as an inseparable component of the constitutional order. Consequently, the Freie Universität Berlin was founded after the US secured the funding and, with work starting in June 1948, it became Germany's first post-war university. Heidelberg re-opened in the autumn of 1945 with assistance from the Harvard Professor of Sociology, Edward Y. Hartshorne. Diplomats and academics sought to create a hybrid educational institution that would characterise the 'cold war university'. During the cold war, ad-hoc intellectual and institutional networks that were established during the Second World War were consolidated and lived on. At the end of the Second World war, universities, the government and large philanthropic foundations continued to further develop their collaboration, blurring boundaries and creating the 'cold war university'. In the global struggle against Communism, universities took the initiative to study foreign lands and languages to prepare the groundwork for government policies and provide the government with the knowledge it needed to fight the cold war. In this context, the Ford Foundation began to support research in numerous US universities during the 1950s. August Wilhelm Fehling, former representative of the Rockafeller Foundation, was flown to Germany by the British to ensure that the board at Heidelberg would be dominated by politicians and

public figures rather than academics. In December 1949, the President of Colombia University Dwight Eisenhower, persuaded both academic and philanthropic US organisations to support the Free University, and in July 1950, the board at the Ford Foundation, comprising of officials of the US occupation in Germany and of Heidelberg and Berlin graduates, granted it $1.3million. The Ford Foundation had also financed post-war research and publications of Friedrich. Henry Ford II made a personal visit to Berlin, where he granted Heidelberg a further $1million and it soon became a worldwide model for US educational initiatives (Fulbrook, 2015).

Most other German universities then opened in the spring of 1946 and within a year were oversubscribed, but understaffed and many with damaged buildings. By 1947, the absolute limit on enrollments had been reached and every German university in the three Western zones had an increase in enrollments from 50%-500%. A new university under French protection was founded in Mainz. The increase in enrollments was due to the backlog of students who had not had the opportunity to attend due to the war, and later, the increased income during the economic boom years of the 1950s. Finally, when German industry was running at lower levels, there were fewer jobs available, so going to university became an attractive alternative to work. The denazification process had great impacts on German universities, since it was almost impossible to work at a German university without being a member of the Nationalist Socialist Party. As State institutions, faculty members were vulnerable to pressure from the Party (Havighurst, 1948).

France

In 1945, France saw the need for social change as a national necessity rather than only political action. Following the Second World War, the social implications that the two wars had brought had become apparent, and high society and the upper middle class were beginning to feel nostalgia for the "retour à l'ordre"[11] of the belle époque during the interwar years. In December 1945, appointed by Charles de Gaulle, Jean Monnet devised a five-year plan to re-equip and modernise the French economy, beginning first by building up production to 25% above its 1929-level. Purchasing power had dropped by 30% due to

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[11] 'Return to order': After the First World War, it was felt that there was a need to return to simplicity in life and culture, which was predominantly promoted by a return to neo-classicism in the artistic world, but which also brought a return to nationalist attitudes more generally.

increased inflation and basic necessities were in short supply. It was not until 1947 that Monnet's plan would be implemented.

In April-May 1945, women were able to vote for the first time and thus, newspapers produced articles on the need to teach women about politics. A tripartite cooperation of the three deputies of the Communists, the MRP (Mouvement Républicain Populaire – the Popular Republican Movement) and the Socialists, worked throughout 1946 to prepare a basis for the restructuring of society and plan for the future. However, Communist opinion grew, which led the MRP and the Socialists to move away from the Communists, creating a divide within themselves. By 1947 the presence of the Cold War was felt and French politics was reconfigured as a result. De Gaulle came back into power, challenging the Left-wing majority and reformulating the ideology of nationalism. In June 1947, American aid came in the form of the Marshall Plan, which France accepted. However, it meant that the Rassemblement du Peuple Français (Communist) had to reformulate an anti-American, anti-capitalist and anti-colonial policy, breaking decisively the previous years of collaboration with the Socialists and the MRP. Anti-Americanism continued into the 1950s, particularly among technocratics and intellectuals. Strike action followed due to the decline in the standard of living and the increase in the cost of living. By 1948, a year of social conflict had passed and tensions between the parties continued to mount.

Nevertheless, in 1949, France experienced an economic boom with increased consumer spending, brought about by an increased confidence from better technology, notably the development of the car industry. Large investments from the Marshall Plan during the first Monnet Plan regenerated French heavy industry. Monnet's first plan (1947-1952) achieved the pre-war rate of industry, while the second (1953-1957) aimed at exceeding growth by 25% and, in real terms, by half way through the plan, it had already exceeded by 50%. It was noted that France had the highest 'per capita' consumption in Europe.

Although the economic boom appeared to be a recipe for success, it was coupled with political collapse. Between 1945 and 1958, there had been 22 different governments lasting between a few days to a maximum of 15 months. However, 20 of these governments had recycled ministers from the non-Communist Left and the Centre, leading to more continuity than change. Negatively-speaking, the recycling of ministers highlighted the

lack of flexibility in political discourse, where agreements were seldom reached to form coherent coalitions.

During the 1950s, France faced the displacement of entire villages during the Algerian war, with large flows of migrants to the mainland. Around 10,000 Algerians created communities within the Parisian suburbs ('Bidonville'), living in slum-conditions. The migration was due to pull factors linked to the economic boom occurring at the time in France, which expanded further than Algeria to Morocco and Tunisia. France also experienced an increase in migration from Portugal during the 1960s as France faced notable immigration problems throughout the 1950s and 1960s.

In 1958, a new party of De Gaulle was formed: Union pour la Nouvelle République (UNR), ruling until 1965 when François Mitterand was elected in the presidential polls. Overall, the period 1946-1975 was characterised by the notion of "Les deux France",[12] in which one was underdeveloped and maintaining its grip on the past, while the other developed into a confident and affluent country. France was beginning to accept the century, but people still had different opinions about the kind of century they wanted it to be.

In France the ideologies of a Federal Europe were heard with difficulty under Charles De Gaulle, as well as against the backdrop of social and economic suffering after the Second World War. It was the Cold War that brought European ideas into a national light in 1948 when small committees were formed. The Communists created the International Peace Organisation (Mouvement de la Paix) against the American atomic bomb and Western colonialism, and against the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), which formed after the deepening East-West crisis and the Communist seizure of Czechoslovakia and the East-West division of Germany. European ideologies provided an exit route from the Cold War that was not military.

The German-turned-French Prime Minister (1947) Robert Schuman went against the resistance to Europe and it can be said that his dual-identity and experience of two nations lead him to effectively respond to Europeanism. In May 1950 during his office as Minister of Foreign Affairs (1948-1952) he proposed the creation of the European Coal and Steel

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[12] The two Frances

Community (ECSC). It faced opposition from the Communists and the Gaullists for being supranational, and rejected by the iron and steel producers in the employers' federation. However, since the five-year plan drawn up by Jean Monnet was a success, and nationalised industries and steel consumers found the idea of open access appealing, the initiative was implemented. Schuman collaborated closely with Paul-Henri Spaak, the Belgian Socialist, with Konrad Adenauer, the West-German Catholic Democrat, and with the Italian Alcide de Gasperi. All four countries, plus Luxembourg and the Netherlands, signed the Treaty for the creation of the ECSC in Paris on 18 April 1951.

Writing in 1951, Talon explains that the education system in France was managed by the Ministry of National Education, where the minister delegated power to seventeen 'recteurs' (rectors), who inspect the primary and secondary schools. The rectors liaised between primary, secondary and university education, and appointed 'inspecteurs d'académie', who directed the primary schools, and 'general inspectors', who oversaw the primary and secondary teaching across France. They ensured the minister's wishes were enforced (Talon, 1951). As for universities, they were managed as if they were another government department, which unfortunately also meant that little could be implemented without having to first approach the government. Teaching corps were represented on advisory boards, which were often staffed with elderly professors and tended to exert a conservative influence (Osgood, 1966).

From 1944 onwards, France came very close to an educational revolution and was still in search of a general transformation of its education system. This is due to the events France had experienced, the political circumstances, financial difficulties and problems raised by the increase in population. Education became a hot topic in the 1960s, and in 1966, not a week went by when leading newspaper or periodical did not bring up the issue of education (Gal, 1961).

France experienced structural reforms in 1959, 1963 and 1975, which were part of the global process of democratisation of education after the Second World War, affecting principally the Western European countries. The Bethoin Reform of 1959 increased the age of compulsory education to sixteen and made entry to the lycée by 'observation and guidance' and created an observation cycle for the first two years of secondary education.

The Fouchet-Capelle Reform of 1963 lengthened this cycle over another two years, creating a 5+4+3 structure rather than the previous 5+7 structure (Resnik, 2007).

In 1951, there were seventeen universities in France: Paris, Aix-Marseilles, Algiers, Besançon, Lyon, Montpellier, Nancy, Poitiers, Rennes, Strasbourg, Toulouse, Bordeaux, Caen, Clermont-Ferrand, Dijon, Grenoble and Lille. In addition, there were four private Catholic universities at Lille, Angers, Lyon and Toulouse. The majority of universities comprised four faculties: literature, science, law and medicine, and liaisons between them were managed by the university council. The university council comprised the four deans and eight professors (two from each faculty). The 'recteur' was the chairman of the council, a representative of the minister, who conveyed the wishes of the minister to the university and the wishes of the university to the state. Teachers were teachers of secondary school, who were imminently to complete a doctorate, and students were admitted upon completion of the baccalaureate (Talon, 1951).

In 1948, a 'probation year' was introduced to provide students with the opportunity to widen their general knowledge before specialising their studies (Talon, 1951; Gal, 1961). This also provided the university with the possibility of identifying students who would not be suitable for advanced studies. Students then studied for the 'Licence' in literature, science or law, with the majority completing in three to four years, but occasionally very able students passed within two years. Once they had obtained the 'Licence', they could continue to study for the 'Agrégation' to become teachers, or carry out research for a doctorate. There were two types of doctorate: the 'university doctorate', which was easier and for which the thesis did not require extensive research; and the 'state doctorate', which was obtained by university teachers and required several years of research and two theses (a principal thesis, and a secondary thesis). Students were not obliged to attend lectures, and many studied on a part-time basis while working to sustain themselves financially (Talon, 1951).

University registrations rose steeply from 202,062 in 1959-1960 to 615,300 in 1969-1970. The increase was due to the country's demographic resurgence, the demands of an increasingly complex and industrialised society (Kedward, 2005). The sharp increase in students implied overcrowded lecture theatres, libraries, student accommodation and refectories. They were accommodated in overspill faculties that were built quickly on

suburban sites with no leisure facilities. Once students entered the university, they relied on teaching, administration and discipline that did not consider the social and cultural changes occurring in the wider society.

The importance of a university degree for the French people meant an increased population led to increased registrations. Graduation from one of the 'Grandes Écoles' was seen as the key to success in positions within the civil service and private companies (Osgood, 1966). Until the 1960s, private companies commonly sourced their managers and engineers from the 'Grandes Écoles'. There was a renowned mistrust between the universities and private companies and university courses were generally preparation for work in the public sector. When student numbers increased, and the number of public sector jobs decreased, universities and the private sector were forced to find common ground, facilitated by the government (Lamoure, 1992).

The centralisation of universities led to the growth in numbers and prestige of the University of Paris, which became detrimental to the provincial universities. Students flocked to the capital city, which had become an intellectual hub. It was felt that, without a degree from a Parisian university, there was less opportunity on the labour market. Provincial universities were consequently encouraged to create specialisations to attract the best students in certain sectors. However, in some ways, the problem resolved itself because universities were so overcrowded and the cost of living in Paris was so high. This increased the numbers of registrations in provincial universities as well as increasing numbers of high quality professors taking up positions at provincial universities. Nevertheless, in 1966, some 30% of university students in France were still concentrated in Paris.

A series of new faculties were opened in Paris by the Ministry of Education under Charles De Gaulle, including at Nanterre near the 'Bidonvilles', and within the provinces numerous new universities were created. Youth activity was seen as a clear sign of French social renaissance following the war. France published a 56-page booklet on the governments youth policies, which it distributed abroad in June 1965 as an example of how well France was facing the question of post-war youth, when the Americans and British were preoccupied with youth delinquency and drop-outs throughout the 1950s. In 1967, drastic increases in unemployment, from 270,000 to 470,000 created widespread concerns,

particularly among those lacking in social protection. The insecurity gave the student protests momentum, which occurred in 1968.

However, students were setting up political groups, including the solidarity Vietnam committees, the Communist student organisation, the Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire, the latter of which participated in a demonstration in Liège against American imperialism. A student was killed by police during the demonstration and 20,000 students demonstrated solidarity at his funeral. Violence was a strategy that created a divided opinion among the students, but violent activity was becoming increasingly present and by May-June 1968, they were in full force. Students demonstrated for the right to political activity and male access to female accommodation. The students were then joined by workers, which led to trouble for Charles De Gaulle, who was replaced by Georges Pompidou. Following the revolt, the general consensus was that the university system required reform and the new Minister of Education, Edgar Faure, consequently proposed reforms that would lead to the participation of the different grades of teachers, administrators and students, and gave universities greater autonomy to create their own learning programmes.

In the sector of teacher training after the Second World War, the baccalaureate was made compulsory for primary school teaching, as well as one to two years' professional teacher training. In 1951, the 'Certificat d'Aptitude à l'Enseignement du Second Degré (Secondary School Teaching Certificate) was introduced for secondary school teaching, for those teachers not already holding the 'Agrégation' degree. A year of practical training after the degree was compulsory. Unfortunately, a shortage of teachers to meet the growing population put the brakes on such efforts, as well as the tendency for students to stay in education beyond the compulsory age. A number of substitute teachers with only limited training had to be recruited to cover the shortage and increasing number of students (Gal, 1961).

Adult education also received particular attention and universities began to offer adult education opportunities for the professional development of the population, which was important for the economic development of the country (Gal, 1961). Vocational and technical training was also emphasised in the post-war period. Workers were encouraged to study towards the highest qualification they were capable of obtaining, and careers services

were set up at national, regional and local level to facilitate professional development. Opportunities for vocational training were advertised through the media and on the radio. In particular, the France-Inter radio station welcomed students and parents to phone in their queries on aspects of education, technical training and possibilities of advancement. The service was staffed by counsellors. It was noted, however, that students had to be prepared to study away from home because not every institution offered vocational and technical training courses (Dundas-Grant, 1985).

Italy

In post-war Italy, there were two opposing fronts: the Christian Democrats with America, and the Communists with Russia. The country faced social struggles as inflation rose after the war and there was increasing unemployment as soldiers returned from the war, which led to social unrest in the summer and autumn of 1946. The level of industry was less than a third of its production in 1938. There was much expectation laid on the Left political party, and a great expectation for social and economic reform, but many remained disappointed with its performance. In the spring of 1946, a general election took place, which was the first free general election for twenty years and in which the population voted simultaneously for the representatives to the Constituent Assembly, as well as a referendum between the monarchy and a republic. The result of the referendum was a win for the republic, 54.2% against 45.8% for the monarchy, and Enrico De Nicola was voted Head of State. The Christian Democrats won the election, led by Alcide De Gasperi, but they were forced to form a coalition and the republic spent the following eighteen months drawing up the republican constitution. There was a heated debate on education within the discussions on defining the new Republic. This led to the formation of a school open to all, free and compulsory for at least eight years, the right to open private schools, and greater accessibility to higher education across all of society (Cappa, 2015).

In 1947, Italy lost its colonies and owed $360 million in reparations to Russia, Greece, Yugoslavia, Albania and Ethiopia. On 1st May, De Gasperi was advised by George Marshall to govern without the Communists, and by 13th May De Gasperi resigned. In 1948, Italy received $176 million in the first three months, with which new bridges, schools and hospitals were built. It was made clear to the Italian people that such reconstruction could take place thanks to American aid. George Marshall in turn made it

clear that in the event that Communists returned to politics, the aid would immediately stop, and there was great advocacy for the Christian Democrats. The Christian Democrats then won the next election in 1948 and began to evaluate the possibilities for reform.

The Americans' European Recovery Plan was highly significant for Italy, as its objective was 'to strengthen Italy economically and politically so that truly democratic elements of the country can withstand the forces that threaten to sweep them into a new totalitarianism' (Ginsborg, 1990). Overall, American influence had a notable effect on Italy, which had been seen by the tens and thousands of Italians migrating to the US for over a century before. Italy's closeness to the US was established early on, and reinforced by the outbreak of the Cold War and by American aid during the 1948 election. After the war, as the world became ever more divided, and Italy's anti-Communism levels became high, De Gasperi was under pressure to lead Italy into NATO, which he did in 1949. American directives were carefully followed by Italy, to the point where Italy was considered to be America's most faithful ally and even issues that had major implications for Italian sovereignty were not debated heavily. Between 1948 and 1952, Italy received more than $1.4 million from the European Recovery Programme, which constituted 11% of the total funds allocated to Europe. 80% of Italy's funds were granted as goods, while 20% were loans on favourable terms. Marshall aid represented 2% of Italy's GDP between 1948 and 1952, which provided an important aspect of Italy's economic development (Ginsborg, 1990).

Although American influence in the creation of European Economic Cooperation was strong, it was De Gasperi's commitment to the European project, along with Schuman and Adenauer, which propelled Italy into the European arena. He believed in the political federation of European States for its aim to foster peace after half a century of war, and because economic union with northern Europe would provide solutions to structural problems in Italy's economy, notably the unemployment and underdevelopment occurring in the south of Italy. When the European Coal and Steel Community was founded, De Gasperi did not hesitate in pushing for Italian participation, which was followed by the European Defence Community in 1951. He was heavily influenced by the European Federalist Movement led by Altiero Spinelli, and saw an opportunity to unite a political union alongside a military one.

In 1953, Italy saw another general election, where support for the Christian Democrats fell to 31.1% and political allies had to be sought, but coalitions came and went in an unstable political environment. The 1953-election marked the end of De Gasperi's political career and neo-Fascists emerged in Italian politics. De Gasperi died shortly afterwards. His successor, Pella, was not a Europeanist, which took away Italy's dynamic and idealist involvement, even though Italy continued to be a significant contributor to the project of European unification.

Nevertheless, during the 1950s, the Christian Democrats developed their state system, which amongst other activities, built a new consensus in Italian society. The Christian Democrats believed in 'the liberty of the individual, and of the firm, the unfettered development of technology and consumer capitalism, and the free play of market forces' (Ginsborg, 1990). The Christian Democrats turned their attention to the internal formation of the state and on their internal growth. They produced an overall plan for the economy in 1954, in which the Minister of Finance compiled three objectives for 1955-1964: full employment; gradual reduction of the economic gap between north and south; the elimination of the balance of payments deficit. The aim was to encourage growth while maintaining government control of economic priorities. Unfortunately, this coincided with the establishment of a common market and Italian entrepreneurs found the common market to be more beneficial for production and the export of certain goods.

Throughout the 1950s, the longstanding influence of the Catholic Church continued to have a strong presence within society, and religious education was compulsory in state schools, which gave the church access to children to reinforce the social message of the sanctity of the Christian family. The family was seen as the first form of social organisation and the first school. Universities were originally run by the church, and until the eighteenth century, the church enjoyed a monopoly in Italian education, but in the nineteenth century the involvement of the state was introduced. Even into the 1960s, there was a strong belief in some that education should remain in the hands of the church. The Vatican had always maintained that the modern state should be denied the right of shaping consciences, its principle being that "there are only two rights to education, a natural one of the family, and a supranational one of the Catholic Church" (Scarangello, 1962). Before the unification of Italy in 1861, the Catholic Church was the centralised body of Italy and therefore controlled education across the Italian states on a supranational basis. The Italian

education system was created during the political unification of Italy, which consisted of the difficult task held by the ruling classes to unify the states by adopting the administrative structure of the Piedmontese region, which was heavily influenced by the French system. The resulting system became very centralised and hierarchical, with central power in the provinces and little autonomy at local level. The education system mirrored this structure, in the form of a pyramid, reproducing the class-system structure. Secondary education led to two paths, either to university, or to the labour market via vocational training institutes (Moscati, 1985). After the unification, although religion maintained its importance in schools and nurseries, it lost its power in this respect, but Catholism remained stong. It can be said that the 1950s in Italy were characterised by a combination of Catholicism, Americanism – with popular American culture dominant among the Italian youth – and anti-Communism, which, despite some inevitable tensions between the three, provided a platform for the ruling ideology.

In the 1950s, Italy was still a rather underdeveloped country with most Italians earning in the traditional sectors such as agriculture. Emigration by Italian nationals in search of the 'new world' was notable after the war until 1957. 1.1 million more Italians left without returning compared to those who returned. Around 840,000 permanently left for Northern Europe, mainly to France, Switzerland and Belgium, but tended to stay for shorter periods in seek of temporary arrangements during the difficult period in Italy. Emigration reduced sharply in the 1960s, but resumed again between 1967 and 1971. There were also strong internal migratory flows from the South to the North of Italy.

Nevertheless, the 1950s saw great investments in the reorganisation, renovation and development of industries, particularly since Marshall Aid was directed at factories. However, American involvement in the factories reached a climax on 4th February 1954 when the American Ambassador Clare Booth Luce met with FIAT's managing director Vittorio Valletta to declare that despite the financial sacrifices made by the USA in the form of over $1000 million, Communism in Italy appeared to be fostering further rather than declining. Valletta responded by assuring that the 300 new workers each year were trained by the companies' professional schools, and that the 'turbulent elements' had been sacked (Ginsborg, 1990).

Economic integration of the key industrial countries made way for an 'economic miracle' in Italy from 1950-1970, with trade in manufactured goods increasing as Fordism (the automated mass production of consumer goods) set in. Italy's ability to compete was assisted by new sources of energy and the transformation of its steel industry. The economic boom would not have been possible, however, without the low wages provided to labourers as Italy took advantage of high unemployment to offer employment with lower pay. Unfortunately, there was a great imbalance between consumer production and the provision of social necessities, such as schools, hospitals, public transport and low-cost housing, which all lagged behind in development.

Amongst the social classes benefitting from the 'economic miracle', Italians saw a change in their everyday life with regard to consumer habits, leisure activities and family life. More money was spent on luxuries, which changed eating habits as more was spent on meat and dairy products, and women's fashion changed. Those who could afford it, compensated the lack of necessities mentioned above, by purchasing cars, investing in private medical care and nurseries. More families owned televisions, but it was controlled by the Christian Democrats and influenced by the church. The ideal image of women in society became that of a housewife, endeavouring to have smartly-dressed, well-behaved children, with a house full of consumer products, which lowered the number of women in the workforce and further removed them from the political and public life of Italy.

In the late 1950s, there were 23 state universities in Italy, which were located in the famous medieval cities including Bologna, Padua, Siena, Rome and Pisa, as well as in most major cities, even those less well-known, such as Cagliari, Catania, Macerata and Sassari. There were also several private universities, such as the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart of Milan, the Free University of Camerino and the Free University of Urbino. Special institutes also provided university level education, including the Higher Institute of Economics and Commerce in Venice, the Higher Oriental Institute of Naples, the Naval Institute of Naples and the L. Bocconi University of Economics and Commerce of Milan, the Sister Orsola Benincasa Higher Teachers' Institute of Naples, the Higher Teachers' Institute of Genoa, the Maria SS Assunta Higher Teachers' Institute of Rome, and the Higher Teachers' Institutes of Salerno and Catania. In addition, there were a series of fine arts and music schools at university level, but without official university status. The main issue facing the Italian universities during the 1950s were the increasing numbers of

students, which in 1937 was around 75,000 and in 1957, 212,000 (Scarangello, 1957). The University of Rome had the highest number at 35,000. The most common degree taken was Law, due to the greater opportunities it provided within the civil service.

Education across all levels was directed by the Ministry of Public Instruction in Rome, with public funds amounting to 80% of the total costs incurred by universities, but despite the heavy state involvement on a financial level, academic freedom remained the cornerstone of Italian higher education. The universities are governed by a university council consisting of the university's full professors, who elect the rector every three years. A dean for each faculty is also elected every three years. A faculty council then planned courses, designated teachers and governed the internal affairs of the faculty, and an academic council oversaw the operational aspects of the university. Overall, the professors had ample opportunity to raise their opinions (Scarangello, 1957). The academic quality of university staff was renowned for being exceptionally high due to the competitive examinations imposed by the education system. The degree awarded was, and still is, the 'Laurea', classes were not compulsory and there were no campus universities. Instead, university faculties were scattered across the city.

In the 1960s, political instability came in the form of the Tambroni government, which sparked protests in Genova. Tramboni attempted to assert his authority, giving the police the power to shoot in emergency situations, which was implemented more often than necessary on anti-Fascist and anti-government demonstrators. The Christian Democrats sought to replace Tambroni as soon as possible, and with a push from America towards the Centre-Left, Fanfani took over. He was invited to Washington in June 1961, where he was informed that the USA would be watching attentively the developments in Italy. A series of reforms were introduced to rectify the imbalances between state and citizen, and private and social consumption, and regional governments were introduced. Provision was to be made for building schools, modernising the education system and revising social and health care. In 1962, Fanfani created a Centre-Left government consisting of Christian Democrats, Social Democrats and Publicans. The Socialists did not form part of the government until December 1963. However, the government had failed to respond to the needs of the country and by 1968, collective action began to take place against the lack of development, in a protest movement that was the most profound and

long-lasting in Europe. Beginning in the schools and universities, it quickly spread to the workforce in factories, and then to society in its entirety.

The protests in schools were sparked by the educational reforms of the 1960s, in which the compulsory age for school leavers was introduced as fourteen, which doubled the number of students between 1959 and 1969, creating a mass education system. Furthermore, in 1962 and 1969, the pressure of social demand for Higher Education led the government to open all faculties to anyone who had completed a five-year senior secondary school course (Moscati, 2000). This gave rise to inadequate facilities, teacher training and institutions. More students continued their studies to university level, which increased enrollments from 268,000 in 1960 to 450,000 in 1968. This produced grave problems of provision since the last university reform had taken place in 1923. By 1968, the University of Rome had 60,000 students, Naples had 50,000 and Bari had 30,000, but all were designed to hold a capacity of 5,000. The number of professors was insufficient, and those that did teach also practiced their professions (lawyers, doctors, architects etc.). There was no student-staff interaction, and there were no state grants, except a few reserved for the academically gifted, so families were expected to maintain the students through university or they found part-time work. However, the working students were frequently unable to fulfil the minimum study requirements, which led to a high drop-out rate. By 1966, 81% of students with a secondary school diploma went to university, but only 44% graduated. Although university was open to everyone, it was heavily in favour of students with financial support. With high numbers of students at university, there was qualification inflation as there were not enough jobs available to the graduates Italy produced, which also fuelled the revolts of 1968.

Benelux (Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg)

During the post-war period in the Benelux countries (Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg), it was hoped a spirit of reconstruction with forward-thinking organisations would bring about the depillarisation of the 1930s structure.

The Communists began to gain momentum in prestige and popularity in the late 1940s, following the 1948 coup in Czechoslovakia, which limited the growth of the Communist party and was further reinforced by the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956. Communists

began enter into government in Belgium and Socialists in the Dutch government. The Catholic parties moved to the Left to become Christian Democrat parties, which caused Liberal parties to be stranded. Their middle-class ideologies on 'free-thinking' and individual rights were not in line with the reconstructive approach that was characterising the period, through the rebuilding of social cohesion, restoring legitimate public order, and politically managing social and economic problems through welfare legislation and collective bargaining (Arblaster, 2012).

In Belgium, the questioning of the future of the monarchy, together with the funding of secondary education, clouded the focus on de-pillarisation. The king, who had been deported by the Germans as hostage in their retreat, was to return to Belgium. However, in the past he had not respected the constitution by defying the advice of his ministers and staying with his troops, by seeking to meet Hitler to plead for clemency for his conquered people, by his entourage having authoritarian pipe dreams and by marrying his children's governess without consent from the ministers. Overall, his actions raised concern over his ability to reign and the situation caused Belgium to see nine governments between 1945 and 1950. Both the Communists and Socialists saw the opportunity for a republic. In 1950, a referendum was won with a slight majority by the monarchy and a general election was won by the Christian Democrats. Leopold returned to Belgium, but after violent strike action almost sparking a civil war, he abdicated in 1951 and left the throne to his twenty-year old son, Boudewijn.

Before the great wars, the Dutch focused on safeguarding colonial possessions and on gaining a leading position in international trade and finance. During the First World War, the Netherlands managed to maintain its neutrality towards the power blocs in Europe, but she was occupied by Nazi Germany during the Second World War. Almost 80% of the Jewish population in the Netherlands were persecuted.[13]

Indonesia was included in these Dutch colonial possessions, but at the end of the Second World War, Indonesian nationalists had caused fighting to break out. The British insisted that the Dutch resolve the fighting by setting up a loosely federated Indonesian commonwealth under Dutch rule. However, there was strong resistance from the

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[13] *The Education System in the Netherlands 2005*, Dutch Eurydice Unit, Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, The Hague, 2005

Indonesian President Sukarno, who rejected federalism and there were ongoing attempts by the Communists to seize power. The situation had a heavy impact on the Netherlands from the point of view of manpower and funding. From 1946-1958, the Netherlands was run by coalitions of the Labour Party and Catholic Party and neither party had any particular interest in colonialism. Nevertheless, surrender seemed a gesture of failure and weakness, and the Indonesian raw materials industry was useful to post-war reconstruction. Jakarta was then reoccupied and Sukarno was captured, but US and UN intervention forced the Dutch to stand down. Belgium did not escape confrontations on the subject of colonialism and in 1959, strikes and demonstrations took place in Congo in demand of its independence from Belgium, which became a violent, multi-faceted civil war over the post-colonial balance of power.

In the spirit of reconstruction, there was a desire by the Benelux countries to create peace and promote prosperity. Treaties between the three countries were drawn up in 1948, which proved a willing to overcome national differences and rivalries, and weaken the protectionist attitude that had formed on the rebuilding of Europe's economies. Together they were also able to take advantage of more Marshall Plan funding than they would have done as independent states. The original aims of the Benelux union provided the opportunity for the Belgian banks to extend credit with which the Dutch could re-equip their industries with orders to Belgian firms. By 1958, Benelux was a full economic union.

However, while at the same time the European institutions were being formed (the European Coal and Steel Community in 1952, Euratom in 1957 and the European Economic Community in 1958), the significance of the union was belittled. Nevertheless, Benelux was a strong advocate of integration and union, and formed strong alliances with France and the UK, also joining NATO. Benelux also supported the founding of the International Court of Justice in The Hague in 1948 and the United Nations Organsation in 1949. The Dutch Foreign Minister J. W. Beyen and his Belgian counterpart Paul-Henri Spaak played important roles in furthering European integration, especially as mediators in the French-German compromises that allowed the Treaty of Rome to be signed in 1957. Beyen was known, in particular, for pushing for the common market, which would give the Dutch free access to French and German markets.

Luxembourg played a prominent role in the construction of Europe and its involvement in the process was rarely questioned by its politicians or by the population. Luxembourg was renowned for its intermediary role between the larger States, notably between France and Germany. This role of mediator characterised its nationality and avoided the need to force its population to choose between its neighbours. Luxembourg also hosted an EU institution, the European Court of Justice.

Between 1940 and the mid-1970s, the Benelux saw great improvements in the welfare of the states and by the 1960s, rising wages and minimum incomes led to popular consumerism, based on the American model. An economic boom saw white goods, technology for all and popular entertainment become increasingly present across society.

In 1967, the principal structure of universities in Belgium had not changed since 1936. It had always been a fundamental belief in Belgium that the right of the individual to protect his own freedom, property, religious beliefs, customs and traditions, and therefore, article 17 of the constitution explicitly states that "education is free; any attempt to curtail this freedom is prohibited and offences in this direction are punishable by law" (Mallinson, 1967). This means that anyone in Belgium has the right to open a school, and children are not obliged to attend school. Parents can make alternative arrangements such as home schooling. In practice, the schools were managed and maintained by the state, the provinces, the townships or the Catholic Church. According to Mallinson in 1967, almost 60% of Belgian students were enrolled at Catholic schools.

The bi-lingual divide in Belgium further complicated education. The linguistic border was established by law in 1962, with the North being officially Dutch-speaking (Flemish) and the South, French-speaking (Walloons). Brussels became officially bi-lingual. The Flemish were predominantly Catholic in their views, right-wing in politics, and had mainly engaged in agriculture. They are proud of their Flemish culture and identity, and defend their linguistic and cultural rights. The Walloons were a mixture of Catholic, Liberals and Socialists. In addition to agriculture, they also engaged in industrial occupations and were conscious of the superiority of the French language, compared to Dutch, even though they represented the minority (in 1967, 60% of the school population was Flemish). With such tensions, the state could only play the referee and seek to reconcile conflicting interests, which made it difficult to implement a common education system. The state could only

impose a broad set of principles to maintain a certain level of consistency among each individual's education.

The Belgian population was particularly engaged in education as a political issue. Teachers, students and parents are acutely aware of political issues, especially the role that education has played, and will continue to play, in his/her life. In this context, Belgians were renowned for defending their rights as he/she sees them.

According to Mallison's account of universities in Belgium in 1967, there were four universities, plus eleven other institutions teaching courses at university level, which therefore received subsidies from the state (Mallinson, 1967). The two state-controlled universities were the University of Ghent for the Flemish-speaking population and the University of Liège for the French-speakers. There were two "free" universities, which were not state-controlled, and historically Catholic. These were the University of Louvain, founded in 1425, which insisted that all its personnel were Catholic, and the Free University of Brussels,[14] founded in 1834, which admitted anyone qualified to attend. Both universities ran parallel courses in Flemish and French.

Until 1965, it was sufficient for students to complete the full secondary school course to be admitted to a university, but after 1965, an entrance exam was introduced, which kept overcrowding under control. University degrees were generally four to five years in duration, with the exception of medicine and dentistry, which were six to seven years.

There had always been two main tensions facing Belgian universities: the relationship between the state and the church, and bi-lingualism, which brought about the need to re-evaluate the co-existence of public and private institutions. On 20th November 1958, the three main Belgian parties (the Socialists, the Liberals and the Christian Democrats) came to the informal agreement, known as the 'pacte scolaire', that if Belgium wanted to compete on a higher level to strengthen the western world, it had to create a coherent policy for education, and the cultural development, alongside material growth, needed to be accelerated. The compulsory leaving age in education rose and there was a fairer distribution of state grants across schools, as well as the abolition of fees payable by students, including at university level. Each managing authority of the schools – the state,

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[14] Universitè Libre de Bruxelles

the provinces, the church – maintained autonomy in the designing of curricula, syllabi, teaching techniques and the distribution of hours for each subject, so long as they were in line with the minimum requirement of the Ministry of Education. With the exception of two Communist members, the bill was agreed upon, which represented great sacrifices from each party. The Catholic Party was forced to renounce a monopoly over schools in favour of the state, which could then create and maintain schools. While the Liberals agreed to allow the church parity of esteem with the State system. The 'pacte' was unusual as the Catholics had the majority throughout the Belgian school system.

A similar 'pacte' was required for the question of language in Belgium, especially after conflicts occurred between Flemish- and French-speakers at the University of Louvain. On 8th November 1962, Brussels officially became bi-lingual, while all schools in the clearly defined Flemish area taught in Flemish and those in the French area taught in French. Brussels was required to provide an adequate number of Flemish- and French-speaking schools. Whether a child attended a Flemish- or French-speaking school depended on the mother-tongue language of his/her father. In 1963, a law finally abolished the existence of parallel courses in Flemish and French.

An important feature of the Dutch education system has been the equality of public and private schools, which was achieved through the 'Pacification of 1917'. A dispute had occurred between public and private schools because the Catholic and Protestants wanted their own schools, but with equal state funding to state schools. After 1917, financial equality also included universities, and there are now nearly twice as many privately-run schools as there are state run schools.[15] Like Belgium, an important feature of the Dutch education system is the freedom of education, including the freedom to found schools and organise teaching in schools, and determine the principals – whether religious, ideological or educational – on which teaching is based. State-run schools are generally governed by the council or a public, legal entity set up by the council, and they are subject to state law. State-run schools provide education on behalf of the state. Privately-run schools are subject to private law and are state-funded, but not set up by the state. They are governed by a board of the association or foundation that set up the school, and teach based on religious or ideological beliefs. They are allowed to refuse the admittance of any students whose

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[15] *The Education System in the Netherlands 2005*, Dutch Eurydice Unit, Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, The Hague, 2005

parents do not follow the beliefs of the school.[16] The Mammoth Act in 1968 drastically reformed schooling in the Netherlands, which replaced the previous division between 'housekeeping school' (for girls of poorer origins) and 'technical school' (especially for boys) in the secondary education system. The previous system was highly related to class structure.

As regards higher education, the Netherlands saw a sharp rise in student numbers in the second half of the twentieth century, especially between 1950 and 1975. Previously, higher education had been reserved for an elite group, but as the government started to increase funding to higher education, making finance more obtainable to people from wider backgrounds, numbers began to quickly increase.

In Luxembourg, there was no university until 2003, so students typically travelled to nearby France in order to attend university.

Education systems of the Six: A comparison

The education and university systems of the six original member states differed during the post-war period until 1976. France and Luxembourg executed a high level of centralisation in the governance of their schools, while Germany and Italy delegated almost all power to the regional level with some coordination at national level. The longest period of compulsory education was seen in Germany and France (6-18 years), while the shortest was in Italy (6-11 years until 1962, then 6-14 years).

University systems followed a predominantly binary system across the member states, as polytechnics and specialist institutes provided vocational-orientated courses alongside traditional academic universities. Religious institutions of higher education were also present in the majority of member states, with the exception of Luxembourg which did not host a university until 2003. With a longstanding university tradition, Italy hosted the highest number of Higher Education institutions, but the highest percentage of the population with a degree was in the Netherlands (5.92% in 1975). The lowest was in France (2.59%). A strong vocational component was present in most systems, primarily

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[16] *The Education System in the Netherlands 2005*, Dutch Eurydice Unit, Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, The Hague, 2005

seen in secondary and further education, except Luxembourg where it was yet to be developed. Emphasis on vocational training was especially seen in the German and Dutch systems.

A distinctive characteristic can be identified in each national system. In Belgium, the education system was characterised by an engrained principle that education is free; that education is free to all and educational institutions can be freely established by anyone. Highly centralised governance was a prominent characteristic of the French education and university systems, and by the mid-1970s Germany exhibited a strong vocational component in its systems. The high level of church influence and short compulsory schooling age set Italy's systems apart from the others, and the prominent private schooling sector (subsidised by state funds) differentiated the Dutch systems. In Luxembourg, a tri-lingual schooling system (Luxembourgish, French and German) rendered it unique. The table in Appendix 3 presents a comparative study of the education systems of the six member states.

The emergence of a United Europe

Europe in 1945 was a fragmented continent, left to face the consequences of a war that gravely affected every kind of citizen. Capitalist-Communist tensions loomed in the form of the Cold War as Soviet control took over large areas of Eastern Europe. European countries were left with deep economic problems, all areas of society were either suffering or had to make sharp cut-backs, and moral was at an all-time low.

During the First World War, the majority of states succeeded in maintaining their sovereignty, which showed a capacity to guide the country through even the most trying times. This convinced citizens of the value and worth of their nation state, which fostered the rapid dispersion of ideals that gave a central position to the nation state and encouraged a protectionist attitude that was far from the ideology of a community of nations. However, this was to be challenged by the advance of Germany during the Second World War when both allies and opponents collapsed and began to demonstrate that they were no longer able to ensure the security of their country and the independence of their people (Spinelli, 1957). The ideal of the nation state crumbled. Although states regained formal sovereignty from the Nazi empire, the war had left national institutions destructed and unable to re-

establish normal national life on their own. After the devastation already caused by the First World War, Europe could not risk facing another war and, for many, the opinion that peace should be established in prevention of a reoccurring war, became a priority. The answer, which attracted numerous advocates, was in the integration of the European countries, where nations cooperated rather than competed.

This was not the first time that a proposal to unite the countries of Europe was presented.[17] Particularly notable was the Briand Plan of 1930, written by Aristide Briand, then Prime Minister of France. It represented the first time that the governments of Europe had come together to discuss the possibility of uniting Europe. The Plan provided the basis for a European Conference composed of representatives from the European states of the League of Nations and proclaimed that European unity was needed "to unite in order to live and prosper; that is the imperious necessity which henceforth confronts the nations of Europe".[18] The Briand Plan was a moral union of Europe that would be based on the existence of the solidarity established between the states of Europe. However, it was criticised for the lack of consideration for economic aspects. Given the aforementioned protectionist attitude that prevailed after the First World War, it can be argued that it was not the right time for the Briand Plan to be taken seriously into consideration by all states. It was too bold for a time when states did not require a community of states and when they continued to idealise the nation state. Furthermore, the rise of Hitler was apparent and there was no place for Nazi Germany in a United Europe, but equally, there was no place for a United Europe without Germany.[19]

However, Winston Churchill resuscitated the notion of a United States, first during the war on 22 March 1943 in a speech broadcasted to the world,[20] and again on 22 September 1946

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[17] In 1638 the Duke of Sully, chief advisor of the King of France Henry IV, suggested he could govern not only France, but the whole of Europe. In 1693, Quaker William Penn wrote an essay "Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe by the Establishment of a European Diet, Parliament or Estate", and Rousseau wrote a plan for European Federation. In 1795, Kant wrote "Perpetual Peace", in which nations must rest on a federation of free states and in 1883, the French Socialist Godin also proposed the creation of a European Federation and wrote that "the construction of the United States of Europe may in the near future inaugurate a definitive peace on the continent". Victor Hugo took the idea further to suggest a United States of the World (European Movement, 1949).

[18] European Movement (1949)

[19] European Movement (1949)

[20] "One can imagine that under a world institution embodying or representing the United Nations there should come into being a Council of Europe. We must try to make this Council of Europe into a really effective league, with all the stongest forces woven into its texture, with a High Court to adjust disputes, and with armed forces, national or international or both, held ready to enforce these

at a speech at the University of Zurich when he suggested it would not interfere with the world organisation the United Nations.[21] With this resuscitation of the idea came the launch of the campaign for European unity, which pooled together a series of organisations across Europe that were promoting European unity: the European Union of Federalists;[22] the United Europe Movement;[23] the Economic League for European Cooperation;[24] the French Council for United Europe;[25] Nouvelles Equipes Internationales;[26] and the Socialist Movement for a United States of Europe.[27] With so many separate organisations increasing the risk of duplicating and confusing matters, the International Committee of the Movements for European Unity was created in December 1947 with Duncan Sandys as its executive chairman. As an initial task, the Committee organised the 'Congress of Europe', which was held in The Hague on 8-10 May 1948 in the form of plenary meetings and three committees: political, economic and cultural. It aimed to demonstrate widespread support for the uniting of Europe and provide fresh input to the campaign. It was attended by some 800 people of diverse nationalities and backgrounds including politicians, economists, academics, scientists, artists, poets, authors and lawyers, covering every aspect in the life and opinions of Europe.[28]

Public interest in the uniting of Europe began to take hold, along with that of the national governments and, in particular, of the United States of America. In June 1947, the USA

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decisions and to prevent renewed aggression and the preparation of future wars. This Council, when created, must eventually embrace the whole of Europe, and all the main branches of the European family must someday be partners in it" (European Movement, 1949)

[21] "On the contrary, I believe that the larger synthesis will only survive if it is founded upon coherent natural groupings. Why should there not be a European group which could give it a sense of enlarged patriotism and common citizenship to the distracted peoples of this turbulent and mighty continent?" (European Movement, 1949).

[22] An international organisation, whose purpose was to promote a Federation of the States of Europe. Chairman: Dr. Henri Brugmans.

[23] Founded in Great Britain by a group of prominent men and women from across the political parties, the churches, the trade unions, the universities and the professions. It aimed to conduct in Britain a campaign for the unity of Europe by means of technical studies, popular propaganda and parliamentary action and support similar activities throughout the continent. Chairman: Winston Churchill.

[24] Composed of prominent economists, industrialists, trade union leaders and businessmen from most of the Western European countries undertaking research on the varied technical problems raised an economic union of Europe. Chairman: M. van Zeeland.

[25] Composed of leaders of thought and action across French public life. Chairman: M. Raoul Dautry.

[26] An international union of members of Christian Democrat and Centre parties. Chairman: M. Bichet.

[27] An international organisation composed of members of Socialist parties throughout Western Europe who desired to establish a United States of Europe. Chairman: M. Michel Rasquin.

[28] European Movement (1949)

had showed their interest in the form of the Marshall Plan, which constituted financial aid to the European countries and brought further momentum to the campaign for European unity. The USA saw the need to resolve the dangerous situation of the expansionist aims of the Soviet Union and began to see Europe as a political whole that should be assisted in uniting in order for it to be able to effectively resist the advancement of Soviet imperialism. This could be achieved by strengthening the economies of the European states in such a way that the provided solid ground to reform democracies (Spinelli, 1957). In addition, intentionally or not on the part of the USA, the allocation of this aid put the European states for the first time in a position of international politics in which they were required to cooperate on a common objective. Within a few weeks, what we know today as the OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development) was formed. It can be said that the arrival of American financial aid together with the Communist threat provided fertile ground for the development of European unity.[29] Churchill proclaimed that the European states should reciprocate the new American policy by seeing through the desire for Europe to unite and with this came the impetus to create the European Movement (Spinelli, 1957). Formally inaugurated on 25 October 1948, the European Movement created a National Council in each country, composed of delegates from the organisations that focused on European unity in that country, as well as other representatives from other aspects of public life. The European Movement's presidents of honour were Winston Churchill, Léon Blum, Alcide De Gasperi and Paul-Henri Spaak. A conference in Brussels in February 1949 defined the structure and organisation of the Movement, and established the principles for a European policy. A year after the Congress of Europe, the Council of Europe was also created by a treaty signed by ten governments. This was the first major objective in the campaign.

The 'German problem' remained, however. It was necessary for Western Germany to be included in the economic rehabilitation project and the occupying countries (the USA, France and the UK) had to find a way to allow Western Germany to gradually re-establish its sovereignty and political unity. Federalist thinking and the Federal Movement were less influential in France, so the first concrete suggestion from the French took a functionalist approach (Spinelli, 1957). France was still concerned about giving sovereignty back to Germany, but rather than in a military or political sense, it was concerned by the rebuilding of Germany industrial power in the Rhur Valley; its iron and coal industry. Jean Monnet

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[29] European Movement (1949)

rekindled a Franco-German project to unite the coal and steel industries and requested that his Foreign Minister Robert Schuman promoted it. It would establish a common coal and steel market under supranational authority. Therefore, from this French motivation to avoid the renewal of German industrial power came the creation of the first functional European institution, the European Coal and Steel Community, for which six[30] states first convened on 10 September 1952. When Joseph Stalin died in 1953, however, attempts at European integration slowed down due to the decrease in Soviet threat. American aid had revitalised European economies and individual states felt a lesser need to unite for survival, especially since the pre-war ideology of national sovereignty began to slowly re-emerge. Nevertheless, the governments of the Six persevered on their path to European integration and on 22 June 1955, they decided to create a committee of experts, led by Paul-Henri Spaak, for the establishment of a common market and a common atomic pool. They proposed the merge of national economies into a common market that did not touch upon national sovereignty, and in February 1957, two treaties were signed: one setting up a European Economic Community and the other setting up the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM).

Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of each state's circumstances as they entered into European integration. It has also shed light on their circumstances in regard to education. This information is presented in a set of profiles for each state, which reflects the methodology of collective biography where a set of individual's biographies are used to determine trends and anomalies in history. Here, states are personified in order to highlight the fact that – in the same way that a community is made up of individual people each with different circumstances, backgrounds and experiences – states cannot be considered as a collective equal entity. States too have different circumstances, backgrounds, histories, experiences, cultures and languages. Like communities of people, states find common ground with other states, such as suffering after the two world wars with a need to stabilise and secure peace to attach themselves to a particular community, but ultimately they are individuals.

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[30] France, Italy, West Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg

The significance of this chapter for the theoretical framework sits on the side of intergovernmentalism to test the role of states as actors in the policy-development process. However, it further deepens this analysis of states' roles by considering the individuality of states, rather than as a collective actor against the supranational actor seen in neofunctionalism.

Chapter Six | Education and the European 'Idea' (1945-1956)

Introduction

This first chapter of the findings chapters presenting the primary sources addresses the timeframe from 1945-1956, which covers the first discussions on uniting Europe in post-war Europe. It outlines the first steps towards European integration, and more specifically presents the activities and initiatives relating to education that took place in this context. These included mobilising youth, teaching the teachers, the exchange of people and knowledge, the creation of educational institutions, and vocational education for skills training and adult education. The chapter is completed by outlining the activities of the Western European Union,[31] which was a European entity also acting at this time so it was felt that its activities could not be completely omitted from this study. Moreover, many of its initiatives were transferred to the official European institutions.

Uniting Europe

The European Movement was, and still is, a pressure group that formed in July 1947. It provided a platform for the coordination of organisations that were created in the wake of the Second World War,[32] and was originally formed from the International Committee of the Movements for European Unity (ICMEU), under which structure it organised a meeting, taking place at The Hague in the Netherlands on 7-11th May 1948, commonly known as the 'Congress of Europe'. The Congress aimed to demonstrate that public opinion in support of European unity existed in the free countries of Europe and to discuss the challenges facing European unity as well as to propose practical solutions to governments. Presided by Winston Churchill as honorary president, the Congress of Europe gathered representatives of European as well as international countries to exchange ideas on the development of a European Union and discuss the construction of a united Europe. The Congress is said to have profoundly influenced the shaping of the European Movement, which was officially created soon afterwards on 25 October 1948.

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[31] International organisation and military alliance, which implemented an amended version of the 1948 Treaty of Brussels and was founded by seven European nations allied with the United States during the Cold War. Most of the WEU were gradually integrated into the European Union and it was officially declared defunct in 2011.

[32] http://europeanmovement.eu/who-we-are/history/

Subsequently, it created the Council of Europe in May 1949 and, in a further stage, the European Movement organised the European Conference on Culture, which took place in Lausanne, Switzerland, in December 1949.

In a 'Message to the Europeans' during the final plenary session of the Hague Congress, presided by former Prime Minister of Belgium Mr. van Zeeland, delegates pledged their dedication to working towards a united Europe:

> "Europe is in danger, Europe is divided, and the greatest danger comes from her divisions. Impoverished, overladen with barriers that prevent the circulation of her goods but are no longer able to afford her protection, our dis-united Europe marches towards her end. Alone, no one of our countries can hope seriously to defend its independence. Alone, no one of our countries can solve the economic problems of today"[33]

Delegates at the Hague Congress focussed their minds on the question of European unity and a federation of Europe. It was recognised that a national financial policy was no longer a viable solution to resolving the pressures on economies that came as a consequence of a second world war because a national foreign policy would not reach the root of a nation state's economic difficulty. It was declared that the problems they faced demanded worldwide solutions, and such solutions could not be founded on a divided Europe. Delegates sought to define how a united Europe could be more than just cooperation between governments, namely in the form of creating federal European institutions with full power, capable of bringing into existence a new league of free people.

Under the pressure of grave events, a number of governments had accepted that it was necessary to foster cooperation in the economic and military spheres in order to confront specific dangers that had arisen during and after the war. They were aware that a united Europe could provide benefits across its member states, but it was highlighted that such benefits could not be achieved without some temporary interference with certain national and sectional interests. Vigorous resistance was thus expected from those whose interests would be adversely affected, and who would therefore seek to mobilise and misuse patriotic sentiment with the objective of holding back their governments. In this case, it

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[33] Message to the Europeans adopted at the close of the Hague Congress, 1948 (ME-421, HAEU)

was considered that if governments were able to withstand such pressures, they would have the solid foundations of an informed and convinced public opinion that would be ready to face the challenge of uniting Europe.[34] Due to the resistance expected from governments towards any meddling in their affairs, according to delegates at The Hague, the real problem in uniting Europe lay in creating a European organisation of supranational nature. At the same time, to talk of a united Europe without conceiving a European government and a European parliament was far from realistic.[35]

European spirit and consciousness

Delegates also attached an organic meaning to the concept of European federalism. The Europe they envisaged meant a way of life for groups and individuals, and a world that was heading towards conflict put European people, divided and powerless, in danger of being the first victims. While a united Europe would cause upheaval because every problem would be seen in a new light, it would be fundamental in allowing people to rediscover their true spirit, a European spirit, and to devise new social orders in harmony with this spirit.[36]

This line of thought continued within the European Cultural Conference, which took place a year later in Lausanne. In the General Rapporteur's report on the conference, he stated that the problem was simple: "Europe or war". Europe could not be saved if the nations continued to believe in their separate salvation. It would not be possible to choose between individual freedom and social justice for "liberty without justice is disintegration" and Europe would only be able to safeguard its own interests by safeguarding the dignity of man.[37] In this sense, the European Cultural Conference appealed to intellectuals to shoulder their responsibilities in relation to governments and experts by vigilantly watching over them and proclaiming the principle of the dignity of man, the foundation of all European civilisations. The conference appealed to national governments to abolish all barriers that paralyse rather than protect the cultural life of Europe, to realise that in the long run expenditure on education confers on nations a more durable power of resistance than expenditure on armaments. Finally, the conference appealed to the European

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[34] Verbatim Report, Plenary Session I, Congress of Europe at The Hague, 1948 (ME-2945, HAEU)
[35] The Vital Question, proceedings from the Congress of Europe at The Hague, 1948 (ME-421, HAEU)
[36] The Vital Question, proceedings from the Congress of Europe at The Hague, ME421, HAEU (1948)
[37] Rapport sur la conférence de Lausanne - présenté par le Rapporteur Générale, ME531, HAEU (1949)

Assembly to do everything its power to support the European cultural institutions without which the common awareness of Europeans cannot be developed, and to all Europeans to refuse to believe in the inevitability of war.[38]

The Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Alcide De Gasperi, declared in a message to conference delegates that the main principle of the unity of Europe is in the conscience of the spiritual and cultural community rather than the political, legislative, economic and social coordination.[39] This need to address culture within the process of uniting Europe was also reiterated in a message to the conference from Paul van Zeeland, in which he suggested that the battle of Europe would be waged not only in economics and politics, but also in the cultural field, and that European conscience was becoming ever more a living reality:

> "Beneath the cross-currents of our interests, there is a common bed, constituted by traditions and hopes […] and to reveal or to affirm cultural affinities may become one of the essential factors making for European unity".[40]

In his opening address at the Congress of Europe, Dr. Henri Brugmans, President of the Bureau of the Union of European Federalists (UEF), declared the need to stimulate European political consciousness, and a bold and far-seeing European public opinion. European public opinion would not be the sum of individual national public opinions, but something *sui generis* that would be new in history: a common European citizenship.[41] He did not deny that the task would not be easy and obstacles would need to be faced, but he affirmed that:

> "If Europe discovers how to regenerate itself in unity, it will at the same time be able to reassert its independence in the world. It will be both moral and social independence, since among the great powers it will have brought forth its own peculiar type of society, born from free association and from stimulating cooperation"[42]

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[38] Rapport sur la conférence de Lausanne - présenté par le Rapporteur Générale, ME531, HAEU (1949)
[39] Message de M. De Gasperi, European Cultural Conference, ME534, HAEU (1949)
[40] Message from M. Paul Van Zeeland, European Cultural Conference, ME534, HAEU (1949).
[41] Speech of Dr. Henri Brugmans, Congress of Europe at The Hague, ME421, HAEU (1948)
[42] Speech of Dr. Henri Brugmans, Congress of Europe at The Hague, ME421, HAEU (1948)

The objectives of the Congress of Europe were three-fold: to demonstrate the widespread support that existed for unifying Europe; to secure an exchange of views and establish agreed recommendations for action; and to provide a new and powerful impetus to the campaign.[43] Lasting three and a half days (or 60 hours), there was a determination to bridge differences and find a basis on which to join forces under a common objective in which they all ardently believed.

Mr. Carandini, delegate for Italy, added in his speech in The Hague that the aim was to create new common rapports between people who share Europe as their geographical and spiritual base, adhering to a European citizenship.[44] It was then highlighted in the General Report of the European Cultural Conference that it was necessary to draw the outline of a new political framework for Europe that was inspired by spiritual and cultural considerations in addition to its more obvious political considerations. The European Cultural Conference aimed to provide this definition and to show that that culture cannot only be of practical assistance in the efforts being made in other fields to achieve the unity of Europe, but that European unity is also essential for the survival of European culture in all its rich diversity.[45] However, the conference delegates had to consider the balance between the respect for the freedom of the mind, and the recognition of the responsibilities that go with it. The notion of 'culture in the service of European unity', which underlines responsibilities, is different to 'a united Europe in defence of culture', which indicates the way in which the freedom of the mind can be safeguarded from the dangers that threaten it. It was advised that the conference could begin by taking stock of the status quo of culture in Europe, the difficulties hampering its development and the dangers threatening to destroy it. Accordingly, the two main questions forming the basis of the discussions were on "the material and moral conditions of cultural life in Europe" and secondly, a consideration for "institutions and reforms", with a view to the development of a European outlook.[46]

Culture was considered by the initiators of the Congress as something other than an 'ornament, an elegant mask, a pretext for some phrases'. They realised that perhaps the

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[43] Verbatim Report, Plenary Session I, Congress of Europe at The Hague, ME2945, HAEU (1948)
[44] Speech of M. Carandini for the Congress of Europe at The Hague, plenary session II. ME421, HAEU (1948)
[45] General Report of the European Cultural Conference, ME531, HAEU (1949)
[46] General Report of the European Cultural Conference, ME531, HAEU (1949)

man in the street believed the only serious reasons for wanting the union of Europe is for its political, economic and purely material elements and that the European notion of man, of his culture, and sense of life can be addressed later. However, as De Rougement proclaimed during the Congress, culture expresses the human sense of political and economic life, and whatever the commission achieves, it would be the awakening of a European conscience.[47]

The delegates of the Congress of Europe were aware that cultural unification of Europe would be complex and would have to be a progressive process. In the context of unifying Europe, the problem with culture was that there were different dictatorships and totalitarian regimes against which the European spirit had to be defended, and which had tried to act on culture. There was a danger of cultural activities being seen as supporting political ideas and acting as political propaganda.[48] The question was how cooperation could be possible between sets of people whose cultural views differ so sharply. De Madariaga pointed out that political and economic attributes were not missing from Europe, but if the Europe they envisaged were to exist and such diversity were to be overcome, Europe had to exist in the hearts of the citizens.[49]

Education as a tool

One conference delegate, Prof. Anne Seimen, provided a solution in her speech at the European Cultural Conference in Lausanne, suggesting that "no political and social reorganisation would be able to rest on secure foundations unless it is accompanied by a thorough reorganisation of education, special and general, which is the dominant factor in the upbringing of the youth of all European countries".[50] The European Cultural Conference therefore dealt with culture in the wider sense of the term to include education and its connection with schools and universities because education could provide for the development of judgement and knowledge, aiming at the selection of elites across all social classes for the dissemination and promotion of the European idea.[51]

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[47] Congress of Europe at The Hague, Verbatim Report, IV Cultural Committee, ME2945, HAEU (1948)
[48] Verbatim Report, IV Cultural Committee, Congress of Europe at The Hague, ME2945, HAEU (1948)
[49] Congress of Europe at The Hague, Verbatim Report, IV Cultural Committee, ME2945, HAEU (1948)
[50] Congrès de Lausanne, Préparation à la conférence Européenne de la culture, Proposals for a European Education by Prof. Anne Siemen, Hamburg, ME540, HAEU (1949).
[51] Congrès de Lausanne, Préparation à la conférence Européenne de la culture, Lausanne, Proposals for a European Education by Prof. Anne Siemen, Hamburg, ME540, HAEU (1949).

As the Rapporteur of the Cultural Committee Denis de Rougement stated in his general report:

> "The need is apparent, everywhere. Everyone is perfectly well aware that the creation of a European Union depends in the first place on the creation, through education, of a responsible elite of young people trained in a supranational spirit"[52]

And

> "To take the mission seriously, calls for a vigilance which the intellectuals of free countries must, more than ever, feel incumbent on them. They must never cease to remind governments, politicians, social legislators and experts that there are spiritual principles which must not be overlooked in practice if Europe is to maintain its right to exist and its autonomy"[53]

Accomplishing the task, through the means of education, of creating a responsible elite of young people trained in a supranational spirit would require the cooperation of more than one generation, but it also had to be driven by energy and clear-sightedness.[54] A solution had already surfaced at the Congress of Europe in the speech of Claire Saunier, President of the French National Commission for Education: to create a sentiment of a united Europe, it was necessary to appeal to educators.[55] The European Cultural Conference delegates went on to enforce that if the European mission were to be taken seriously, it called for a vigilance which the intellectuals of free countries should, more than ever, feel incumbent on them. They should never cease to remind governments, politicians, social legislators and experts that there are spiritual principles that should not be overlooked in practice if Europe was to maintain its right to exist as well as its autonomy.[56]

Mobilising the youth

Mobilising the youth was therefore identified as key to the success of a united Europe. It was discussed prior to the creation of the European Youth Campaign by the

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[52] Congress of Europe at The Hague, Verbatim Report, IV Cultural Committee, ME2945, HAEU (1949)
[53] Congress of Europe at The Hague, Verbatim Report, IV Cultural Committee, ME2945, HAEU (1949)
[54] General Report, Congrès de Lausanne, ME531, HAEU (1949)
[55] Congress of Europe at The Hague, Verbatim Report, IV Cultural Committee, ME2945, HAEU (1948)
[56] General Report, Congrès de Lausanne, ME531, HAEU (1949)

European Movement within the framework of initiatives involving the youth. According to Gerold Meyer,[57] appealing to the European Movement in a proposal for Strasbourg to be become the 'City of European Youth', Europe had to be an attractive prospect for young people, who should collaborate on and drive forward the construction of a new Europe that would develop with them and for them. He suggested that young people had to rid themselves of their indecisiveness and favour collaboration between nations.[58] With the aim of creating a true European solidarity in the youth generation, a proposal for the organisation of an international meeting between leaders of youth movements and organisations had the aim of discussing the theses of the construction of Europe, including the trend of new education in Europe: European university training.[59]

Similarly, with the aim of gaining the interest of large masses of European students in the development of ideas since the Liberation, the French National Union of Students intended to invite the national student organisations of European countries to meet in Nancy on 15-20 December 1951. For the Union, students were seen as the most active in the area of international cultural exchanges, and they would provide a means through which to diffuse the European idea, but in turn, the European idea itself would strengthen cross-border cultural relations between youth movements. In order to provoke European conscience among university students, harmonising – where possible – the conditions of life and study in the universities of Europe seemed indispensable. The Union proposed to research what European culture could and should expect from universities, and it would define the objectives and methods of a true European intellectual youth education. Bringing together the students of Europe, the proposed meeting in Nancy – already a European university centre – would provide the fertile ground for such discussions and to obtain a mutual understanding of the culture of different nations.[60]

When the European Youth Campaign was established, it stated its aim as "promoting and defending the cultural and moral values of Europe, which for the majority have gone

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[57] A teacher, also involved in children's theatre, who was an advocate for Strasbourg as the City of European Youth.
[58] Initiatives concernant la jeunesse proposées au Mouvement Européen avant la création de la Campagne Européenne de Jeunesse, Cité de la jeunesse à Strasbourg, ME162, HAEU (1949).
[59] Initiatives concernant la jeunesse proposées au Mouvement Européen avant la création de la Campagne Européenne de Jeunesse, Note rélatif à l'organisation d'une rencontre internationale de dirigeants de mouvements et d'organisations de jeunesse, ME162, HAEU (1949)
[60] Initiatives concernant la jeunesse proposées au ME avant la création de la CEJ. Note sur la conférence de l'étudiante Européenne, ME162, HAEU (1951)

beyond borders, becoming common to nations of the free world".[61] The campaign would develop the following themes: the necessary deepening of knowledge on European realities; essential European values; Europe's chances - human qualities, potential demography, resources and equipment; spiritual, historical, geographic, economic and artistic discoveries of other countries and other European trends; the situation of Europe in the world. According to the campaign, European conscience and being European would: overcome old and recent antagonisms; study the problems that are not resolvable on the national level; establish solidarity and organic unity. And the principles of a demographic Europe included: Freedom (diversity, tolerance and respect for one another); solidarity; responsibility (civil, sociological and political education); social justice (the needs of man); and cooperation would result in future trust.[62]

The European Youth Campaign wanted to organise a demonstration so that young people could gain a conscience of the European reality, and to attract the attention of European opinion on the questions of youth. A demonstration would create a kind of humanitarian solidarity among young people, in which they could find a European harmony between people, groups and countries with a common European reality, in the balancing of varying ideologies. Moreover, the organisation of a European Youth Conference in June 1951 and a 'Summer of Youth' in 1952, aimed to make young people conscious of their common responsibility, especially at the European level.[63]

Teaching the teachers

The European Cultural Conference addressed the idea that, in order to fully penetrate the European idea into the nation, it would be necessary to teach the teachers on the European idea. To this end, the main factor in the training of teaching staff would be the affirmation of the European idea since the main purpose of compulsory schooling is to develop in children the necessary qualities that make it possible for men to live together in society. The President of the Swiss University Rectors, Florian Casandey, highlighted that:

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[61] Initiatives concernant la jeunesse proposées au ME avant la création de la CEJ, Rapport de la commission des thèmes et d'activités, ME162, HAEU (1951)

[62] Initiatives concernant la jeunesse proposées au ME avant la création de la CEJ, Rapport de la commission des thèmes et d'activités, ME162, HAEU (1951)

[63] Initiatives concernant la jeunesse proposées au ME avant la création de la CEJ, Rassemblement de la jeunesse Européenne, ME162, HAEU (1951)

"There are too many intellectuals and scholars who do not pass on what they learn and the educators, teachers, whatever the degree of their teaching, they have a task. Those who have the mission of teaching should not be content with only explaining what is in the books, he should have spirit, moral dignity and the conscience of man, marked deeply with what prepares him for life".[64]

Noting that secondary education has the task of forming and imprinting 'Europeanness', the two subjects of history and modern foreign languages, particularly English and French, would attract the theme of European Union. Seimen proposed that adopting education as an instrument to disseminate the European idea would entail a restructure of official schools from within so that schools established on a national basis would henceforth have a European scope. A general questionnaire that was circulated before the European Cultural Conference took place to question the countries' subjectivity to political influences in education. It revealed traces of totalitarian feeling. The analysis of the questionnaires results suggested that this was found in text books used in the teaching of history or the statutes governing the constitution of universities. Seimen was aware that governments would display resistance towards interference in education and suggested it would be necessary to provide existing schools in each country with teaching material about Europe, thus throwing a basis upon which to build further.[65]

Teaching and research on the history of Europe was deemed important at the European Cultural Conference by Prof. Falco of the Italian delegation. He advised that research on the past should be encouraged as history should be a component in the creation of a new Europe. For Falco, it was not about replacing one historiography with another, but about stimulating a European conscience deriving from scholars taking Europe as the object of research and proving its convictions. If money and scholars' willingness were no object, Falco proposed the creation of a centre for studies on the history of Europe with a specialised library, regular teaching courses and cultural exchanges.[66]

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[64] Speech of F. Casandey, ME538 (1949)
[65] Suggestions brought to the European Cultural Conference by the French Cultural Committee for a United Europe, ME540 (1949)
[66] Pour une histoire de l'Europe par le Prof. Falco de la délégation italienne, Congrès de Lausanne, ME540, HAEU (1949)

Exchange of people and of knowledge

The liberty of exchanges already existed, but further developments could be made. Already at the Congress of Europe it had been highlighted that there should be exchanges between institutions of culture, colleges and high schools, adult education, reading circles of workers – not just universities – to penetrate further into all angles of society.[67] At Lausanne, delegates reiterated that cultural exchanges should not be a reserved privilege for intellectuals and members of the liberal professions, but extended to that of adult education.[68] The conference identified the necessity to supervise and direct these exchanges to ensure that certain standards were being attained and therefore ensure parity between the universities and schools that participated in the network of exchanges. It was proposed that a European Commission for University and Study Exchanges might be instituted for this purpose.[69] When established, this commission was responsible for the study of the status quo of existing cultural exchanges, of the restrictions that paralyse such exchanges and of the appropriate reforms to propose in the framework of the European plan.[70]

The concept of exchanges was pertinent in the area of Franco-German relations and, after 1949, particular effort was made by the French occupying authority in Germany as well as in the French youth movements to develop exchange activities. In the school year of 1949-1950, there were exchanges that were notable for their diversity and adaptation to varying places and interested social groups. For example, an international exchange centre organised individual exchanges and bursaries; movements such as the French Youth Catholic Association, the scouts, the Paris Youth Council organised study days and weeks with German movements; the French association of international meetings organised three pedagogical meetings, three sports meetings and eight youth meetings; and the French league of teaching participated in adult-education work experience. However, none were able to meet the German demand, and the French and German organisations were not always balanced. For example, France did not have a syndicalist youth. The development

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[67] Congress of Europe at The Hague, Verbatim Report, IV Cultural Committee, ME2945, HAEU (1948)
[68] Resolutions - Committee on Exchanges, Congrès de Lausanne, ME537, HAEU (1949)
[69] General Report, Congrès de Lausanne, ME531, HAEU (1949)
[70] Note sur les échanges culturels européens, Congrès de Lausanne, ME537, HAEU (1949)

of Franco-German exchanges at youth level confirmed the necessity for a new form of cultural relations that were more in line with the new social and economic conditions.[71]

In other areas across Europe, activities included a Summer School of European Studies at the University of Zurich, which was established in 1939. It drew on faculty from across Europe and addressed contemporary European culture and its relations with that of other continents.[72] In an enquiry into existing cultural cooperation in Europe, it was found that within Holland's ten university institutions, cultural conventions had been concluded with Great Britain, France and Belgium. At the time, conventions were also being prepared with Luxembourg, South Africa and Italy. The equivalence of degrees was being discussed with Belgium and France, with concrete results yielded with the former.[73] Luxembourg had no university institution and was therefore forced to seek cooperation in this field from outside its borders. Students who wanted to follow an academic career followed a one-year advanced course at an institution in Luxembourg, which was equivalent to one year at university. There were 60 students and twelve professors on the course, and student then attended a foreign university if they wished to continue an academic career. Luxembourg developed cultural agreements with Belgium, France and the USA and preparations were underway for agreements with Holland and Great Britain.[74]

Exchanges were already mentioned in the Verbatim Report of the Congress of Europe. In particular, it outlined the idea that, if it were possible to obtain one student from each European university who prepares an exam for three years, he/she could spend six months in a university of his/her choice with the same curriculum conditions as his/her own institution. The exams undertaken in the foreign institution would count as if they were done in the home institution. Such initiatives were realisable immediately at low cost, but they depended on the willingness of countries to collaborate.[75] In this context, the recognition of equivalent levels of qualifications would need to be evaluated in order for such exchanges to be successful.[76]

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[71] Rapport sur les rencontres Franco-Allemandes, Initiatives concernant la jeunesse proposées au Mouvement Européen avant la création de la Campagne Européenne de la Jeunesse, ME162, HAEU (1949)
[72] Note sur les institutions européennes, Congrès de Lausanne, ME536, HAEU (1949)
[73] Holland, Notes concernants les relations interuniversitaires européen, ME819, HAEU, (undated)
[74] Luxembourg, Notes concernants les relations interuniversitaires européen, ME819, HAEU, (undated)
[75] Congress of Europe at The Hague, Verbatim Report, IV Cultural Committee, ME2945, HAEU (1948)
[76] Préparation à la conférence Européenne de la culture, Proposals for a European Education by Prof. Anne Siemen, European Cultural Conference, ME540, HAEU (1949)

It was recognised, however, that cultural exchanges were hampered by questions of passports, visas and currency.[77] According to the commission for exchanges, there were more restrictions and more obstacles in the freer movement of persons and of cultural material than in 1939. It stated that European culture could only exist if active communications between nations were established and called for European governments, especially those who were members of the Council of Europe, to do so. People should be free to travel, meet, confer and generally act as free agents, without government sponsorship. In response, in its proposals at the European Cultural Conference, the French Cultural Committee suggested that the movement of people could be facilitated by issuing European passports to avoid travellers having to obtain visas, which would increase exchanges of professors, students and pupils from secondary schools, and promote language learning.[78] Similarly, the Education Committee also put forward the idea that a European stamp on passports would facilitate academic mobility as well as the mobility of people in youth movements, and the system of travelling scholarships.[79]

In a bid to rescue cultural cooperation from any such obstacles, the conference recommended that the task of promoting a greater degree of cooperation in the cultural field should be decentralised, and that the churches, the universities, youth associations, trade unions and organisations concerned with adult education should be invited to consult together, and themselves to accept the responsibility of taking the necessary action in their respective fields. All the universities and other institutions of higher learning, official or not, should be invited to state what measures facilitate educational cooperation between the various European cultural agreements.[80]

An additional barrier came in the varying forms of a country's universities: state universities and 'free' universities, the latter often being denominational, dependent on private funds of financed by the local authority. This lack of uniformity diminished the opportunity for potential connections between institutions. Professors, however, were still

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[77] General Report, Congrès de Lausanne, ME531, HAEU (1949)
[78] Suggestions brought to the European Cultural Conference by the French Cultural Committee for a United Europe, ME540 (1949)
[79] Resolutions prise par le comité sur l'éducation: Educational Committee Resolution, Congrès de Lausanne, ME531, HAEU (1949)
[80] Resolutions - Committee on exchanges, Congrès de Lausanne, ME537, HAEU (1949)

often recruited by the local authorities, meaning that partisan interests came into play, and this was seen as a possible source of danger if the party in power became totalitarian.[81]

The European Cultural Conference also urged the European Movement to put pressure on the various European governments to take immediate steps to remove all obstacles to the free flow of books and therefore of knowledge.[82] Before the war, no country except the USA taxed books and therefore their flow between countries was easy. However, in post-war Europe, tax on the flow of books was introduced and governments treated books with little respect, as if they were merely an ordinary, commodity of commerce without cultural value or importance.[83] During the Conference, the British publisher Stanley Unwin claimed:

> "No government finds it easy to defend the taxation or obstruction of knowledge when once it is publicly challenged, or likes to be held up to ridicule by an announcement that they are treating books like potatoes and taxing them by weight"[84]

He proposed that the solution was "ruthless publicity" in the form of praise for countries that allowed books to flow freely and ridicule those that do not.[85]

Creating institutions

However, exchanges were not considered to be enough. There was a need to create institutions that guaranteed and showed unity of cultures and diversity. As De Rougement expressed in the General Report of the European Cultural Conference, there was a need to equip Europe with instruments of work at the continental level that would train the young people carrying the federal idea, without which technical and material reforms would be lost. The institutions to create were a Bureau d'Etudes, a European Cultural Centre, a College of Europe, a European Institute of Political and Social Sciences and a European fund for scientific research. De Rougement realised that these projects asked for non-existent funds, but proposed that they could be created with a European title with a fraction

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[81] General Report, Congrès de Lausanne, ME531, HAEU (1949)
[82] Resolutions - Committee on exchanges, Congrès de Lausanne, ME537, HAEU (1949)
[83] Obstacles to the free flow of books, by Stanley Unwin, Congrès de Lausanne, ME537, HAEU (1949)
[84] Obstacles to the free flow of books, by Stanley Unwin, Congrès de Lausanne, ME537, HAEU (1949)
[85] Obstacles to the free flow of books, by Stanley Unwin, Congrès de Lausanne, ME537, HAEU (1949)

of the Education budget in each country. He questioned the extent to which European countries wanted the education of a common European culture, which can be interpreted to suggest that if they wanted to achieve such a task, each country would have to make their contribution.[86]

Although the European Movement had planned five large-scale conferences to take place during 1948, there was no organisation that could speak to the masses of people. European public opinion needed to be created among people who had differences in language, creed and political traditions. There was a need to appeal to universities and educational institutes to help to create a common civilisation because no political institution would be capable of such a task. Young people would be the ones to make a great sacrifice for what the delegates of the Congress of Europe were calling the 'unity of Europe', but it had to be translated into concrete language rather than the empty words young people had been hearing until then.[87] With this in mind, in February 1949, the European Movement opened a 'Bureau d'Études' (Bureau of Studies), which would consolidate the scattered initiatives to develop European awareness by creating small working groups.[88] The delegates of the Congress of Europe in The Hague had proposed the creation of a European Cultural Centre[89] (which eventually replaced the Bureau of Studies) with the aim of: collecting information on cultural forces in Europe; coordinating the scattered efforts in the field of culture; and taking all initiatives that aimed to develop a European awareness among the people, to express it and to illustrate it.[90] The European Cultural Centre, as described at the Congress of Europe, aimed to encourage the awakening of a European conscience at a time when no other institution had the means to. It would give a voice to European conscience and maintain the network of Western culture, promoting the sentiment of the European community through institutes of education. Established independently of all governmental supervision, it would promote the free circulation of ideas and facilitate the coordination of research, support the efforts of the federation of European universities and guarantee their independence with respect to their states and political pressures. It was also suggested that a Centre could be the means to a future international university.[91]

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[86] Présentation du Rapport Générale par Denis de Rougement, Congrès de Lausanne, ME538, HAEU (1949)
[87] Verbatim Report, IV Cultural Committee, Congress of Europe at The Hague, ME2945, HAEU (1948)
[88] General Report, Congrès de Lausanne, ME531, HAEU (1949)
[89] Verbatim Report, I Plenary Session, Congress of Europe at The Hague, ME2945, HAEU (1948)
[90] Resolutions of the Committee of Institutions, Congrès de Lausanne, ME536, HAEU (1949)
[91] Verbatim Report, IV Cultural Committee, Congress of Europe at The Hague, ME2945, HAEU (1948)

Some believed a European Cultural Centre would create a kind of European supranationalism, blocking out the voices of the nations, but the Congress of Europe advised that it would not. Neither would it compete with the universities that believed they were the cultural centres. In fact, it was proposed that the creation of the Centre could begin with the setting up of European sections in existing universities, followed by sections in workers' institutions. It was recognised that a European Cultural Centre could become a centre of conflicts between the four types of Europe: catholic, protestant, liberal and socialist, and it would be more effective to have committees that recognised the diversity between the four types of Europe in the way that a centre could not.[92]

According to the Verbatim Report of the Congress of Europe, divisions in the world creating blocs become dangerous for civilisation, so there was a need to create a common intellectual base. There was "a need for special education, an international education, an education that indicates an international spirit".[93] In May 1947, the international association of universities during its congress at Brussels created an international committee of studies for the creation of an international university, composed of representatives from different countries. It was felt that the international university was justified from a scientific point of view because national universities were becoming more like professional schools. However, it was recognised that it was necessary to start, not by an international university, but an institute of social studies which could develop into a true international university.

A "College of Europe" in Bruges was championed at the Congress of Europe in The Hague. The original idea floated by the Congress of Europe and taken to the European Cultural Congress was that of a European University. De Madariaga stated in his speech at the Conference that European solidarity was lagging far behind and Europe needed to become aware of herself. He suggested that the idea of a European University was being mooted, but it was an idea that should be pursued. De Madariaga's point was that when one thought of 'France-University', the Sorbonne came to mind, if 'England-University', it was Oxford, but if one thought of 'Europe-University', nothing emerged. He suggested that "a university is both the nursery of the leaders of a nation and the alma mater of its

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[92] Verbatim Report, IV Cultural Committee, Congress of Europe at The Hague, ME2945, HAEU (1948)
[93] Verbatim Report, IV Cultural Committee, Congress of Europe at The Hague, ME2945, HAEU (1948)

patriotism", so if European leaders and European patriotism were desired, a European University had to be created.[94]

However, he also pointed out the complications of such a project. Even if all geographic, financial and academic obstacles had been overcome, a problem still lay in the recruitment of faculty. If one hundred professors were appointed, each from varying nationalities and rabid nationalists, it would not necessarily be a European University that was created, but rather a 'Babel Tower'. Even if one hundred professors of only French and Swedish nationality were appointed, but who were all European at heart, a European University will have been created.[95] Therefore, the key to a successful European University lay in the balance of competent academic ability and a truly European outlook. This, according to De Madariaga, was the aim when establishing a plan for the College of Europe,[96] which would be a more limited, but more feasible, version of the European University.

Establishing a university would be far more costly and slow process, even if an existing national university was to be converted into the European University, and too big an institution for students to live together and form a new European community. The College of Europe would be a smaller, more realisable project in the short-term, but one that would not overshadow the European University project. It would train European experts and form a new generation of administrators for the European institutions, who possessed personal experiences of Europe and a general European culture. Acting as a School for Higher Education, the College would admit 50 students, from different countries and who would be educated to university level, to foster a community. The College would not compete with national institutions of higher education and would not create an obstacle for the creation of a European University. It would in fact act as a kind of pilot institution for the European University, which would foster the main intellectual hub of Europe. The College of Europe would be created in Bruges, where a national university did not already exist, and it could initiate the creation of other 'European Colleges of Higher Education' across Europe, each with unique specialisations. These colleges would form a network that came together annually for a conference.[97]

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[94] Speech of Salvador de Madariaga, Congrès de Lausanne, ME538, HAEU (1949)
[95] Speech of Salvador de Madariaga, Congrès de Lausanne, ME538, HAEU (1949)
[96] Speech of Salvador de Madariaga, Congrès de Lausanne, ME538, HAEU, 1949
[97] Commission des institutions - Projet sur l'institution permanente du Collège d' Europe, Congrès de Lausanne, ME536, HAEU, 1949

The College of Europe's immediate aim would be to undertake a scientific study of the European situation in all its historical and sociological implications. It would keep in active touch with America, the Commonwealth and overseas territories associated with Europe, and it would try to create a confident spirit of initiative, supranational in its scope, without which it was thought that a real union of the European countries would be unimaginable. Thanks to the quality and spirit of the education, the diplomas granted would acquire European value.[98] The European Cultural Conference recorded with satisfaction the success of the preparatory session of the "European College" at Bruges. It appealed to the European Assembly and national governments to provide, without delay, the necessary credits to ensure that the European College would be a success and recommended that the first regular session should open before the end of November 1950.[99]

The European Cultural Conference proposed the creation of European Institutes, particularly of nuclear physics, to coordinate scientific research. It was felt that "the cooperation of the European nations in research in the natural and moral sciences profoundly would influence the spiritual community and the development of the European conscience".[100] The Institutes would collaborate closely with national organisations in similar fields and those of UNESCO. They would aim to train students, professors, teachers and pupils on the European plan and would be coordinated with the European Cultural Centre. Several suggestions were submitted, including a scheme for a mobile European University, a plan for European Chairs in existing national institutions and study scholarships.[101]

In the context of research on European issues, provisions were suggested in the Resolutions of the Committee of Institutions, for exiled or emigrant intellectuals and students from European countries with totalitarian regimes should be enabled to continue their work on European lines, with European funds available for this.[102]

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[98] General Report, Congrès de Lausanne, ME531, HAEU, 1949
[99] Resolutions of the Committee of Institutions, Congrès de Lausanne, ME536, HAEU (1949)
[100] Resolutions of the Committee of Institutions, Congrès de Lausanne, ME536, HAEU (1949)
[101] General Report, Congrès de Lausanne, ME531. HAEU (1949)
[102] Resolutions of the Committee of Institutions, Congrès de Lausanne, ME536, HAEU (1949)

Vocational education for skills training and adult education

Activities were proposed in the field of Vocational Educational Training (VET) to promote the free movement of workers for educational purposes to learn best practices. In view of creating a European spirit, a European Bureau of Adult Education (EBAE) was founded upon the initiative of the European Cultural Centre as an autonomous institution in Geneva, which provided a platform for collaboration between associations of Adult Education. Its bodies were the general conference and the executive committee (elected by the general conference). Acting as a 'technical office',[103] the Bureau aimed to develop among European people a sense of their belonging to a common civilisation; to offer Europeans a place to meet where they could study European cultural issues and to supply the necessary documentation to do so; to inform and advise interested organisations on Adult Education; and to provoke contacts to establish liaisons with non-EU institutions.[104] It put at the service of Europeans all the necessary means possible to facilitate the exchange of people and ideas, to deal with intellectual confrontation, and the understanding of the problems of the time and the development of European solidarity.[105] The Bureau proposed the organisation of courses running parallel to university education. It was intended for candidates nominated by trade and labour organisations, who, though not university graduates, had the requisite training and intellectual capacity to also access the College of Europe in Bruges and similar institutions.[106]

The EBAE produced a series of documentary publications known as "Notes et Etudes", which were published on a trimestral basis in French, English and German. "Notes and Etudes" was a way of disseminating this information and ideas, and it was considered to be the first means for such information to cross national borders, where exchanges between countries had become a cultural need.[107]

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[103] Bureau européen de l'éducation populaire, Créations et activités du Bureau Européen de l'éducation populaire, ME1371, HAEU (1954)

[104] Projet du statuts, Créations et activités du Bureau Européen de l'éducation populaire, ME1371, HAEU (1954)

[105] Bureau européen de l'éducation populaire, Créations et activités du Bureau Européen de l'éducation populaire, ME1371, HAEU (1954)

[106] Resolutions of the Committee of Institutions, Congrès de Lausanne, ME536, HAEU, 1949

[107] Bureau européen de l'éducation populaire, Créations et activités du Bureau Européen de l'éducation populaire, ME1371, HAEU (1954)

A Scholars Corps, known as the European Academy of Sciences and of the Arts, would also be created, symbolising European unity in culture at the same level as the Council of Europe for politics. By existence, it would contribute to a European patriotism and it would form the summit of the "Society of Spirits" of the new Europe. It would be the centre of personal relationships between the creators of spirits of the different countries and of diverse disciplines,[108] and notable members of the Academy included T. S. Eliot, André Gide, Le Courbusier, Salvador de Madariaga and José Ortega y Gasset.[109] The Academy of Literature and Philiosophy would form the first branch of an Institute of Europe, which would be created progressively to include a European Academy of Sciences, a European Academy of Medicine, a European Academy of Fine Arts and a European Academy of History and of Economy. The first meeting would group twelve people, of equal representation of the diverse nations, chosen on the basis of their European reputation. These would include writers, philosophers, and musicians, also of younger generations to attract younger people.[110]

The Western European Union

Despite a distinctly military mission, significant activity in the field of higher education also took place under the auspices of the Western European Union (WEU). On 17 March 1948, five States signed the Brussels Treaty, creating the Brussels Treaty Organisation, and thus took the responsibility to promote the attainment of a higher standard of living by their peoples, and to make every effort to lead their peoples towards a better understanding of the principles which form the basis of their common civilisation and to promote cultural exchanges. The implementation of this cooperation was then entrusted to four committees: the Social Committee, the Public Health Committee, the War Pensions Committee and the Cultural Committee. They were instructed to prepare recommendations for submission to the Consultative Council of the Brussels Treaty Organisation and subsequently to member governments. In 1954, Italy and Germany joined Treaty through the Paris Agreements, establishing the WEU, whose member states represented 80 per cent of the Council of Europe. The Cultural Committee was composed of heads of cultural relations departments in the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and the

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[108] Avant-projet de communiqué pour l'académie, Académie d'Europe Note 1, ME456, HAEU (1949)
[109] Liste provisoire de membres de l'académie européenne, Académie d'Europe Note 1, ME456, HAEU (1949)
[110] Projet de création d'une académie d'Europe, Académie d'Europe Note 1, ME456, HAEU (1949)

Secretaries-General in the Ministries of Education and met twice a year. Work of the Committees was then often carried out by sub-committees composed of national officials.[111]

In particular, its European Universities Committee was given the task of organising conferences with the Rectors and Vice-Chancellors of the principle European universities. The first took place in Cambridge in 1955, and the second in Dijon, which took place on 9-15 September 1959, bringing together 200 Rectors and Vice-Chancellors from fifteen European countries. In Cambridge the discussion predominantly surrounded problems affecting universities in the post-war world.[112]

In Dijon, the discussion surrounded the shortage of research workers in the scientific field, which constituted one of the most pressing problems faced by Western Europe. To maintain its position in the world, Europe had to train scientists in both quality and quantity because Europe's technical and economic advancement would be due to its scientists. Universities had a special responsibility in training new researchers and adapting to new techniques. The second issue addressed at the Dijon conference was that of European studies in universities, given the importance of training university youth to European unity. Preparing university programmes of European studies would bring life and clarity to a subject that had only been addressed empirically, and moreover, would train minds to a conception of Europe and an ability to understand the problems surrounding European unity. By developing European studies in universities, Europe would be formed in the hearts and minds of people as well as in the institutions.[113] Five courses in Italy, the UK, Luxembourg, Belgium and France, were organised in 1958 on specific subjects of immediate importance that would foster a preparation in young people for their responsibilities as Europeans. In addition, a fortnight of meetings for 125 young people was organised in Brussels on 6-21 August 1958 under the general heading of 'International

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[111] Transfer of Cultural and Social Activities of Western European Union to the Council of Europe, Report submitted on behalf of the General Affairs Committee by Mr. Kopf, Rapporteur, doc. 149, 12 November 1959 (WEU-8, HAEU)

[112] Fifth Annual Report of the Council to the Assembly on the Council's activity for the period 1st January to 31st December 1959, Assembly of Western European Union, doc. 159 (WEU-9, HAEU)

[113] Reply to chapters VI and VII of the Fourth Annual Report of the Council, Western European Union, 1958 (WEU-7, HAEU) and Activities of Western European Union in the Cultural Field, Report submitted on behalf of the General Affairs Committee by Mr. Kopf – Rapporteur, Assembly of the Western European Union, Fourth Ordinary Session, doc. 96, 5 July 1958 (WEU-6, HAEU)

Understanding'.[114] The issue of the European University project was also discussed during the Dijon meeting, with much resistance to the project being demonstrated by the Rectors and Vice-Chancellors to the point that they considered drawing up a resolution to block its progression. Nevertheless, they understood and appreciated the need to Europeanise existing universities.[115]

The Cultural Committee of the WEU also studied the question of university cooperation and the possibilities that may lead to exchanges. The Assembly of the WEU asked for a general catalogue of theses of European universities to be published by the WEU by 1962, for which it was noted that the Federalist Inter-University Union had already completed part of the task by publishing a catalogue of university theses of European interest. However, the Federalist Inter-University Union had no intention of extending its catalogue beyond theses of European interest, so the WEU's European University Committee would expand the catalogue to include all theses. The Cultural Committee also considered publishing a European Universities' Journal,[116] which was then prepared by an Editorial Board in 1958 to coincide with the Dijon conference. It was devoted to facts and ideas providing a regular exchange of information between European universities.[117] The first two of a series of monographs by the European Universities Committee were published in 1960 on 'The Universities and the State' and 'The Universities and technological education'.[118]

Following the Paris Agreements in 1954, the WEU began making arrangements to transfer its activities in cultural matters, along with those of public administration, to the Council of Europe.[119] Examples of the initiatives transferred to the Council of Europe were the cultural identity card and the equivalence of secondary school and university diplomas. On 24 April 1959, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe communicated to the Consultative Assembly of its 24th session that the activities of the WEU in the social and

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[114] Activities in the Cultural Field, Western European Union, doc. 119, 1959 (WEU-7, HAEU)
[115] Procès-verbal de la réunion constitutive du 25 septembre 1959, Assemblée Parlementaire Européenne (CEAB/12-2416, HAEU)

[116] Activities of Western European Union in the Cultural Field, Report submitted on behalf of the General Affairs Committee by Mr. Kopf – Rapporteur, Assembly of the Western European Union, Fourth Ordinary Session, doc. 96, 5 July 1958 (WEU-6, HAEU)
[117] Activities in the Cultural Field, Western European Union, doc. 119, 1959 (WEU-7, HAEU)
[118] Activities in the Cultural Field, Western European Union, doc. 119, 1959 (WEU-7, HAEU)
[119] Activities of Western European Union in the Cultural Field, Replies to the Report submitted on behalf of the General Affairs Committee by Mr. Kopf – Rapporteur, Assembly of the Western European Union, 28 April 1959 (WEU-7, HAEU)

cultural field would be transferred to the Council of Europe.[120] It was felt that the fifteen member states of the Council of Europe provided a more solid base to make a combined effort in the area of cultural affairs, and there was a strong link between the work already carried out by the Council of Europe and the work of the WEU. The overall responsibility for activity in the field should be assigned to the body with most member states. However, the issue of the weakened existence of the WEU without activities in the cultural field was also raised, given that cultural activities had been part of the Brussels Treaty Organisation from the outset. During the Assembly of the WEU, many speakers stressed that the WEU was not merely a defence organisation, but that it formed a closer link between its seven member States and that a community attitude could also be found in the joint consideration of social and cultural problems.[121]

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the emergence of the European idea, in which there was an emphasis on creating a European consciousness if unity was to be a success. It would be necessary to create a European citizenship if people were to feel solidarity and a sense of belonging to the European Community. The advocates of European unity identified education as a means to fostering such European consciousness through a series of specific activities relating to education, namely youth mobilisation, teacher training, the exchange of people and of knowledge, and in the creation of a series of educational and cultural institutions.

The chapter uncovers a marked attachment to education during the post-war period until the formal creation of the European Community, which challenges those authors who tend to reject activities in education at European level before the 1970s (Field, 1998; Frazier, 1995; Shaw, 1992; Neave, 1984), but supports Corbett's claim that activities of the 1970s in fact constitute a third phase in the policy development of education (Corbett, 2005).

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[120] Transfer of Cultural and Social Activities of Western European Union to the Council of Europe, Report submitted on behalf of the General Affairs Committee by Mr. Kopf, Rapporteur, doc. 149, 12 November 1959 (WEU-8, HAEU)
[121] Transfer of Cultural and Social Activities of Western European Union to the Council of Europe, Report submitted on behalf of the General Affairs Committee by Mr. Kopf, Rapporteur, doc. 149, 12 November 1959 (WEU-8, HAEU)

The chapter illuminates a clear cultural objective attached to the activities proposed in the field of education and the theoretical setting is identified as intergovernmental. The European Community had not yet been created, so a supranational influence was not yet feasible. States were collaborating under the umbrella of the European Movement, which is not considered be to supranational because individual states were able to exert opinion, power and influence in the discussions. The chapter indicates that states were therefore at the centre of the development of initiatives and activities relating to education during the establishment of the European Community.

Chapter Seven | The emergence of a formal place for education in European integration (1957-1970)

Introduction

This second findings chapter presents the primary sources from the period between 1957 and 1970, which represents the beginning of a European Community until the first steps towards concrete initiatives in the field of education at European level. The chapter outlines the creation of the European Community with the signing of the Rome Treaties in order to provide the context for presenting the initiatives that were connected to education that appeared within them, despite no formal competence at European level in matters relating to education. The two most notable areas were the Common Agricultural Policy and provisions for vocational training. The chapter continues by fleshing out other areas of European policy that touched upon the field of education, including the recognition of qualifications, university exchanges, and university and research cooperation.

The Rome Treaties

The European Economic Community (EEC) was established in 1957 when the Treaty of Rome was signed by the six member states: France, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg. Simultaneously, the member states signed a second Treaty of Rome, commonly known as the Euratom Treaty, which set up the European Atomic Energy Community. Therefore, together they are often referred to as the 'Rome Treaties', but in time, the Euratom Treaty was the lesser considered as the EEC took a firmer position as the supranational entity of the European Community. The fundamental aim of the EEC was to create a common market[122] in which its activities included "the abolition, as between member states, of obstacles to freedom of movement for persons, services and capital".[123] The free movement of people across the boundaries of the member states was fundamental to the concept of the European Community, and the Treaty of Rome contained explicit provisions for the movement of those in employment and self-employed. However, the concept of free movement was not so easily applied to the field of education as students did not fall within the category described, and teachers

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[122] Treaty of Rome, article 2
[123] Treaty of Rome, article 3c

were employed by the public service, and so therefore did not benefit from the Treaty provisions.[124] Education remained a taboo area for cooperation at Community level and it was clear that, for the member states, education was fundamentally an area of national concern. However, the Treaty of Rome brought about a new phenomenon in Europe that had a substantial impact on matters relating to education.

The Common Agricultural Policy

The Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) of the European Economic Community (EEC) can be considered one of the most important common policies of the European Union and the most integrated project for the first four of European integration's five decades (Patel, 2009). It also provided the first link to Community activities in the field of education. The CAP, established within the framework of the Treaty of Rome, constitutes one of the EEC's first EU policies. The motivation for its establishment derives from excess production following the first and second world wars, which was a great challenge for international agricultural policy and this, coupled with national agricultural protection stimulating production, swayed the EEC towards the creation of a common policy (v. Graevenitz, 2009). Between 1958 at the beginning of its creation, and 1965, around 90% of all community legislation related to the CAP and in the 1970s, 80% of the EU budget was dedicated to it. The majority of the EEC's financial, political, administrative and even intellectual capacities were linked to the CAP and it has been highly regarded as the core of the European Economic Community. Article 39 of the Treaty of Rome made provisions to ensure a fair standard of living for the agricultural community, in particular by increasing the individual earnings of persons engaged in agriculture, which marked a step beyond economic objectives into matters pertaining to people. Moreover, article 41(a) stated that in order for successful fulfillment of the objectives laid out in article 39, provisions needed to be made for "an effective co-ordination of efforts in the spheres of vocational training, of research and of the dissemination of agricultural knowledge; this may include joint financing of projects or institutions".

In its section dedicated to workers, the Treaty of Rome states that "the freedom of movement for workers shall be secured within the community by the end of transitional

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[124] Education in the European Community, Commission of the European Communities, doc. COM(74) 253 final/2, Brussels, 14 March 1974 (CES/1974-20.63.01, HAEU)

period at the latest"[125] and that member states shall "encourage the exchange of young workers".[126] Article 117 highlights an agreement made by member states upon the need to promote improved working conditions and standard of living for workers, which will positively impact the common market. Making further reference to vocational training, article 118 stipulates that the Community "shall have the task of promoting close cooperation between Member States in the social field, particularly in matters relating to […] basic and advanced vocational training".

Of fundamental relevance was its commitment to establishing a European Social Fund to raise the standard of living,[127] and article 125 states that on application by a member state, the Fund would meet 50% of the expenses incurred by the State, or by a body governed by public law, for the purposes of vocational retraining. More concretely, article 128 then lays down "the general principles for implementing a common vocational training policy capable of contributing to the harmonious development both of the national economies and of the common market".

Vocational Training

On 2 April 1963, a Council Decision followed, which lay down general principles for implementing a common vocational training policy. By 1963, the common market was being rapidly implemented, regional policies were being coordinated and the common agricultural policy was being developed. The Council recognised that structural changes were taking place in economic sectors, which raised problems of vocational training and re-training that required attention. The decision stated that an effective common vocational training would assist in fostering the movement of workers, and recognised that the freedom of occupation, place of training and place of work was the fundamental right of every person. The decision laid down ten principles, in which the key points included the notion that a common vocational training policy meant a coherent and progressive common action with programmes drawn up by member states, and the guarantee that every person should receive adequate training – young people and adults – with due regard for freedom of choice in occupation, place of training and place of work. In this context, every person would have access to the technical knowledge and skills necessary to pursue a

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[125] Treaty of Rome, article 48
[126] Treaty of Rome, article 50
[127] Treaty of Rome, article 123

given occupation and reach the highest possible level of training. Suitable training facilities would be created to supply the labour forces required in different sectors, and vocational training would be broadened on the basis of general education. Once implemented, the common vocational training policy would forecast and estimate, both at national and Community level, the quantitative and qualitative requirements of workers in the various productive activities, and would give importance to a permanent system of information and guidance or vocational advice for young people and adults alike.

Particular attention was paid to the training of teachers and training instructors. The Commission would take suitable steps to collect, distribute and exchange any useful information, literature and teaching material among the member states. The decision stated that suitable training for teachers and instructors should be a basic factor of any effective vocational training policy, and the numbers of such persons should be increased as well as their technical and teaching skills developed. The harmonisation of instructor training would be sought and special measures would be taken in the member states to promote the basic and advanced training of teachers and instructors for work in the less favoured regions of the Community, as well as in third countries, particularly those associated with the Community.[128]

In December 1963, a vocational training advisory committee was subsequently set up, which presented its opinion on questions surrounding vocational training both when requested by the Commission and upon its own initiative. It was composed of representatives of the member state governments, of employers and of employers' organisations, and met three times a year with a two-year renewable mandate. In the Commission, vocational training was under the responsibility of the Directorate General V for Social Affairs between 1963 and 1976 (Neave, 1984).

The Treaty of Rome and education

The education sector itself was granted new opportunities as education staff and scholars were free to move between institutions around Europe with the same rights as they possessed in their home country. Free movement between universities and research

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[128] *Council Decision of 2 April 1963 laying down general principles for implementing a common vocational training policy*, Official Journal of the European Communities, 1338/63 (63/266/EEC), 20 April 1963

institutes facilitated cross-border collaboration in the field of research, paving the way for a European research space, and students and staff could experience academic – as well as cultural – life in a European country other than their own. Mobility and inter-institution collaboration fostered an intensified exchange of people and knowledge, which sowed the seeds for what is now commonly referred to as the European knowledge economy, as well as a European research area.

However, the new phenomenon did not come without its challenges and, for the free circulation of people to be the success that the architects of a united Europe had envisaged, it faced numerous obstacles. These came in the context of integrating individuals into the working and daily life of the host country. If workers, especially in the professional sectors, were to be able to move freely between member states with the same rights, it was important for their qualifications to be recognised. Equally, students wishing to spend time in another European institution had to be guaranteed recognition of their studies back home and recognition of their academic qualifications if they wished to continue their studies or participate in research projects in another member state. Greater attention to developing language learning within the European Community was also required if students, workers and scholars were to successfully integrate, whether on a temporary or permanent basis, into the host country.

Academic mobility can be traced back to medieval times, when scholars sought new knowledge by travelling to other universities and places of learning. Over the centuries, although political and religious conflict caused more stagnant periods for academic mobility than others, it can be said that initiatives that took place against the backdrop of European integration gave impetus to the historically rooted concept.

In postwar Europe, the economic and political climate that followed the devastation of the war created significant limitations to academic mobility. It was further hindered by the evolution of numerous and greatly diverse higher education systems, which caused difficulties in transferring grants, loans and scholarships between countries; the lack of linguistic knowledge; the recognition of qualifications; and a lack of information about opportunities in other education systems.

Recognising qualifications and diplomas

During the first decade of the European Community and the years leading up to it, the Council of Europe, as with much of the activities in the field of education, was the principle driver of academic-mobility initiatives at European level. One of the tasks assumed by the Council of Europe has been to work in favour of cooperation that is as close as possible between the universities. This includes the free circulation of university members, forcing the Council of Europe to stimulate their mobility.[129] The Council of Europe was the first European organisation to address the problem of the equivalence of diplomas and wrote it into the programme of the Commission for Scientific Education. A first meeting of experts in the subject of the equivalences took place in July 1953, when they formulated a series of recommendations with the following principles: the organisation of periodic meetings with the experts in the Commission for Scientific Education; the creation of a centre or service in countries that do not already have such centres, to give information on foreign education systems, the exact value of foreign qualifications and the existing rules in the area of equivalences; support to governments in the creation of a European Centre for Information for issues concerning the mobility of people dedicated to research; the opening of an enquiry into the feasibility of a 'European Student Record Book'.

The Council of Europe set up three conventions on the equivalence of diplomas in the 1950s. The first in 1953 was the European convention on the equivalence of diplomas giving access to university institutions, which was ratified by all of the six member states of the European Community.[130] The second came on 12 December 1956 on the equivalence of periods of university study, which, of the Six, was ratified by Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. The third convention was signed on 12 December 1959 on the academic recognition of university qualifications, which, of the Six, was signed by Italy and the Netherlands. Finally, an additional protocol on the equivalence

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[129] Les échanges universitaires et l'Université Européenne, Rapport à l'Assemblée Consultative du Conseil de l'Europe, doc.2831, 18 septembre 1970 (EUI 8, HAEU)
[130] European Convention on the equivalence of diplomas leading to admission to universities, 11 December 1953, Documents of Henri Cartan (HC-64, HAEU)

of diplomas giving access to university institutions was ratified on 3 June 1964 by France, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands (of the Six).[131]

In 1960, a European Council of Higher Education and Research (ECHER) was created, which adopted two recommendations in 1965 in favour of the free circulation of university personnel, and for the mobility of students. In the latter recommendation, the Community asked that countries encouraged undergraduate students to carry out study abroad, and that national bursaries continue to be paid to current study-abroad students and adapted to the living costs in the host country. An agreement on the continuation of payment of national bursaries was later signed in 1969, but only with signatures from Denmark, Ireland and Luxembourg.[132]

Although member states signed the aforementioned conventions, there was no assurance that the qualifications were an official comparison to the study programmes they sanctioned, so the ECHER carried out a series of studies on the programmes of different disciplines taught in European universities. It identified a clear problem in the inexistence of common school and university programmes, which had a direct impact on the recognition of diplomas and on the mobility of university members.[133]

In 1960, the issue of academic exchanges appeared in the Report of the Interim Committee to the European Economic Community and Euratom within the framework of the creation of a European University.[134] The Committee identified the need to establish a new situation of equivalence of diplomas and the ECHER would work in close contact with interested international organisations on the subject. The Committee highlighted that the question of harmonisation of programmes was directly linked to establishing a system of equivalence of diplomas and suggested there was interest in harmonising study programmes due to the differences between them which rendered the free circulation of students difficult and near impossible. However, harmonising study programmes was seen as an aim in itself, and in

[131] Response à la question écrite No.293/68 posée par M. Couste, 1969, Assemblée parlementaire européenne et Parlement européen avant l'élection directe (PEO-9671, HAEU)
[132] Les échanges universitaires et l'Université Européenne, Rapport à l'Assemblée Consultative du Conseil de l'Europe, doc.2831, 18 septembre 1970 (EUI 8, HAEU)
[133] Les échanges universitaires et l'Université Européenne, Rapport à l'Assemblée Consultative du Conseil de l'Europe, doc.2831, 18 septembre 1970 (EUI 8, HAEU)
[134] Rapport du Comité Intérimaire aux Conseils de la Communauté Economique Européenne et de la Communauté Européenne de l'Énergie Atomique, Comité Intérimaire pour l'Université Européenne, Florence, 27 April 1960, Doc.EUR/C/1408/60f, C.I.U. 86/60 (CEAB12-631, HAEU)

actual fact, diversity across the higher education systems would bring about more possibilities and advantages for university life than a uniformed study programme. It was therefore suggested that the Council should favourise bilateral contacts in this respect. The report stated that the ECHER would take the necessary initiatives to: establish a system of equivalence of diplomas to allow every member-state student to complete part of their studies in another member state; encourage the competent authorities to implement the system effectively in all interested university with the maximum of guarantee for the student; and expand the system progressively with the first being established within a year.

In addition to a system of equivalence of diplomas, the Committee addressed the issue of academic mobility with two proposals. The first was the introduction of a "Livret Universitaire Européen" (European Student Record Book/European Academic Passport), which would be given to the student by their home institution upon request. It would take the form of a conventional passport, including personal details such as name, surname, date and place of birth, address, photo, and signature, as well as a faculty and university stamp. Within the pages, there would be details on the student's studies, including registrations, exams passed, equivalences and references from professors. It would replace the various university student cards that students would otherwise collect from the various universities they studied at, and would grant access to university facilities, as well as reduced-rate museum access, across Europe.

The second proposal was that of a "Guide Européen de l'Étudiant Universitaire" (European Guide for the University Student), which would advise students in possession of the academic passport on the opportunities abroad. The guide would be divided into two parts. The first would be published separately for each country, giving information on universities and Higher Education institutions, the courses they offer and their respective professors, registration fees and other expenses, the facilities available, eligibility and admission process, and living conditions. The second part of the guide would be dedicated to each discipline, covering all member states. It would be published in four languages (and more if necessary) by the Orientation and Documentation Centre of the European Council for Higher Education and Research, and made available in all the member states. The Orientation and Documentation Centre would also be responsible for registering the equivalence of diplomas and generally for keeping all documentation relevant to Higher Education and research.

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Attention was also dedicated to the exchange of professors, especially due to the limited forms of mobility, which were outlined as short visits for either one cycle of lectures or one to three weeks each, professors giving one or two lectures during a short visit to the host university, and one or several professors acting as visiting faculty for a single term. It was proposed that the latter of these forms, which were largely based on bilateral agreements, was the most effective and therefore required further promotion. To do so, the introduction of an informative document circulated within the European academic community specifying professors' specialisations, languages and publications would facilitate such exchange initiatives. In addition, existing university twinning also developed such exchanges so further twinning was encouraged by the Committee, and the ECHER would examine the feasibility of a multilateral Convention between the member states to resolve the issues surrounding professorial exchanges, especially in the budgetary field. The results would be presented to the Council of Ministers.

During a restricted meeting of the Council to the European Economic Community that took place two months later, Pierre Wigny[135] indicated that the considerations made by the Interim Committee confirmed the political willingness of the Six to bring together national universities to intensify exchanges.[136]

In 1967, under the auspices of the Conference of the West German Rectors on the one hand, and the College of Dutch Rectors on the other, there were conversations regarding the establishment of bilateral regulations between the Netherlands[137] and West Germany on the mutual recognition of exams passed and studies carried out in other countries. A Dutch and a German expert were assigned to each subject area included in the regulations: philology, classic philology, sociology, economics, chemistry, physics, electronics and mathematics. It was hoped that similar initiatives would take place in other countries.[138] In

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[135] Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs

[136] Extrait du process-verbal de la réunion restreinte du Conseil de la Communauté Économique Européenne, tenue à Bruxelles 20-21 juin 1960, approuvé le 27 septembre 1960, doc. 629/60, CEAB12-631, HAEU)

[137] The Netherlands had already established a system of the recognition of diplomas obtained in other countries, having applied the Treaty of the Council of Europe (Treaty of Paris, 11 December 1953) (Annex III - Équivalences reconnues aux Pays-Bas et etudes en cours en vue to parvenir à une reconnaissance des diplômes et certificats étrangers, contribution de la délégation néerlandaise, Project note: Reconnaissance mutuelle des diplômes, doc. R/985/71, Communauté Européenne du Charbon et de l'Acier, 24 mai 1971 (CEAB12-2422, HAEU)

138 Reconnaissances des diplomes et certificats érangers: distribution de la delegation néerlandaise, doc. 1957/70 (BAC 9/1973 – 50, HAEU)

fact, the International Association of Universities had been dedicating attention to the equivalence of diplomas. The Association was founded by representatives of 167 universities and higher education institutions from 52 countries at the International Conference of Universities held in Nice in December 1950, which the Rector of the University of Paris presided. The first stages of its formation had taken place at a preparatory conference of university representatives held in Utrecht in 1948 under the auspices of UNESCO in collaboration with the Dutch government. The second general conference took place in Istanbul in 1955, and the third in Mexico City in 1960. The association's aim was to provide a centre of cooperation at the international level among universities and higher education institutions. Among the organs of the Association was the International Universities Bureau, which, with the cooperation of the universities, could respond to requests for information on matters relating to higher education such as the equivalence of degrees, university organisation, and technical assistance. During the Nice conference, it was decided that the tasks of the Bureau should be to carry out a long-term study of the equivalence of diplomas. The conference recognised that there were many problems involved in such a task as qualifications obtained from different countries had political and economic implications, some falling within the competence of the government. There it was felt that a sustained effort to gain clarity on the issue should be exerted by a competent international organisation with university status, such as the Bureau. Its task was to compile documentation from a large number of countries, containing full details on the academic aspect of university degrees and the studies leading to them. Amongst this documentation was a list of bilateral agreements that had already been established. Focusing on the Six, numerous bilateral agreements on the equivalence of diplomas can be noted, many being signed with the first decade after the end of the Second World War and some before the war.[139]

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[139] Italy signed cultural conventions with Belgium (29 November 1948) and France (4 November 1949), cultural agreements with Turkey (17 July 1951), the UK (28 November 1951) and Japan (31 July 1954), and general agreements with Equator (7 March 1952), Austria (14 March 1952) and Switzerland (for engineers and architects on 5 May 1934).

Belgium signed agreements with the Netherlands (14 January 1946), France (22 February 1946), the UK (17 April 1946), Norway (20 February 1948), Luxembourg (27 March 1948), Italy (29 November 1948), Egypt (28 November 1949), Austria (17 October 1952) and Greece (9 December 1954).

France signed agreements with Iran (a general cultural agreement on 25 April 1929), Denmark (14 January 1930), Sweden (specifically on the equivalence of exams and qualifications on 3 June 1936), Greece (on intellectual and artistic relations on 19 December 1938), Belgium (22 February 1946), the Netherlands (19 November 1946), Austria (15 March 1947), Turkey (17 June 1952), Brazil (6 December 1948), Sarre (15 December 1948), the UK (2 March 1948), Italy (4 November 1949), Colombia (a convention for cultural

On 18 August 1969, the European Parliament produced a report on the mutual recognition of diplomas, certificates and other titles.[140] With a proposal for a resolution, the European Parliament requested the Commission of the Communities to develop a harmonisation programme for diplomas and study programmes, in view of favouring the mobility of students, teachers and researchers in higher education, and to avoid that the ongoing reforms lead to greater disparities between examination and teaching systems. The Parliament requested that the mutual recognition of diplomas was automatically applied to salaried activities. The Parliament acknowledged the presence of the mutual recognition of diplomas in article 57 of the Treaty of Rome, for non-salaried activities, and that, founded on a judicial basis after long studies by groups of experts, the Commission proposed a directive on the mutual recognition of diplomas for architects. This was followed by proposed directives for doctors, dental practitioners, pharmacists, lawyers and engineers.

University exchanges

In its 1969 report, the Parliament also made aware that it was conscious of the obstacles opposing exchanges between European universities and, indicating the report of M. Schuijt on the Europeanisation of universities, committed to analysing the causes of the compartmentalisation. It points out that politicians must be aware that it is not only a problem of organisation, but that removing obstacles to exchanges between universities is an element of the whole cultural policy to be established in Europe. The Parliament proposed that the Commission could make certain proposals to highlight the existing concordances within study and examination programmess and to lay down certain principles for the harmonisation of programmes. It admits that this would be a difficult task, given the diversity in national education systems, such as the case of Germany in

exchanges on 31 July 1952), Japan (12 May 1953), Norway (4 December 1953), Luxembourg (8 February 1954), Germany (23 October 1954), Canada (an interuniversity agreement between the Universities of Paris and Montreal on 10 June 1952 in Montreal and 26 June 1925 in Paris), and the UK (an interuniversity agreement between the University of Paris and fifteen UK universities on 23 March 1925).

Germany signed agreements with Spain (10 December 1954) and France (23 October 1954). The Netherlands signed cultural agreements with France (19 November 1946) and the UK (7 July 1948), and cultural agreements with Belgium (14 January 1946), Luxembourg (26 April 1946) and Norway (18 May 1955).

Documents concerning the equivalence of university qualifications, International Association of Universities (CM2/1958 – 949, HAEU)

[140] Rapporteur: M. Hougardy, Assemblée parlementaire européenne et Parlement européen avant l'élection directe (PEO-1021, HAEU)

which education systems differ between each Länder. It would not be a question of creating a uniform programme, but trying to bring about a certain unity in which the diversity, which is necessary, is safeguarded. Finally, the Parliament proposed that, without exerting authority over the different organisations involved in exchanges, the Commission could create a European Office for Exchanges. The Office could grant bursaries, establish a European student passport and be a centre for documentation and information, working in strict collaboration with the Council of Europe, the OECD and UNESCO.[141]

During the second meeting of the Ministers of Education of the countries of the European Community in Luxembourg on 6 June 1974, key points discussed were the European University Insitute in Florence; the problem of the mutual recognition of diplomas, which was noted to affect the free movement in Europe of members of liberal professions, and to that of students; and the overall question of cooperation in educational matters. The meeting was described as productive, and remarkable for its atmosphere of mutual confidence and realistic attitudes to the problems being discussed.[142] On the mutual recognition of diplomas, by July 1974, in accordance with article 57 of the Treaty of Rome, the Commission of the European Communities presented the Council with 40 draft directives concerning freedom of establishment, and mutual recognition of diplomas in twelve categories of non-salaried activities. The Council pointed out that it was not simply a case of recognising qualifications, but of providing people with the possibility of practicing their chosen profession in another European member state. Guidelines drawn up by the Council included proposals for greater flexibility in reviewing the training that leads to the qualification, and it was admitted during the meeting that despite different lengths of study and different methods, the 'final product' does not differ greatly between member states. In addition, the Council planned to establish a list of certificates and titles that would immediately be recognised as equivalent, which would facilitate student exchanges.[143]

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[141] Rapport sur la reconnaissance mutuelle des diplômes, certificats et autres titres, 18 août 1969, document 87, Assemblée parlementaire européenne et Parlement européen avant l'élection directe (PEO-1021, HAEU)
[142] *75 European University News*, July 1974, Division Information Universitaire, Direction Générale Presse, Informations de la Commission des Communautés Européennes (EUI-8, HAEU)
[143] 'Reconnaissances Mutuelles des Diplômes', *75 European University News*, July 1974, Division Information Universitaire, Direction Générale Presse, Informations de la Commission des Communautés Européennes (EUI-8, HAEU)

The French Minister for Education, René Haby, stated that he wanted to "see the solidarity between national educational systems encouraged by greater exchanges and the development of corresponding points of interest". However, since the diversity of education systems is part of Europe's culture, he did not intend the development of total uniformity in systems but that the national systems open towards each other. Mr. Malfatti, the Italian Minister of Education, felt the Council had worked well in the meeting, and felt convinced that the solution to educational problems lies outside the national educational framework, and to speak of European unity solely in economic terms would be a serious error.[144]

In 1970, in a report to the consultative assembly of the Council of Europe,[145] it was highlighted that although universities are still as 'open' as they used to be in medieval times, they have evolved within national histories and have become divided behind barriers of a nationalism that constitute a serious obstacle to academic mobility, and in fact to the spread of a European spirit itself. While economic and social integration was developing, the development of cultural integration, and especially the creation of a European academic community, was seriously lagging behind. The report points out that already in 1948, the Council of Europe and the Six were conscious of the need to facilitate academic exchanges alongside the need to create a European University. The report advised the need to Europeanise national universities, independently of the development and form of the European University, as the important factor was the creation of a European-spirited community, which can be fostered through academic mobility to enrich professors' and students' experiences. It makes reference to a report presented by Mr. Shuijt of the European Parliament on behalf of the policy commission on the Europeanisation of universities (3 October 1969), stating the need to stimulate university exchanges by adopting common study programmes in all countries. However, the rapporteur recognised the obstacles to university exchanges and the Europeanisation of universities: the equivalence of diplomas and difference in teaching systems; legislation, meaning that national laws were hardly ever flexible and professors and assistants were often considered as state officials causing problems with the eligibility of nationality; a lack of linguistic knowledge as foreign language teaching was insufficient and therefore created practical

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[144] *75 European University News*, July 1974, Division Information Universitaire, Direction Générale Presse, Informations de la Commission des Communautés Européennes (EUI-8, HAEU)
[145] Les échanges universitaires et l'Université Européenne, Rapport à l'Assemblée Consultative du Conseil de l'Europe, doc.2831, 18 septembre 1970 (EUI 8, HAEU)

problems outside national borders, which was aggravated by the lack of initiatives in universities to improve the linguistic situation of teachers and learners; insufficient funds foreseen in national budgets for bursaries to maintain mobility; a lack of information on offer to inform students of the opportunities in member states; the priority given to national problems in university programmes, so programmes are nationally oriented with little relevance to other member states; an imbalance in the exchanges; and the absence of a European policy on exchanges, which would better coordinate exchanges and avoid the aforementioned imbalance.

Developing deeper cooperation in education

Following decisions made during the 565th meeting of the Committee of Permanent Representatives (22-24 July 1970) for the Council of the European Communities, an ad-hoc group of high functionaries competent in the field of national education met several times in Brussels to prepare a Council session with the participation of the national Education Ministers of the member states. The group agreed that in order for Community economic cooperation to be a success, it largely depended on the situation in the education field. Certain objectives laid out in the Treaties of Rome touched upon this domain, and the delegations believed that cooperation crossing with the field of education would accelerate these dispositions in the treaties. For several delegations, the need for co-operation in the field of education went beyond the requirements of the process of economic integration alone. They consider that the Community of Europe must find its own cultural and educational dimension and that, therefore, a common reflection is necessary on the modalities of increasing cooperation in the field of education going beyond the strict framework of the Treaties. The first problem to resolve was that if the ministers responsible were to be favourable to cooperation in the field of education, whether such cooperation should be limited to the framework of the Treaties or whether a type of cooperation can be envisaged that indeed goes beyond the confines of the Treaties. However, the group was only responsible for identifying themes to be discussed in the context of European cooperation in education and not whether they fall under the Treaties or not. The themes to discuss were based on documents submitted by the different delegations. The ad hoc group agreed, however, that any Community cooperation in the field of education had to take into consideration the efforts already made by other

structures and multilateral organisations, especially UNESCO, the OECD and the Council of Europe. A complete inventory of such activities would take place.

In the ad-hoc group's report, three key areas were outlined: information and cooperation in the field of education; university cooperation; and the mobility of people. The first regarded the systematic collection of information concerning the education of the six member states, including documentation on the economy of education, education system structures, comparative studies of university courses, research in the field of education, technology and education, and statistics on education. In the context of mobility, the report proposed the creation of European diplomas, which would be valid in all six member states and would sanction a newly created cycle of studies and organised on a common basis within the member states. Such diplomas would be conferred by existing institutions as well as newly created institutions such as the European University in Florence. It was noted that the German delegation was not in favour of this initiative. In the meantime, it was suggested that an examination should take place of the possibility of applying a 'European validation' to certain existing national diplomas.[146]

Within the context of the Committee of Permanent Representatives meeting within the framework of the European Coal and Steel Community, the Belgian delegation expressed its view that it considered the mutual recognition of diplomas as an essential issue linked to the success of the Community, and it hoped that the discussions between the national Ministers of Education could provide impetus to the work within the political plan of the Community framework. The French delegation considered that it would be important to ensure that decisions were made in full knowledge of the way in which educational systems work and how they might evolve. In addition, it believed there should be a systematic review of the implications of such decisions for the future of education in the countries where they will take effect. The German delegation believed that the mutual recognition of diplomas should essentially be based on the idea that in the highly developed industrial countries, including member states of the Community, the situation can be considered to be more or less the same, so the same values for assessing the recognition of diplomas are applied. Therefore, there should be a general mutual

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[146] Projet: Rapport du Groupe ad hoc des hauts fonctionnaires compétent en matière d'éducation nationale, doc. T/742 f/70, 1970 (BAC 9/1973 – 50, HAEU)

recognition without the need to lay down uniform minimum requirements too formally.[147] In a separate annex, the German delegation expressed its view that growing economic integration within the European communities is making it increasingly clear that there is a need to extend cooperation between Member States to areas closely linked to economic development. For the German delegation, the type of progress that has taken place in the field of science and technology, as well as in the field of industrial and monetary policy, is as equally valid in the field of national education. An individual's training, as well as the improvement of the conditions necessary for his/her freedom and opportunities for further development in the Community, will be increasingly decisive for the social and economic development of the Community itself. It was for this reason that the German delegation welcomed the suggestion from the Belgian delegation to hold a session of the Council of Ministers in the field of national education, and believed that closer cooperation between the member states was desired and necessary. In the German view, closer cooperation at Community level could provide new impulsion to the work already carried out in the past. The German delegation reiterated the need for periods of study spent in other member states to be recognised across the Community, to improve not only university mobility for professors but also for students, which provide the opportunity to experience the cultural, sociological, economic and political offerings of other member states. Furthermore, bringing teachers closer together – not necessarily leading to uniformisation – would facilitate study abroad and would naturally bring about the mutual recognition of qualifications.[148]

Within the discussion on the equivalence of diplomas in 1970, the European Community dedicated attention to specific professions that fell within the framework of work corresponding to article 57 of the Treaty of Rome. These were: architects, for which two propositions for directives had been studied since March 1969; engineers, for which discussions on propositions for a directive had been taking place since May 1969; geometres and agronomists, for which discussions were yet to take place; judicial professions, for which nothing had been discussed for lawyers and industrial property and fiscal advisors, but for compatible experts the Commission had presented a directive in

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[147] Project note: Reconnaissance mutuelle des diplômes, doc. R/985/71, Communauté Européenne du Charbon et de l'Acier, 24 mai 1971 (CEAB12-2422, HAEU)

[148] Annex I - Extrait – Mémorandum de la République fédérale d'Allemagne concernant la coopération européenne en matière d'éducation nationale, Project note: Reconnaissance mutuelle des diplômes, doc. R/985/71, Communauté Européenne du Charbon et de l'Acier, 24 mai 1971 (CEAB12-2422, HAEU)

July 1970; doctors, and medical and dental practitioners, for which a proposal for a directive had been sent to the Council in March 1969; pharmacists, for which a proposal for a directive was being discussed since November 1969; nurses and midwives, for which proposals for directives were sent in November 1969 and January 1970; and opticians and veterinaries, with two proposals for directives being sent in November 1969 and June 1970.[149]

Research cooperation

In July 1958, a report was produced within the framework of the European Communities on proposals for the creation of a European Scientific Community (the EEC and Euratom). It stated that the promoters of the Treaties of Paris and Rome had expressed their concern to ensure an ever closer union between the peoples of Europe. They considered that Europe can only be achieved by concrete actions and by the establishment of common bases for economic development, expressing their desire to seek, on the one hand, the expansion of the productions of the six countries of the European Community, and on the other hand, to ensure the raising of the standard of living of the populations. In this respect, scientific and technical research was one of the factors that could make a significant contribution to maintaining and bettering the standard of living. Each member country was lagging behind in the field of research compared to the USA, the UK and Russia, and this delay should not be measured solely by the relative importance of the amounts spent on research, but also by the increase in the use of foreign degrees and qualifications. By creating a common research area, coordination of research at the centre of the six member states of the European Community would enable a growth in contacts between researchers and thus lead to an increase in the value of the research. A common research organisation would provide Europe with the possibility of re-establishing its position in the area of science and technology.[150]

The issue of scientific research was laid out in a note of the European Communities on 6 November 1959 entitled 'La recherche scientifique: organisation, efforts financiers et

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[149] Annex II – Etat des travaux concernant la mise en oeuvre de l'article 57 du Traité de Rome, Project note: Reconnaissance mutuelle des diplômes, doc. R/985/71, Communauté Européenne du Charbon et de l'Acier, 24 mai 1971 (CEAB12-2422, HAEU)
[150] Propositions visant à la création d'une Communauté Scientifique Européenne, juillet 1958, (CM2/1959-873, HAEU)

coopération internationale' (Scientific research: organisation, financial efforts and international cooperation).[151] The note provided a first overview of the regulations on scientific research and the efforts made in this respect in the Common Market countries in relation to the USA, the Soviet Union and the UK. It points out that the note could not be exhaustive due to the complex structure, diversity and continual development of scientific research. It was stated that the European Community could be accused of lagging behind the USA and the Soviet Union. In the research areas of medicine, biology, aeronautics and astronautics, for example, the voice of the European Community is hardly heard. An explanation could lie in the low funding that research in the Community receives, but also due to the lack of coordination of efforts across the Community. Since there did not appear to be any fundamental differences in the structure of research across the member states, it was felt that coordination should be relatively easy. The European Parliamentary Assembly, during its session in June 1958 adopted a resolution underlining the particular importance of research and interest in strong collaboration within the European Community. This position was reaffirmed by the Commission for Scientific and Technical Research in their meeting on 1 June 1959. The state of scientific research cooperation within the Six in the public sector was hardly advanced, except in the fields of nuclear energy, and coal and steel, in which the Treaties had paved the way for common research. In the private sector, however, the establishment of the Common Market has resulted in a number of private initiatives of closer collaboration in the industries of member countries within almost every industrial sector of the six countries.[152]

At the time of the report, scientific research in Belgium was carried out by recognised institutions of public use, and in particular the 'Fonds National de la Recherche Scientifique' (National Foundation for Scientific Research)[153] and the 'Institut pour l'Encouragement de la Recherche Scientifique dans l'Industrie et l'Agriculture' (Institute for the Encouragement of Scientific Research in Industry and in Agriculture),[154] as well as

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[151] La recherche scientifique: organisation, efforts financiers et coopération internationale, doc. AE/8/59, Council of Europe, 6 novembre 1959 (CM2/1959-873, HAEU)

[152] La recherche scientifique: organisation, efforts financiers et coopération internationale, doc. AE/8/59, Council of Europe, 6 novembre 1959 (CM2/1959-873, HAEU)

[153] The 'Fonds National de la Recherche Scientifique' was an institution for public use created on 2 June 1928. It is independent of the State and is subsidised by the private sector and State subsidies (CM2/1960-756, HAEU)

[154] The 'Institut pour l'Encouragement de la Recherche Scientifique dans l'Industrie et l'Agriculture' is a public institution that is dependent on the Ministries of Economic Affairs and of Agriculture, created on 27 December 1944 and is responsible for encouraging applied research in industry and agriculture. Its resources are provided by the government (CM2/1959-873, HAEU)

in universities, government laboratories, and institutes or laboratories in the private sector (in industry and agriculture). Other public-use institutions working in the field of research were the 'Fondation Universitaire' (University Foundation), the Francqui Foundation, the 'Institut Interuniversitaire des Sciences Nucléaires' (Interuniversity Institute of Nuclear Sciences), the 'Fondation Industrie-Université' (Industry-University Foundation), the Belgian office for the growth of productivity, the Nuclear Foundation and the Fonds de la Recherche Scientifique Médicale (Fonds of Scientific Medical Research). Belgian university research was carried out in more than six hundred laboratories or research services, divided between the two state universities of Gand and Liège, as well as the two free universities of Brussels and Leuven and seven other important university institutions. The resources of the university institutions depended on the State, deriving from government subsidies. The free universities had their own resources and receive ministerial subsidies. The private sector maintained numerous laboratories ranging from small installations for analyses to laboratories carrying out applied research. The Belgian industrial sector also created laboratories, founded by professional groups. These research centres, known as 'De Groote Centres', were in virtue of a legal decree of 30 January 1947, financed by a single government subsidy, compulsory annual fees from all companies in the jurisdiction, and subsidies from the 'Institut pour l'Encouragement de la Recherche Scientifique dans l'Industrie et l'Agriculture' or others. The Belgian coal industry also possessed the following research institutions: the National Institute of Mines; the National Institute of the Coal Industry; and the Institute of Mining Hygiene.[155]

At the end of the Second World War, Germany had seen a halt in industrial production and research was based in universities and the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute, created in 1907 and dissolved in 1945. The German physicist Max Planck, shortly before his death in 1949, wanted to create a similar institution and on 26 February 1949 the 'Max Planck Gesellschaft sur Förderung der Wissenschaften' was created with the help of the allied military government. The Max Planck research institutes carried out work in the field of pure as well as applied research. However, neither the government nor industry intervenes in the research taking place. The institutes are principally financed by official funds on the basis of an agreement with all the Länder. They also receive donations from an association

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[155] Note: La recherche scientifique: Organisation, efforts financiers et coopération internationale, Bruxelles, 6 novembre 1959, doc. AE/8/59 (CM2/1959-873, HAEU)

founded to encourage the sciences (Stifterverband für die Deutsche Wissenschaft).[156] The German Research Association englobes all universities and technical colleges, and entrusts its work to the researchers it subsidises. The resources derive from the Länder, from the Federal Government, the 'Stifterverband für die Deutsche Wissenschaft' and private sources. In addition, the Fraunhofer Society for the Advancement of Applied Research was founded in Munich on 16 March 1949, with the aim of providing the means and possibilities to develop industry interest in research in the natural and physical sciences. Certain industries created their own laboratories or institutes that were more or less attached to the universities or technical colleges. As for measures taken by public authorities, the Federal Republic did not have a Ministry of Cultural Affairs, and the universities and polytechnics were under the remit of the Länder. However, these different ministries of the 'Bund' support the research that they are affected by.[157]

By decree on 29 November 1958, the French government reorganised the administration of its scientific research, by creating the Inter-ministerial Committee for Scientific and Technical Research, which enabled an executive power to intervene with the utmost vigour in an area where the role of researchers and scholars was obviously fundamental. As the financial and material resources of the nation were limited, it was necessary that the French government could seek scientific advice to establish its options. The Committee constituted the Prime Minister, the President, the Minister of Education, the Minister of Defense, the Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs, the Minister of Industry and Commerce, the Minister of Agriculture, the Minister of Public Health, and qualified representatives from the French community. Its tasks were: to ensure the right balance between the volume of credits devoted to various forms of research; to ensure the efficiency of the nation's research, which lead to studying the researcher's profession and the structures in which they work; and to sense new research themes that would be of national importance. Research in France was carried out in laboratories, which included: state laboratories with personnel directly linked to the Ministries; research organisations dependant on the Ministry of Education, including the College of France, the universities and their institutes (Institut Henry Poincaré, for example), in which research was directed by the professors;

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[156] The Stifterverband für die Deutsche Wissenschaft was created in September 1949 in Frankfurt by the German economic circles, with the aim of collecting funds for the development of science and research (CM2/1960-756, HAEU)

[157] Note: La recherche scientifique: Organisation, efforts financiers et coopération internationale, Bruxelles, 6 novembre 1959, doc. AE/8/59 (CM2/1959-873, HAEU)

the National Centre for Scientific Research, created by a merger of two research centres in 1939 and directly linked to the Ministry of Education. Its mission was revised in 1945 and 1948 to develop research with universities, especially through subsidies and ensuring the working order of the laboratories. In 1957, the Centre's laboratories had around 3000 researchers, 1300 contractual workers and 1500 technical collaborators. As in other countries, certain areas of industry that were of particular importance had their own research laboratories, which frequently carried out fundamental research. Elsewhere, certain branches of industry or groups of societies created professional centres of research, which were officially recognised by ministerial decree.[158]

In Italy, research was encouraged and financed mainly by the state, industry, academies and certain foundations. Research was carried out in universities, national centres of research and laboratories in the private sector. As regards state activity, the main organisation is the National Council of Research, which was founded in 1923. It coordinates national activities in different branches of science, founds scientific laboratories and contributes to their financing, elaborates research programmes of general interest, finances research centres, organises the diffusion of scientific publications, publishes bibliographical bulletins and scientific journals, organises subsidies for meetings and scientific congresses of national and international interest, and it represents Italy in international scientific relations. The state possesses numerous research organisations that depend on the technical Ministries of Defense, Agriculture, Interior, Transport and Industry. The universities and polytechnics depended on the state, namely the Ministry of Education, for their resources. They were dedicated mostly to pure research, but also applied research. Industry maintained a close rapport with the universities, in which professors were also advisors elsewhere in the private sector. University professors had the freedom to undertake the work they wish to in the university laboratories and they were able to directly contact sectors of industry that could be interested in their projects. Often, industry staff would be sent to work with the professor on a determined project, or industry funds would be paid to cover the salary of university researchers. There were also academies (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei), knowledge societies (Italian Association for the Advancement of Sciences, the Italian Society for Chemistry, the Italian Society for Physics) and associations (the Electro-technical Association, the Technical Automobile

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[158] Note: La recherche scientifique: Organisation, efforts financiers et coopération internationale, Bruxelles, 6 novembre 1959, doc. AE/8/59 (CM2/1959-873, HAEU)

Association, and the Society of Engineers), which provided subsidies for research or the exchange of information and technical procedures.[159]

In the Netherlands, pure research was carried out by the organisation 'Zuiver Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek' (ZWO) and the universities, while applied research was carried out by a national centre 'Nederlandse Centrale Organisatie voor Toegepast Natuurwetenschappelijk Onderzoek' (TNO), and the laboratories of the industrial sector. Created in 1950 by the government, the ZWO's role is to grant study bursaries and subsidies to university professors and research specialists. It works in collaboration with the TNO, on occasions providing joint subsidies. Pure research dominates in universities, but the TNO maintains contact with university researchers for collaborations in applied research. The TNO was created by a law on 1 May 1932, and is responsible for awakening the understanding of applied research for public interest. The institution has no official character and its personnel do not constitute government officials, but the state exerts an influence on its activity. As for the private sector, the large industrial enterprises such as Philips in Eindhoven, the Royal Dutch in Amsterdam, and Unilever in Vlaardingen, have created important private research centres, with which the TNO maintains relations.[160]

At European level, attention to research is evident from the European Coal and Steel Community, where in article 55 of the Treaty of Paris, the Community is requested to take up appropriate contacts between the existing research organisations, to provoke the financing of common research.[161] Furthermore, during the meeting of the European

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[159] Note: La recherche scientifique: Organisation, efforts financiers et coopération internationale, Bruxelles, 6 novembre 1959, doc. AE/8/59 (CM2/1959-873, HAEU)

[160] Note: La recherche scientifique: Organisation, efforts financiers et coopération internationale, Bruxelles, 6 novembre 1959, doc. AE/8/59 (CM2/1959-873, HAEU)

[161] Article 55: 1. The High Authority shall encourage technical and economic research concerning the production and the development of consumption of coal and steel, as well as labour safety in these industries. To this end, it shall establish all appropriate contacts among existing research organisations. 2. After consultation with the Consultative Committee, the High Authority may initiate and facilitate the development of such research work:
(a) by encouraging joint financing by the interested enterprises; or (b) by earmarking for that purpose any grants it may receive; or (c) with the concurrence of the Council by earmarking for that purpose funds derived from the levies provided for in Article 50, without, however, going beyond the ceiling defined in section 2 of that article.
The results of the research financed under the conditions set forth in subparagraphs (b) and (c) above shall
be placed at the disposal of all interested parties in the Community. 3. The High Authority shall make all useful suggestions for the dissemination of technical improvements, particularly with

Parliamentary Assembly on 20 March 1958, the Assembly decided to create a Commission for Scientific and Technical Research. It believed that scientific and technical research constituted an urgent necessity, which should not be limited to pure science, but should also include economic and social sciences. The coordination and rationalisation of the research efforts called for a programme of common research within the three Communities, and it felt that in this field, coordinated action should be taken immediately in the field of energy supply. On 27 June 1958, the European Parliamentary Assembly published a Resolution, stating that it was convinced that scientific and technical research constituted, in both the applied sciences and economics, a powerful means to continued improvement in technology, the increase in productivity, consummation of new products, as well as the reinforcement of security, of sanitary protection and of the population. The Resolution requested that all responsible authorities take the necessary measures to facilitate the work of researchers, especially making detailed documentation available to them on the results acquired in the countries where the publishing languages are difficult to access.[162]

On 16 November 1959, a note was circulated on 'scientific research: a plan of concerted action by the member countries of the European Community' in the framework of the European Economic Community and Euratom.[163] The note proposed the creation of a central organisation for documentation and coordination responsible for collecting and distributing information relating to scientific and technical research, and the creation of organisations responsible for scientific policy, which included formulating proposals and making decisions in the field. Furthermore, in a meeting on 26 January 1960, the President of the Euratom Executive stated that Euratom would create a common research centre and foster agreements on cooperation, including contracts for research with specialist institutions. It would establish four institutions in the framework of a common nuclear research centre: Ispra (Italy), Petten (Netherlands), Karlsbruns (Germany) and Mol (Beligum).[164]

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regard to the exchange of patents and the granting of licenses. (Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community, Paris, 18 April 1951, www.cvce.eu)

[162] Note: La recherche scientifique: Organisation, efforts financiers et coopération internationale, Bruxelles, 6 novembre 1959, doc. AE/8/59 (CM2/1959-873, HAEU)

[163] Note: La recherché scientifique : plan d'une action concertée des pays membres de la Communauté Européenne, Bruxelles, 16 novembre 1959 (CM2/1960-873)

[164] Assemblée Parlementaire Européenne, Commission de la Recherche Scientifique et Technique, 1960 (CEAB-12-631, HAEU)

University cooperation

On 29-31 October 1970, a meeting on university cooperation was organised by the European University Association and the University of Grenoble.[165] The meeting aimed to bring about the study of what a system of cooperation between European universities could look like, and three commissions were established to answer the following questions: which essential elements condition the universities' aptitude in cooperation? What will be the useful content of this cooperation? What would the strategy put in place be to carry out this cooperation? The first commission concentrated on: the aptitude for cooperation; judicial possibilities to cooperate; sociological conditions for cooperation; and the operational character of universities. The second commission focused on: the content of the cooperation; scientific research and university cooperation; mobility; and information systems. The last commission was responsible for discussing: a cooperation strategy; the technical means for cooperation; institutions of cooperation; and financial incitation. The delegates identified four structural models of university cooperation: supranational centralisation, in which all individual universities report to a centralised body; several national centralisations, in which national/regional universities report to a centralised national body and the national bodies cooperate bilaterally with each other; a de-centralised system made up solely of bi-lateral cooperation; and central mediation with direct interactions, where universities cooperate bilaterally but also liaise with a centralised body. Meeting delegates highlighted that certain systems tend to follow supranational centralisation, although some states without centralised power in education, such as federal or free states, follow a de-centralised system. It was believed that central mediation with direct interaction was the ideal model.

Delegates felt that the mutual assimilation of scientific languages and the level of information of the participants was a necessary condition for the successful coordination of research. This implied that the mobility of students, researchers and teachers needed to be involved, and this would require the coordination of programmes and the mutual recognition of qualifications. Without a series of structural reforms to the universities, international cooperation could not take place, and thus it would be an ideal moment to implement such reform.

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[165] Documents sur colloque de Grenoble, 29-31 octobre 1970 (CIFE-367, HAEU)

Discussing university research's place in scientific politics, Gilbert Caty and Henry Lesguillons of the University of Grenoble advised that it required the development of basic research programmes in response to the technical problems that social groups other than academia may have to solve. This broader perspective leads to the study of how university research can interact with the scientific arena in order to determine the measure in which it could be used as an instrument of politics.[166]

Within the context of the meeting's first commission, discussing the aptitude for cooperation and the judicial possibilities for cooperation, the meeting highlighted certain national studies on the way research is organised. German universities have a long tradition of academic freedom, which is guaranteed by German Federal law, stating that art and science, and research and teaching, are free. This principle of academic freedom is applied to all university laws of the Länder, as well as in that statutes if each university. It should be noted that this principle of freedom extends beyond teaching and research to encompass the administrative organisation and governance of the university. In this field, the German universities already possessed the type of autonomy that the law of Edgar Faure later provided to French universities in 1968. Governance of the German universities fall within the remit of the eleven Länder, which explains the absence of a Federal Ministry of Education, and therefore a higher-education situation that is vastly different from other Member States. The near absolute majority of programmes of cooperation are left to the free initiative of the universities themselves, and this situation explains why the majority of international activities take place internally within universities or university-managed organisations, and not within governmental institutions. In Dutch universities, both scientific teaching and research receive the same attention, and an interdisciplinary approach is encouraged in each sector. Moreover, the universities are free to carry out their work as they wish and independent from the State, and they are free to establish their own bilateral agreements for cooperation.[167]

The commission considered that international cooperation was an important contribution to the internationalisation of university training, to the effect that university degrees are thought of in European terms and in an international spirit. The universities are required to

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[166] Document de travail introductif élaboré par Gilbert Caty et Henry Lesguillons (Université de Grenoble, 29-30-31 octobre 1970) (CIFE-367, HAEU)
[167] Commission I – Rapport présenté par M. H. Schulte (Directeur de l'Office Allemand d'Echanges Universitaires à Paris), Université de Grenoble, 29-30-31 octobre 1970 (CIFE-367, HAEU)

be very open to international perspectives if they want to play a role at the forefront of contemporary society, which was of capital importance for the integration of Europe and for world peace. Cooperation focuses on teaching and research, and in this domain, exchanges between professors and students are of utmost importance when forming European inter-university working groups, which can carry out common scientific research that goes beyond the capacity and competence of a single university.[168]

Conclusion

This chapter has detailed the role of education during the establishment of the European Community with the signing of the Treaties of Rome. It identifies the lack of a formal role for education within the treaties, which is interpreted as an intentional marginalisation. Omitting education from the competencies laid out in the Treaties of Rome is not consistent with the level of discussion surrounding education that is outlined in the previous chapter. An explanation for the inconsistency lies in the power that can be exerted by states. Even if states agreed that education could be a tool to foster European consciousness for the sake of successful unity, when it came to the crunch, the omission of education in the Treaty of Rome suggests that they were not prepared to allow the European Community to formally exert influence in the area.

However, the chapter uncovers links to matters that still relate to education in the Treaty of Rome, namely training within agricultural policy and vocational training. As the European Community began to develop, these two provisions opened the door to a role for education in European integration in a way that reflects the notion of spillover in neofunctionalism. In order to fulfil objectives in vocational training (including the training of agricultural professionals), it was necessary for the European Community to address other areas relating to education, including the recognition of diplomas, and university and research cooperation. The need to collaborate at supranational level in the field of education became apparent.

Therefore, the evidence in the chapter identifies a tension between the role of states and the supranational in the field of education at the beginning of European integration. On the one

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[168] Commission I – Rapport présenté par M. H. Schulte (Directeur de l'Office Allemand d'Echanges Universitaires à Paris), Université de Grenoble, 29-30-31 octobre 1970 (CIFE-367, HAEU)

hand, there is the omission of education in the Treaty of Rome, but on the other, there is the emergence of a supranational influence in activities and initiatives relating to education where a need is clearly identified. The area of vocational training provided a spillover trigger, as anticipated in neofunctionalism, but deriving from training objectives implied a connection to the labour market and therefore to economic-oriented objectives. This shift left behind the cultural attachment to education that had been present in pre-European Community discussions.

Chapter Eight | Reaching a Community-level education policy (1971-1976)

Introduction

This final chapter of findings addresses the sources from the period between 1971 and 1976, which includes the European Community's first steps towards the creation of a recognised area of competence within the European Commission. The chapter begins by explaining the context and circumstantial motives for developing policy towards the area of education, specifically by noting the increased migration and the role that education developed to facilitate free movement. This also includes educational mobility, which led to increased educational collaboration with higher education institutions. A section is dedicated to the 'Janne Report', which pushed forward education policy at Community level, leading to a formal place for education.

Migration

At the time of the establishment of the European Community, the concept of migration was not a new phenomenon in Europe; military invasion was a primary cause of displacement in Europe in the first half of the twentieth century. However, when in 1957 the Treaty of Rome introduced the free movement of people between the member states of the European Community, it brought dramatic changes to the extent and nature of migration taking place in the Community. A shift can be seen from forced migration, driven by the consequences of war, to voluntary migration driven primarily by economic motivations. Migration within and to Europe greatly increased as a consequence of the economic boom during the 1960s. By 1974, there were more than six million migrant workers in the Community,[169] and if the dependents of these migrants are also to be taken into consideration, the number rises to around ten million, accounting for some 4% of the population. The numbers of migrant workers varied between member states, and industrialised areas were notably more concentrated.[170] The Commission recognised the

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[169] Education in the European Community, Commission of the European Communities, doc. COM(74) 253 final/2, Brussels, 14 March 1974 (CES/1974-20.63.01, HAEU)
[170] Action Programme in favour of migrant workers and their families, COM (74) 2250, 14 December 1974 (European Communities)

great difficulties posed in this field and believed that the European Community had a responsibility to contribute to resolving the problems.[171]

This escalation of migrant numbers put pressure on member states' economies, which had to absorb more rapid economic growth as a result. Migrants led to greater flexibility in the system as they meant workers were available in large numbers and often on short-term contracts, but over-concentration in industrialised areas also overloaded the social infrastructure. The majority of migrants were from third countries,[172] but as national workers of the member states were able to move around the Community with the same rights as they possessed in their own country, it led to an even greater need to foresee provisions in relation to the obstacles created by the free movement of people. In order for the concept to be successful, there was a need to address economic, regional, industrial and development policies, linked to migration and to not merely focus on the social problems that migration causes for the migrants themselves. To achieve this, it would be necessary to coordinate at Community level national policies linked to migration in order to address especially social and educational measures to improve the conditions of migrants and their families.

Workers from member states moving inside the European Community have the right, through Community legislation, to free movement and the equality of treatment regarding employment, social security, living and working conditions, the exercise of trade union rights, the education of children and the right to the accompanied by their families.[173] The Council Regulation 1612[174] of 1968 had already provided for the abolition of discrimination based on nationality with regard to employment, remuneration and other working conditions, which was also stated in article 48(2) of the Treaty of Rome.[175] However, more was to be done if the full equality of treatment between national and Community migrant workers was to be achieved, and if free movement was therefore to be a thriving concept. If workers were to succeed in finding work in other Community

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[171] Education in the European Community, Commission of the European Communities, doc. COM(74) 253 final/2, Brussels, 14 March 1974 (CES/1974-20.63.01, HAEU)
[172] Not within the European Community
[173] Action Programme in favour of migrant workers and their families, COM (74) 2250, 14 December 1974 (European Communities)
Migrants of third countries have restricted rights and require work permits and visas from the host country, which are usually on the basis of secured employment.
[174] OJ L257 (19.10.1968) and L295 (07.12.1968)
[175] Education in the European Community, Commission of the European Communities, doc. COM(74) 253 final/2, Brussels, 14 March 1974 (CES/1974-20.63.01, HAEU)

member states, it was imperative to accelerate the mutual recognition of diplomas, certificates and other national qualifications, since without it, the free movement of workers would be impeded.

Another obstacle faced by migrant workers was access to basic vocational and linguistic training, both before their departure and during their stay in the host country. A lack of such training negatively impacts the workers' ability to find worthwhile employment and to professionally advance once in established employment. Migrant workers would need to have the opportunity to follow adequate language and vocational training programmes during the working day, as well as have more training opportunities before departure in the country of origin. Vocational training centres would need to be sufficiently equipped to provide migrants with the necessary resources to improve their qualifications, and pilot schemes introduced for the training and exchange of training specialists. Migrant workers would also need sufficient training and support for returning to employment in their home countries, and an increased use of mass media in the cultural, language and vocational training of migrants could be adopted.[176]

The dependents of working migrants increase the overall number of migrants by at least a third, all of whom also require assistance. Migrants' children in particular are vulnerable. They are threatened by socio-psychological problems fostered by family disruption following the family's migration and by the necessity to rapidly adapt to new and different surroundings. They face language barriers in their integration into school and society, which cannot always be improved with help from the parents. Friction arises between native and host cultures, where there is a need to integrate into a new culture without losing touch with the native culture, and the loss of the latter causes family tension. It would be necessary to facilitate integration into the life and culture of the host country, while maintaining a hold on the life and culture of the home country.

National education legislations made no provision for the children of migrant workers and neither had they made adequate attempts to recruit teachers from the countries of origin of migrant children, or organised teacher exchanges to gain knowledge of the home countries, including its culture, language and education system. As a direct consequence of this lack

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[176] *Action Programme in favour of migrant workers and their families*, COM (74) 2250, 14 December 1974 (European Communities)

of provision, migrant children seldom furthered their education to secondary or university level, and if the Community were to address this issue, it had to begin in the schools. Efforts would need to be made to develop the reception of migrant children in member state schools; accelerate training to help them integrate into the new linguistic and educational environment; provide education in school time to preserve the native language and culture; recruit teachers from countries of origin; exchange information and instructional aids; develop assistance extra-curricular activities; and treat migrant children equally in the awarding of study grants and similar assistance.[177]

The role of education in facilitating free movement

The Commission of the European Communities highlighted the important role that education had to play in the success of a united Europe. It identified that the success of the European Union would depend upon the enhancement of public understanding and the stimulation of an active interest in developing Europe. This could be achieved by incorporating a European dimension into education across the member states, in particular by developing language learning, knowledge of the other member states and peoples, as well as of the process of European integration.

With regard to language learning, the Community stated its special interest in encouraging the exchange of ideas and information between the populations of the Community, which required the diminishment of linguistic barriers. While respecting the diversity of language and cultural traditions of the member states, the Commission believed that all citizens should be granted the opportunity to learn at least one – preferably two – languages other than their mother tongue during their time in education.[178] The objective would be for as many people as possible to have the linguistic ability to communicate in one language other than their mother tongue, and to be able to understand a second language. In this respect, the Commission would begin by collecting data on language provision in the member states, stimulating surveys and enquiries where obvious gaps exist in order to develop a Community-wide plan for intensified cooperation and development. It would

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[177] *Action Programme in favour of migrant workers and their families*, COM (74) 2250, 14 December 1974 (European Communities)
[178] Opinion of the Section for Social Questions on the Education of the European Community, Economic and Social Committee, dossier 71/SOC, doc. CES367/75 fin pk, Brussels, 17 April 1975 (CES/1974-60.23.04, HAEU)

also sponsor pilot surveys of the languages on offer in the various education systems and the use to which these are put in post-school experience and careers. The Commission would also review the provision of language-learning programmes for television and radio.[179]

To develop the study of Europe, the Commission had developed a series of activities designed to provide information on the European Community and to encourage teaching and research on the subject. These included the financing of a register of university theses on European integration, the establishment of documentation centres within higher education institutions, awarding prizes and scholarships for theses on aspects of European integration, subscriptions to relevant organisations and the organisation of visits to the European institutions for student and teacher groups.[180] Such initiatives required further elaboration from the point of view of scale and scope, including the Commission's support for initiatives in which the study of Europe and its international relations, are integrated into the curricula. According to the Commission, the educational approach to Europe had to be broadly based, reflecting an awareness of how the European Community fits in the world context, and providing young people with the ability to understand its development and assess its achievements.[181] Learning about Europe took various approaches when put into practice. Some were based on language studies and others in different disciplines. The emergence of 'European Studies' as a new element to curricula could be seen, which provided fertile ground for the exchange of ideas and experiences on the alternative curriculum approaches. The Commission proposed that it had a responsibility to stimulate and support the development of such programmes, and would begin by carrying out an analysis on the places where the study of Europe took place within the curricula of member states. It would support the creation of groups of teachers to design and develop experimental curricula projects in the field, and encourage the exchange of ideas and experiences between teachers of different member states. In the long-term, it could establish a European network of educational units to focus on discussion, curriculum development and teacher training in the field of European studies. It would also review its publications designed as resource material for teachers. To encourage the exchange of

[179] Education in the European Community, Commission of the European Communities, doc. COM(74) 253 final/2, Brussels, 14 March 1974 (CES/1974-20.63.01, HAEU)
[180] Education in the European Community, Commission of the European Communities, doc. COM(74) 253 final/2, Brussels, 14 March 1974 (CES/1974-20.63.01, HAEU)
[181] Ibid (CES/1974-20.63.01, HAEU)

ideas and experience, the Commission also proposed the creation of a pool of fellowships for teachers in secondary and post-secondary schools for the teaching of European Studies as well as languages. It would also support and develop training programmes for teachers in the study field of contemporary Europe.[182]

Educational mobility

The movement of teachers and student between member states was encouraged by the Commission on two grounds: as an effective way to enlarge the vision and broadening the experience of those who move; and for the acquisition of skills, notably in foreign languages. It viewed teacher and student mobility as not just desirable but essential, and central to the idea that the people of Europe should be increasingly able to consider themselves more as Europeans thanks to a better understanding of the different cultures and customs in other member states. The opportunities for student and staff mobility were greatest in the higher-education context, which, in the case of teaching and research, is due to the increased availability of funding and the arrangements made by the higher education institutions for periods of leave. There was already reasonable provision for students and staff within the field of language learning to spend time abroad as part of their programme, but in general further efforts were required at the level of secondary education as well as exchange programmes for young workers.[183]

In addition to a lack of linguistic knowledge, the absence of academic recognition of qualifications constituted one of the main barriers to mobility. Other barriers included legal barriers linked to the recruitment of foreign staff, administrative barriers, especially regarding quotas for foreign students at universities, and financial barriers. Article 57 of the Treaty of Rome provided for the mutual recognition of qualifications in order to facilitate the movement of the self-employed. However, there was a necessity to distinguish between the 'professional' recognition and 'academic' recognition of qualifications. A lack of recognition of the latter created problems for the mobility of

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[182] Ibid (CES/1974-20.63.01, HAEU)

[183] Opinion of the Section for Social Questions on the Education of the European Community, Economic and Social Committee, dossier 71/SOC, doc. CES367/75 fin pk, Brussels, 17 April 1975 (CES/1974-60.23.04, HAEU)

students and educational staff, both to travel to another country and to return with a new qualification gained elsewhere.[184]

Increased educational collaboration

Recognising the important social role held by universities and higher education institutions in the building of a European Community, the Commission proposed increased collaboration between these institutions. By definition they are international institutions and networks of contacts that are already present in the European Community, which have been intensified by collaborative programmes of study and research. The Commission proposed further examination of how information could be better disseminated and the exchange of experience could be further developed, the best direction for further collaboration and how the Commission can provide the most assistance in this respect. There was also widespread interest in the Community for the development of new learning systems, including the Open University development for students who wish to combine part-time study and employment, and would support pilot schemes that aimed to develop non-traditional learning systems.[185]

In addition to cooperation among institutions of higher education, the Commission also laid emphasis on cooperation between the education systems of the member states, taking into account the diversity of the systems. It was considered that educational standards in the member states could be improved by means of a more systematic exchange of ideas through the mobility of students, staff and administrators. More could be learnt from other educational systems, in particular from the point of view of experimentation and innovation. Cooperation should take place with the support of all stakeholders, not just rectors, and be based on common interests and needs.[186]

The 'Janne Report'

The provision of vocational training dealt with in the Treaty of Rome opened up the question of education at Community level, but the first Council meeting of the Education Ministers of the six member states did not come until 16 November 1971. Altiero Spinelli

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[184] Ibid (CES/1974-60.23.04, HAEU)
[185] Ibid (CES/1974-20.63.01, HAEU)
[186] Ibid (CES/1974-20.63.01, HAEU)

was the representative of the Commission.[187] In the meeting, the Ministers of Education highlighted the fact that elements of the Treaty of Rome pointed to matters relating to education, paving the way for closer community-level cooperation in the field. The Ministers were unanimous in support for cooperative action to encourage the mobility of teachers, students and research staffs within the Community, as well as to abolish the administrative, social and linguistic barriers. The Commission welcomed the fostering of a greater European consciousness to which such movement of people would contribute.[188] On 26 July of the same year, the Council of Ministers adopted a series of general guidelines for vocational training activities at community level, and in July 1972 the Commission also invited the former Belgian Minister of Education, Prof. Henri Janne, to complete a report that pinpointed the basic elements of an education policy at Community level.[189]

To fulfill his task, Prof. Janne coordinated 30 talks with leading figures in a position to give their opinion on the matter. The interviews took place in twelve European cities in eight countries, and Prof. Janne submitted his report in February 1973. The report was not a formal Community policy in itself, but "only one stage in a process which sooner or later must take the form of a Community policy – more or less broad and active – in the field of education".[190] The report began with a brief outline of the activities that had already been executed in the field of education, namely: the setting up of the European University Institute in Florence on 19 April 1972, though with modest beginnings of 40 to 50 students; a fresh approach attempted by ministers regarding the equivalence of degrees and diplomas, but which was in deadlock; a study by a committee of senior officials on the proposal made by French Minister Guichard regarding the creation of a European Centre for the Development of Education, but which was abandoned; the creation of the European Schools, but which were admitting national and foreign pupils who did not belong to the category of children for whom they were created (children of officials and technicians of European institutions); the creation of a European Community Institute for University

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[187] Janne, H (1973), *For a Community policy on education*, Bulletin of the European Communities, Supplement 10/73.
[188] Education in the European Community, Commission of the European Communities, doc. COM(74) 253 final/2, Brussels, 14 March 1974 (CES/1974-20.63.01, HAEU)
[189] Opinion of the Section for Social Questions on the Education of the European Community, Economic and Social Committee, dossier 71/SOC, doc. CES367/75 fin pk, Brussels, 17 April 1975 (CES/1974-60.23.04, HAEU)
[190] Janne, H (1973), *For a Community policy on education*, Bulletin of the European Communities, Supplement 10/73.

Studies under Community patronage with the aid of an international foundation, which was limited in size but had produced some useful studies on the problems of higher education and the exercise of professional activities at university level; and the establishment of the College of Europe in Bruges, but which did not have organic links with the European Community.

The report noted that a great step forward had been made, but pragmatically, the developments had little importance, they were slow and were generally developed under intergovernmental conditions. Nevertheless, Janne maintained the belief that there was an "irreversible recognition of an educational dimension of Europe" and an "irreversible initial movement towards an education policy at European Community level".[191] The report outlined areas it considered to be inseparable from an education policy, namely cultural policy and scientific policy. In the context of the former, it stated that "education cannot be conceived of without fundamental values which alone confer a meaning upon it and define its ultimate aims" and "the system of values, whether it be grasped from the national angle (features of cultural diversity) or from the European angle (features of cultural homogeneity), constitutes the very substance of cultural policy".[192] For example, with so many intra-European exchanges already in existence, it was deemed paradoxical that the Community did not take on their promotion and coordination. As for scientific policy, which began at Community level with nuclear physics in the framework of Euratom, the report highlighted a need for "appropriate bodies to work out and implement a Community research and development policy is making itself felt". Scientific policy is linked to education policy where it concerns university teaching, specifically the training of research workers and advanced technicians, and in permanent education in the form of refresher courses for supervisory staff, research workers and technicians of industry and the public services.[193] The particular aims of a Community education put forward in the report were: the knowledge of languages, where it defined the need for language study, identified the nature of the Community response and the choice of languages to be learnt, considered the optimum age for the study of a second language, and considered a formula for language teaching; mobility, exchanges and cooperation; permanent education; and

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[191] Janne, H (1973), *For a Community policy on education*, Bulletin of the European Communities, Supplement 10/73.

[192] Janne, H (1973), *For a Community policy on education*, Bulletin of the European Communities, Supplement 10/73.

[193] Janne, H (1973), *For a Community policy on education*, Bulletin of the European Communities, Supplement 10/73.

new educational technologies. Finally, the report explored the possibility of creating a study group on educational affairs.

The conclusion emphasised the need to respect national education structures and traditions, but at the same time to promote harmonisation through permanent concerted action at all levels and though increased educational exchanges. It recommended associating non-member European countries with Community initiatives, and concerting member countries' participation with other international organisations. It advised the creation of an 'Educational and Cultural Committee' based on a model of the Economic and Social Committee, and suggested that if member states found common objectives, the idea of a 'European Charter of Education' should be considered. In a concluding section on the European dimension to be introduced into education, outlining limits and possibilities, the report powerfully stated:

> "The Europeans' feeling of political, social and cultural belonging can no longer be exclusively national if a part of the attributes of the nation-state has been tested in the Community: the territory in as far as the frontiers disappear, the transfers of powers of decisions to supranational bodies, the supranational jurisdictions, the right of establishment of foreigners, etc. This being so, is it possible to escape from the idea that education should compromise a European dimension wherever this is possible?"[194]

In response, it added what it described as "two dampening factors": States' traditional attachment to the historic nations; and the fear of creating a European nationalism or a new power. With this in mind, an education policy could not be artificial, but based on practices and the organisation of exchanges that are freely developed. Education would be a means to allowing European people to get to know each other better by eradicating prejudices and stereotypes. Broadly-speaking, the actions proposed at Community level were to increase knowledge of Europe through teaching practices; to correct history textbooks and cleansing them of national bias; to revise the history curriculum; to use geography to transcend national frontiers and mark diversity in human groups; to develop language teaching and European 'civics'; and to examine the creation of an 'agency' at Community level to

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[194] Janne, H (1973), *For a Community policy on education*, Bulletin of the European Communities, Supplement 10/73.

produce didactic equipment. With the aim of developing the knowledge of languages, it was recommended that the Community took stock of the situation and regularly assessed its development; established through research the best age for learning a second language and the most effective methods for training young people, adults and their teachers; stimulated the creation of centres that were well-equipped for language teaching; intensified exchanges between teachers and between the taught, and refresher training courses for teachers; and abolished the nationality criterion for language-teacher recruitment.

In the realm of exchanges, mobility and cooperation, the report recommended: agreements rather than general consortia to coordinate action; that the fields of teaching and research should be linked, with a view of setting up 'centres of excellence' and enabling the European University to benefit from the 'scale' factor; and the setting up if a University cooperation and exchange service to promote the conclusion of consortia. In permanent education, it proposed systematic stock-taking on the situation of adult education; the generalisation and harmonisation of legislation relating to study holidays and financing; the inclusion of permanent education in cultural agreements; assistance to universities so they can broaden their teaching methods in adult training; the study of European Open University; the progressive internationalisation of retraining methods; and experimentation in creating multinational border districts for adult training.

A formal place for education in the European Commission

In January 1973, a month before Janne's report was presented, a formal decision called for education to be included within the Commission. Education was combined with placed under the responsibility of the Directorate General XII for Research and Science Policy, coordinated by Commissioner Prof. Ralph Dahrendorf. In May 1973, the Commission considered outline proposals for work in science, research and education, and a scientific and technological programme was adopted on 14 January 1974. In March 1974, the Commission published the communication 'Education in the European Community' for the Council.[195] The communication devoted attention to a European dimension in education, including the learning of foreign languages the study of Europe, collaboration

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[195] Opinion of the Section for Social Questions on the Education of the European Community, Economic and Social Committee, dossier 71/SOC, doc. CES367/75 fin pk, Brussels, 17 April 1975 (CES/1974-60.23.04, HAEU)

between institutions of higher education and development of the European schools. It also paid particular attention to mobility in education, namely the free movement of pupils, students, teachers, young research workers, academic staff, and educational and youth administrators, to visit other countries within the European Community, as well as the education of migrant workers' children.[196] This resulted in the publication of the Resolution of the Ministers of Education, meeting within the Council, of 6 June 1974 on cooperation in the field of education, which highlighted the principle that a programme of cooperation in education, while reflecting the progressive harmonisation of economic and social policies, should be adapted to the specific objectives and requirements of education. A further principle was that education could not be regarded only as a component of economic life, that cooperation in education had to accommodate national traditions and diversity among education systems and that harmonisation of education systems or policies cannot be an end in itself. With these principles in mind, the resolution stated the following priority actions: the promotion of closer relations between education systems in Europe; the compilation of up-to-date documentation and statistics on education; increased cooperation between institutions of higher education; improved possibilities for academic recognition of diplomas and periods of study; encouragement of the free movement of teachers, students and research workers and the improved teaching of foreign languages; equal opportunity for free access to all forms of education; and better facilities for the education and training of national and the children of nationals of other member states and of non-member countries.[197]

Already at a conference in Paris in October 1972, Heads of State affirmed that economic expansion was not an end in itself and should also result in the quality of life and standard of living. They attached as much importance to action in the social field as to the achievement of Economic and Monetary Union, and with the wave of transnational migration, the European Community faced a new situation in its working community. Member states began to host increasing numbers of people whose culture, values and languages differed from those of the host member state. The migrant-workers situation in the EU stretched beyond social policy to encompass education as the teaching of the host country's language became a priority, since an inadequate good command of the host country's language created a disadvantage for many migrant workers and their children,

[196] Ibid (CES/1974-60.23.04, HAEU)
[197] *Resolution of the Ministers of Education, meeting within the Council, of 6 June 1974 on cooperation in the field of education*, Official Journal of the European Communities, No. C 98/2, 20 August 1974

hindering their integration. This situation called into question the location of responsibility for ensuring that the children and young people of these migrant families did not lose grip on their own cultures, but also integrated as best possible into the host member state. Did it rest with the host or origin member state, or should it be controlled at supranational level?

In response to the new circumstances faced by member states, the European Community adopted two action programmes covering all migrant workers, both from member states and third countries: The Social Action Programme set out in the Council Resolution of 21 January 1974 and The Education Action Programme endorsed by the Ministers of Education at their meeting on 9 February 1976. Of course, aspects such as the freedom of access to employment and social security were limited to migrant workers of EU member states.

Considering that social objectives should be a constant concern of all Community policies, the Social Action Programme's main objectives were the attainment of full and better employment in the Community, the improvement of living and working conditions, and the increased involvement of management and labour in the economic and social decisions of the Community and of workers in companies.[198] It strengthened the role of the European Social Fund, through which the Commission was authorised to provide assistance to set additional expenditures incurred by member states, particularly in the provision of teaching directed towards the children of migrant workers. It also provided financial assistance for the training of those personnel, teachers and social workers engaged in teaching migrant workers' children. In the Social Action Programme, two key elements can be identified: provision for the improvement of employment for all workers; and provision of an action programme for migrant workers. Within the context of the former, the resolution stated that appropriate consultation between member states on their employment policies would be established and a common vocational training policy would be implemented, with a view to approximating training standards. In particular, a European Vocational Training Centre would be created. There would be a reform of the organisation of work, giving workers wider opportunities to obtain higher qualifications, and greater equality between

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[198] Council Resolution of 21 January 1974 concerning a social action programme, Official Journal of the European Communities, No. C 13/1, 12.2.1974

male and female workers in relation to access to employment and vocational training and advancement and as regards working conditions, including pay'.[199]

As regards the action programme for migrant workers, provision extended to their families. The action programme would improve the conditions of free movement within the Community of workers from the member states, which would include social security and the social infrastructure of the member states to resolve problems of the training of migrant workers and the education of their children.

The Resolution of the Council and of the Ministers of Education, meeting within the Council, of 9 February 1976 comprising an action programme in the field of education[200] refers to a meeting within the Council on 6 June 1974 on cooperation in the field of education and recalls the Council Resolution of 21 January 1974 concerning the social action programme and the proposals in favour of migrant workers and their families submitted to the European Commission and on the education of the children of migrant workers. It states that the European Parliament stressed the importance of the Community's activity in the field of education and that in 1974, the Economic and Social Committee recalled that 'education is central to the full and healthy development of the Community'. It reaffirmed the desire to achieve European cooperation in education, understanding the contribution that such cooperation could make to the development of the Community.[201]

The Resolution provided for the setting up of an Education Committee consisting of representatives of the Member States and the Commission. The Chairman of the Education Committee would come from the country holding the office of the President of the Council, and the Committee would be responsible for the implementation of the social action programme, as well as for preparing the proceedings of the Council and of the Ministers of Education meeting within the Council. The action programme comprised six main sections: better facilities for the education and training of nationals and the children of nationals of other member states of the Communities and of non-member countries; the promotion of closer relations between educational systems in Europe; the compilation of

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[199] Council Resolution of 21 January 1974 concerning a Social Action Programme, Official Journal C 013, 12/02/1974 pp.0001-0004
[200] Official Journal C 038, 19/02/1976 p. 0001-0005
[201] *Resolution of the Council and of the Ministers of Education, meeting within the Council of 9 February 1976 comprising an action programme in the field of education*, Official Journal of the European Communities, No. C 38/1, 19.2.1976

the up-to-date documentation and statistics on education; cooperation in the field of higher education; the teaching of foreign languages; and the achievement of equal opportunities for free access to all forms of education.

The Council and the Ministers of Education stressed the educational dimension of the social action programme. In the first section, they expressed the willingness of the member states to pursue and develop suitable measures to improve reception facilities for the children of migrant workers and to enable them to adapt to the host country's school system and way of life. A reception system would include intensive study of the language or languages of the host country; provide more opportunities for teaching these children their mother tongue and culture, ideally in collaboration with the country of origin; and provide more information to families on the training and educational opportunities available to them. The Community would foster the exchange of information and experience concerning teaching methods by setting up pilot schemes to compare and assess methods, and foster cooperation in the training of teachers in this context. The Community would carry out educational studies and research on adapted language-teaching methods; the place and importance of the mother tongue and culture in school curricula; existing conditions and provisions for access to education at all levels; language-teaching programmes on radio and television; and the need for the setting up of schools teaching in more than one language.

As for the promotion of closer relations between educational systems in Europe, the resolution highlighted a need to improve the mutual understanding of the different education systems in the Community and to ensure the continuous comparison of policies, experiences and ideas. At Community level, regular meetings would be arranged between the people responsible for education policies, and at national level, study visits to other member states would be arranged for local, regional and national administrators of schools and higher education institutions. To strengthen a European dimension in schools, the Community would provide the opportunity for teachers and pupils to participate in short study visits and exchanges and in general, facilitate the mobility of pupils from one educational system to another. There would also be contacts between the authorities of establishments concerned with teacher training, and the development of educational activities with European content.

The European Community would study the extension of the practice of recognising periods of study abroad; the possibility of enabling teachers to practice their profession in another member state; and the setting up of European or international-type establishments following specific curricula and using several teaching languages. It also proposed that a standard school-record card could be introduced to facilitate the mobility of pupils the educational system of one member state to another.

In the context of providing up-to-date documentation and statistics on teaching, the Community's role would be set up an information network. It would provide support and advice by promoting a mutual understanding of the educational systems of the Community and information handbooks for pupils and students would be drawn up.

In the field of higher education, the resolution proposes the promotion of cooperation in higher education, and while respecting the autonomy of higher education institutions the Community would seek to facilitate better contacts between higher education institutions, to encourage short study visits and joint programmes. It would promote the free movement of teaching staff, students and researchers, and would establish whether periods spent abroad could be taken into account when calculating teaching and research staff's seniority. It would also draw up a report to establish whether national schemes for scholarships, fellowships and studentships could be extended to increase mobility within the European Community. The Community would promote discussion on the possibility of a common admissions policy as well as for the academic recognition of diplomas and study periods carried out. In this context, it would draw up a report to analyse the status quo of academic qualification recognition and make proposals for improvement, developing a network of agreements if necessary, and it would organise consultations between those responsible for education policy and cooperation between higher education institutions to facilitate the recognition of periods of study carried out.

As regards the teaching of foreign languages, the aim was to ensure that the greatest possible number of students learn the languages of the Community by offering all pupils the opportunity to learn at least one other Community language. The Resolution proposed the principle that foreign-language teachers practicing within the European Community should have spent a period in a country or region where the language they teach is spoken. It also proposed the promotion of language teaching outside of the school system, such as

on the radio and television. In particular, this would be implemented to meet the vocational training requirements of adults. In the field of language learning, the Community would organise consultations between those responsible for language teaching and specialised researchers in the field, and examine the results of research into language-teaching methodology. The member states would organise regular extended periods abroad for teachers and encourage the exchange system for foreign language assistants, and encourage exchanges of individual pupils or groups of pupils.

Finally, an aim of the educational policies of all member states would be to achieve equal opportunity for free access to all forms of education, and its importance in conjunction with other economic and social policies. Priority matters laid out at Community level were measures to be taken in the field of education to prepare young people for work, to facilitate their transition from study to working life and to increase their chances of finding employment, and the provision of further education to enable young workers and young unemployed persons to improve their chances of finding employment.

In March 1975, a joint working party was set up between the Directorate Generals XII (research, science and education) and V (social affairs), in order to explore the possibilities of closer cooperation between education and vocational training. The working party met three times – in Copenhagen in October 1975 , in London in December 1975 and in Dublin in May 1976 – and agreed that guidance in vocational training should be provided throughout a workers entire professional life and not only at the beginning. There was a clear link between education and vocational training, in particular under the Education Action Programme, with teacher and pupil exchanges and the mobility of workers.

Conclusion

As a link between education and the economy began to emerge as a result of the free movement of people and the first creations of common policies, further areas for cooperation linked to education became apparent. Education took a more international standing as challenges facing education systems were considered to have a global effect, which facilitated increased supranational involvement in matters directly relating to education. The Commission of the European Communities identified that the problem of mobility within the context of education could not be divorced from the complex problem

of mutually recognising qualifications. There were also several ways to achieve a European dimension in education, namely through language learning and greater prominence of European studies in curricula. Closer collaboration between educational systems and higher education institutions would make a further contribution to resolving these issues.[202]

Increased willingness to address educational issues at European level is apparent from the side of the European Community, which cements in the intention for supranational involvement in education. The notion of spillover continued to be present and developed further as free movement developed, which put pressure on national welfare systems. However, the resulting actions from the European Community came in the form of Council Resolutions, which are not binding for states. Therefore, although the European Community had expressed its opinion on the direction and scope of policy development for education, power in education remained securely within the hands of the states and whether to adhere to the advice of the European Community remained at the discretion of states.

These circumstances demonstrate will from the European Community to exert supranational pressure in the field of education, especially in order to fulfil objectives in other areas such as training and free movement, which is in line with neofunctionalist theory. However, the European Community has appeared unable to pursue this line of development, and supranational influence has been contained. This implies that the role of the state is more prominent than neofunctionalists suppose, which is a notion that favours intergovernmentalism.

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[202] Rapport sur la Communication de la Commission des Communautés européennes au Conseil (doc. 23/74-Annexe) sur l'éducation dans la Communauté européenne par M. Klaus-Peter Schulz (Rapporteur), Parlement Européen, Documents de Séance 1974-1975, 22 avril 1974 (CES/1974-20.63.02, HAEU)

Chapter Nine | An intellectual hub for Europe: The College of Europe and the European University

Introduction

This chapter presents case studies of the European University project, including the College of Europe and the European University Institute, which are used to test European-level collaboration within the field of higher education from the beginning of European integration. The project provides evidence that higher education was not absent from the discourse on European integration and the construction of Europe, and the presence of discussions and actions within the framework of the project were neither short-lived. In particular, the implementation of a European University spanned the period from the early discussions on European integration to the point when education began to find its feet as a recognised area of Community competence. The chapter outlines the evolution of the European University project and the creation of the two institutions it produced: The College of Europe and the European University Institute. However, it does not aim to provide a detailed description of the events and processes that contributed to the creation of the institutions because this has already been done by Palayret (1996) for the European University Institute and by Vermuelen (2000) for the College of Europe. What this chapter does aim to focus on a more state-oriented approach and the role of the European Community to flesh out the element of national interest, as well as to analyse how the creation of these institutions fit into the broader context of European integration.

The College of Europe

A need to foster Europeans

In 1927, Salvador De Madariaga,[203] who became the first President of the Administrative Council of the College of Europe, stated that Europe would fail if it did not succeed in creating European nationalism. He deepened this concept to explain that it would be the task of the elite to foster such nationalism, not through their thought, but by making their souls European. Two decades and another World War later, this idea

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[203] A Spanish diplomat and minister who left Spain when General Franco came to power and lived in Oxford as a writer and professor of history. In 1948 he became President of the Cultural Section of the European Movement.

remained at the forefront of De Madariaga's mind when he became President of the Cultural Section of the European Movement, and within the framework of the European Movement's initiatives in 1948 to stimulate the creation of a united Europe, he advocated the establishment of the College of Europe during a meeting in London on 4-5 January 1949. During this meeting Bruges was already mentioned as a possible location for the College (Bekemans, L., Mahncke, D., Picht, R. (eds.), 1999) and on 19 January 1949, De Madariaga visited Bruges with Julius Hoste[204] to meet with the mayor, Victor van Hoestenberghe (Vermuelen, 2000) as well as with the Governor of the West Flanders province, P. van Outryre d'Ydewalle. Initially, De Madariaga had proposed the creation of a European University in Bruges, but after realising the extent of the project, the Executive Committee of the Cultural Section of the European Movement settled for the more realistic and feasible project of a College of Europe (Bekemans & eds., 1999).

Setting up the College of Europe

The city of Bruges, which had proposed its candidacy in 1948 to host the European Cultural Centre, had agreed to offer financial assistance to the College as well as to make buildings available. Bruges was a small city without a university, but which was at the time considered to be typically European and thus provided a suitable setting for the College of Europe. As its administrative language of Dutch was not a dominant language on the European scene, which avoided the risk of it dominating the life of the College, and the lack of university tradition in Bruges paved the way for innovative enterprise in the university domain. Therefore, for De Madariaga, the city offered an appropriate place for students of different nationalities, languages and backgrounds to unite and develop a spirit of European solidarity (Bekemans & eds., 1999). Due to other candidate cities in the running to host an institute of postgraduate study, the authorities in Bruges realised the need to move quickly if the city was to be secured as the location of the College of Europe. In this regard, De Madariaga's veneration for Bruges was positive for the city's candidacy.

In an initial stage of the College's creation, a three-week preparatory session was organised from 20 September until 10 October 1949, acting as a pilot programme to define the direction the future programme would adopt. It would include 25 postgraduate students of

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[204] Julius Hoste Jr. was the Liberal Senator for Brussels from 1949-1954. In 1936 he became Minister of Education in Belgium and during the Second World War he was under-secretary for education (in exile, based in Great Britain).

all countries of Europe.[205] A report concluded the preparatory session and the first official academic year at the College of Europe began on 12 October 1950 and Prof. Henri Brugmans[206] was appointed as its first Rector. It was the first occasion in which students from across the globe came together to study the common interest of European affairs (Vermuelen, 2000). Furthermore, the best specialists from across Europe would come to Bruges to manage to a study programme in their field. They would also orient students towards individual study as well as group projects. At the end of the programme, a certificate would be awarded, which would not initially have a formal status, but could in the future if supranational institutions were to be established and they required their officials to have training with a specifically European orientation.[207] Prof. Brugmans remained Rector until his retirement in 1972, when he was succeeded by Jerzy Lukaszewski.

The mission of the College of Europe

The mission of the College developed during its initial years of establishment. There was recognition among the founders for the fact that Europe required a specialist team of workers and it would be the responsibility of the new generation to assign to Europe's helm responsible individuals with a capacity to think with a perspective and conviction of a united Europe. To formulate the College's mission, the kinds of questions the founders asked were: What are the continent's limits? What have all European nations experienced in common? How the various nationalities formed and what were the resulting institutions? Can Europe be united simply and solely by creating institutions and if so, what would be their competence and how would they be controlled? By what means would a united Europe be more capable than national states of coping with the current problems such as a common defence system and the dollar gap? (Bekemans & eds., 1999). The final mission devised and stated in Belgium's official journal, the *Moniteur Belge*, in article 2 on 22 July 1950 was that the College of Europe had as its aim the creation and governance of an institution of postgraduate scientific teaching for the training of students in the field of human sciences, envisaged in terms of the substitution of a political, economic, social and intellectual entity for the present fragmentation of the European states (Bekemans & eds.,

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[205] Fondation d'un Collège d'Europe, Mouvement Européen, doc. EN/P/88, (ME-801, HAEU)
[206] Prof. Henri Brugmans was a Dutch professor of French literature at the University of Utrecht. He was President of the Union of European Federalists and a co-founder of the College of Europe.
[207] 'Pas d'Europe sans civisme Européen', brochure of the College of Europe (ME-801, HAEU)

1999). In summary, for Brugmans, the precise mission was to forge indispensible intellectual instruments for future managers of Europe.[208]

By 1952, the mission was further defined as a two-fold aim on the one hand to study, by impartial methods, the economic, social, political, judicial, social and cultural problems of European union, and on the other hand, to train young Europeans, who intend to embark on careers and international and European level, in areas such as diplomacy, internal institutions, public life and journalism. In Brugman's early years as Rector he gave thought to the College's orientation, clarifying that the College was not an international university, a European school of administration or an academy for European militants. Then in May 1958, the mission was redefined by the Teaching Council as an institution giving "a European outlook to its students, and consequently to be something other and something more than a technical School of International Administration" (Bekemans & eds., 1999).

Studying at the College of Europe

The conditions for admission included a university degree after four years of study, and knowledge of the two official languages of the College: French and English. In addition, students had to possess a sufficient level of general culture, a desire to follow a career either directly or indirectly in the European field, and demonstrate a readiness to share common life with students of different nationalities.[209] In the first academic year of 1950-51, the College welcomed 35 students from 16 different nationalities[210], which grew to 57 in 1970. Seminars and lectures were held at the Brangwyn museum building, which had been made available by the city of Bruges. All the students, except married couples, along with the Rector and professors, were hosted at the Hotel Saint-Georges at the Place du Bourg, and later at the Grand Hôtel du Commerce in Sint-Jakobstraat. Living under the same roof with a family atmosphere provided an optimal environment to foster the European intellectual Community envisaged by the College's founders. In particular, it offered the opportunity for frequent and informal exchanges between students, and the

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[208] Note sur le programme et les professeurs, Henri Brugmans, Cabinet du Recteur, College d'Europe (ME-801, HAEU)
[209] From the Direction of the College to the National Committees for the selection of students, College of Europe (ME-801, HAEU)
[210] UK, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden, Greece, Switzerland, Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Egypt and USA. Bilan de la première année academique 1950-51 (05/07/1951), College of Europe (ME-1872, HAEU)

professors and Rector. In fact, alumni recall that the most memorable discussions and exchanges of ideas were the ones that took place outside the classroom. By 1974, student numbers had exceeded 100, so they were hosted across several halls of residence.

The subject fields covered in the College's first programme were divided into three sections: history, sociology, human geography and political theory; international economics; and constitutional law and administrative sciences, comparative law and international law. However, two years later the general subject offering was reduced to only courses of a European orientation such as the history of European civilisation, the geographic realities of Europe, and current political affairs and trends. These were taught at a high academic level in three major subject strands: history and sociology; political economy; and law. In addition to following seminars, students were required to submit a thesis at the end of the academic year in order to fulfil the programme. A year later, the programme was revised once again in light of the developing European institutions, and subjects were divided into two strands: international economy, law and comparative government; and history, political science, human geography and sociology. In this new system, students were required to choose three subjects from the two strands, but they were obliged to follow a 'European Studies' programme consisting of a historical overview of the development of European cooperation and integration, a presentation of the main European organisations, and an inventory of current issues. This programme continued to be adopted until the 1960s, when in 1964-5 it was further sharpened into the three strands of political science, law and economics, with three compulsory courses comprising the contemporary history of Europe, the European idea and realisation, and European institutions. In response to the growth in student numbers across universities in Europe and to the development of the European institutions and of European integration, Brugman's successor, Jerzy Lukaszewski, called for a revised programme of fewer basic courses and a greater offering of optional courses, which was implemented in the academic year 1973-74 (Bekemans & eds., 1999).

European training at the College of Europe

In addition to the core programme, the College provided training in European affairs to professionals and other students. In 1963, a seminar for European railway personnel was held, which developed into a European training centre for national railways,

and in 1968, a programme of European Studies for American undergraduate students was established for the spring term. The programme gave several hundred American students the opportunity to familiarise themselves with developments taking place in Europe, and with the city of Bruges as an experience of European culture. The programme ran into difficulties, however, due to the young age of the students compared the College's core student body, so it was restructured as a programme for professors of American universities. In 1973, the College also developed a training programme for young civil servants of the European Community.

Governance and funding of the College of Europe

As regards the College's governance, a Board of Governors acted as the supreme body of the College and was composed of the Presidents of the Committee of Ministers and the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe and its Cultural Committee, the Presidents of the European Movement and its Executive and Cultural Committees, and of around 20 other individual members nominated by governors. An Administrative Council was established and included the aforementioned Presidents and five other members of the European Movement, as well as the director of the European Cultural Centre in Geneva and the Governor of West Flanders. The Administrative Council nominated the members of the Executive Bureau, which governed the practical organisation of the College, while a Financial Committee was responsible to financial matters under the guidance of the Administrative Council.

The College faced great challenges regarding the matter of funding. Thanks to Hoste's connections with the Belgian Prime Minister and the Minister for Education, the College was able to secure three million Belgian Francs for its first academic year from the Belgian government.[211] It later provided another 500,000 for preparatory costs accrued in February 1950 (Bekemans & eds., 1999). By 1951, the College was considered well-established enough to begin requesting funding from other European countries of the Council of Europe. It would request 450,000 Belgian Francs towards the budget and 50,000 Belgian Francs in bursaries.[212] It carried out intense lobbying, but only received positive responses from West Germany, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. West Germany had advised that its

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[211] Note sur le Collège d'Europe à Bruges (ME-801, HAEU)
[212] Note sur le Collège d'Europe à Bruges (ME-801, HAEU)

contribution of 460,000 Belgian Francs was a single subvention and could not be renewed annually. Norway provided a study bursary for a Norwegian student to attend in 1952, the Netherlands provided 100,000 Belgian Francs plus two bursaries, and Luxembourg provided 55,000 Belgian Francs. Denmark, Turkey, Iceland, Greece, Italy, Great Britain, Sweden, France and Ireland did not appear favourable.[213]

Conscious of the educational value of French culture, the College has largely demonstrated a 'favoured nation' policy towards France. The French language was the most commonly adopted language and a predominant place had been reserved for French professors. However, France did not react positively to the invitation to provide the College with funding for the academic year of 1952/53 and the five bursaries it had previously given were not reinstated.[214] In 1955, however, France changed its mind, donating 500,000 French Francs, which was later reduced in 1959. Italy provided an exceptional contribution of 39,235 Belgian Francs for the academic year 1953-54, but Great Britain remained unconvinced on the project. Nevertheless, the European Coal and Steel Community assisted with 500,000 Belgian Francs for the academic year 1953-54 by providing for a Schuman Chair for the study of the economic problems of European integration.[215] Funding was also provided by the USA, which was generous in covering the expenses for an American professor of political and administrative science to spend a sabbatical year in Bruges, as well as for conferences organised by the College. In 1955, the Rector was sent a gift of $11,500 (577,384 Belgian Francs) from the Ford Foundation to spend on developing the library. By 1963, the budget exceeded seven million Belgian Francs with contribution of 350,000 Belgian Francs that finally came from Great Britain (Bekemans & eds., 1999).

The growth of the European Communities and the College's nurtured connections with them were fundamental in the College's ability to survive its implementation period and develop as an institution. In addition to challenging fundraising matters, several moments of instability occurred within the first decade of the College's existence. The first was the collapse of the European Defence Community in the French National Assembly in 1954, and the second was the development of the idea to create a European University, which came to a head in 1960.

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[213] Note sur le Collège d'Europe à Bruges (ME-801, HAEU)
[214] Note sur le Collège d'Europe à Bruges (ME-801, HAEU)
[215] Collège d'Europe, doc. BE/P/76 (ME-2198, HAEU)

The European University

The birth of an idea

The European University project's seed was sewn at the Hague Congress in 1948. The project was only touched upon at the Hague Congress, but it was presented more concretely in January 1949 in London at the meeting of the cultural section of the European Movement. The proposal came from Jean-Paul de Dadelsen,[216] who suggested teaching universal disciplines in a European context, rather than creating non-existent disciplines such as 'European physics'. Teaching would initially take place in a lecture series, which could then be developed into a fully functioning university campus. The possibility of creating specialised European universities in several cities was maintained, but left for a later date. Opinions were divided on the idea of an established university. The minority Federalists supported the single European university. However, others saw the European University project as a slow process that would also incur considerable cost.

Focusing on the promotion of European education in existing institutions, an alternative proposal recommended the creation of Chairs in national universities in Europe, and the possibility for students to spend a period of study at university elsewhere in Europe. A further step was made at the Inter-university Federalist Union congress in April 1949, which called for the creation of a European University that could confer diplomas that would be recognised across Europe. A year later, the French delegation to the Council of Europe presented a European University project that aimed to provide additional training to graduates of existing European universities on the questions surrounding the European idea, as well as knowledge of European services and organisations. Unfortunately, the proposal was not seen through.

An agreement was reached to establish a specialist centre or university institute for European education. The European institutions required sufficient trained staff for combined research that went beyond the capabilities of a single state as well as new positions in the European institutions, and the process of European integration itself required specific scientific analysis. The 'College of Europe' was established, which could

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[216] Jean-Paul de Dadelsen (1913-1957) was a French poet and journalist

act as a pilot institution for a more comprehensive European university in the future. It has been stated that the cultural commission of the European Movement had in fact been resistant to the idea of a European University, that it was not a question of creating a single institution, but to promote the Europeanisation of the academic world in Europe. Nevertheless, we are reminded that the European University idea never died and achieved its first recognition in 1955 at Messina (Brugmans, 1969).

Relaunching in the Community sphere

At the Messina conference in 1955 during the first stage of developing the Treaties of Rome, the idea of the European University was re-launched, this time in the more restricted political context of setting up European institutions rather than the immediate post-war European ideology. Ahead of the meeting in Messina, the Federal Republic of Germany – represented by Prof. Walter Hallstein,[217] Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs – presented a memorandum on the advancement of integration. Recognising that integration should not be limited to economics, but extended just as much to culture, Hallstein included the proposal for a European University within the German proposal for the creation of a common market.

Hallstein's role in the advancement of the European University project can be considered an important one. He believed that Europe was falling behind in education and research, and Germany in particular saw a notable lack of universities. He maintained his belief that a fully-fledged university was required rather than the various initiatives building on existing universities that had been suggested, rejecting also the idea of a postgraduate centre because such model did not exist in Germany. Although what he envisaged was a single university with a genuine European spirit, he realised that the creation of the University of Europe would not be foreseeable in the short term; its mission would have to be clearly defined and its atmosphere carefully pieced together. As regards the disciplines, Hallstein gave precedence to technology to conform to the Euratom Treaty, then to mining research and metallurgy in line with the ECSC, followed by the political sciences, comparative law and economics. Such disciplines would respond to a political need by benefitting the European integration project, but Hallstein also emphasised the importance of human sciences including philosophy, history, languages, literature and sociology.

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[217] Walter Hallstein was Professor and close collaborator of Chancellor Adenauer

Hallstein received little support for his proposal, but at the same time no contradiction, which by some was considered a bad sign for the project in general (Brugmans, 1969). Unfortunately, the proposal was not discussed at the meeting in Messina, but instead passed to an expert-assisted intergovernmental committee and only reappeared again in the report from the heads of the delegation to the Foreign Ministers on 21 April 1956. In response to a lack of specialists in the field of nuclear research, the Euratom Commission proposed the creation of a joint atomic research centre and schools to train specialists, which could form the basis for a European University where scientists from all over Europe would work together. The report was approved in Venice on 29-30 May 1956.

When it came to creating the joint nuclear research centre, the German delegate Haedrich announced that his government would provide a note on the European University project. Calling for the nuclear research centre to consist of a European Institute of Advanced Studies with traditional faculties of science, arts, medicine and law, this changed the orientation of the European University project. The type of proposal caused surprise and despite the conviction of other delegations that there was a need for a different model from the university Haedrich envisaged, Haedrich maintained his proposal. Unfortunately, other priorities meant the European University project was pushed aside, but since delegations were interested, it was proposed that it appeared in the treaty creating the European Community of Economic Energy (EURATOM).[218] Indeed, it featured in the Euratom Treaty, signed on 25 March 1957, in articles 9(2) and 216:

> "An institution at university level shall be set up; the particulars of its operation shall be settled by the Council acting by means of a qualified majority vote on a proposal of the Commission"[219]

> "The commission proposals on the way in which the institution of university status referred to in article 9 is to function shall be submitted to the council within one year of the entry into force of this Treaty"[220]

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[218] The European Community of Economic Energy (EURATOM) is an international organisation that was set up in 1957 by the six member states creating the European Community. EURATOM's mission is to provide a specialist market for European nuclear power in Europe and acts as a separate entity from the European Union, though governed by the EU institutions. The EURATOM Treaty was signed alongside the Treaty setting up the European Community (the Treaty of Rome) on 25 March 1957.
[219] Euratom Treaty, article 9 (2)

Due to the ambiguity of the wording, contrasting interpretations of the articles became apparent and therefore a working group was established to prepare commission proposals for the creation of a European University, which was presided over by Gaetano Martino, former Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs. The working group held four meetings in the months from June to October 1958 and its results were presented on 18 December of the same year. During this process, the states of the Six collaborated closely to institute these proposals for the structure, function and setting of the European University. The European Community showed clear support for the project. In a speech in Milan on 13 December 1958 on the occasion of the second congress of the Cultural Foundation, the President of the European Economic Community Walter Hallstein, declared that the European university institution was not only desirable, but also necessary, especially for political reasons in the process of forming a European spirit because the idea of unification of Europe had not yet penetrated intellectual circles.[221] However, the member states each had their independent interests and ambitions for such institution, thus clashes in national viewpoints became apparent, allies and oppositions emerged.

Divided opinions

The German delegation declared its profound conviction that the six member states needed to seize the opportunity to fulfill the task of creating a European University, which was proved when the delegation put forward the proposal at the Messina conference.[222] The Germans envisioned a spiritual, scientific and technical centre that responded to the great culture of Europe; it needed to be 'a great school for a great idea'. Recognising the need to foster cultural as well as economic integration, they agreed to found a European University as an autonomous and permanent institute aimed at teaching and research, and at unifying professors and students from across the countries of the European Community; a university at the heart of the Community. However, while the German delegation supported a plan to establish a complete university, it also advised that it was not necessarily important to create a university with a comprehensive set of faculties. It saw

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[220] Euratom Treaty, article 216

[221] Procès-verbal de la reunion constitutive du 27 janvier 1959, Assemblée Parlementaire Européenne (CEAB/12-2416, HAEU)

[222] Extrait du procès-verbal de la reunion restreinte du comitédes réprésentants permanent, tenue à Bruxelles le 21 janvier 1959 (CM2/1959-917, HAEU)

the university as important stage in the construction of Europe, but realised that national universities in Germany would not be able to dedicate resources to studying European problems. Therefore, a European University could function alongside existing national universities, and the German delegation was even prepared to make a contribution up to 15 million Deutschmarks to the project.[223]

However, the fact that education and universities in Germany were managed at the local level (Länder) brought about delays in the working group of the European University project as the Länder were not in agreement with the federal government. The federal government had provided its backing for the project without the support of the Länder ministries of culture or the university rectors. The Länder ministries believed the project did not sufficiently address the aim of integrating the teaching body at European level or of creating a university of the European Communities. The rectors felt the project, as a supranational university, would pose a threat to national institutions.

The French delegation stood firm in their belief that article 9 of the Euratom Treaty did not necessarily imply the creation of a complete university such as the one other delegations envisaged. The French interpreted the European University project within the framework of the nuclear-power mission of Euratom, lobbying for the creation of a nuclear sciences centre.[224] The delegation opposed the creation of a supranational university, afraid that it would gain too much importance as an institution, and instead the delegation favoured a system of reinforced cooperation with existing national universities, with the exchange of people and ideas could be promoted. In this context, the French proposed the introduction of a 'Livret Universitaire Européen' (a European Higher Education passport) to facilitate the movement of people for academic purposes. Furthermore, the French delegation proposed the creation of specialist institutes within the national higher education institutions that were most qualified, as well as councils of administration within these institutes, composed of representatives from the European Communities.

The French believed that the European University project was not a complete lost cause, but many of its complicated aspects, such as the languages to adopt, the equivalence of degrees and the recruitment of professors, required further evaluation. Setting up a

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[223] German position on the European University (EUI-792, HAEU)
[224] Extrait du procès-verbal de la reunion restreinte du comitédes réprésentants permanent, tenue à Bruxelles le 21 janvier 1959 (CM2/1959-917, HAEU)

European University without sufficient preparation would run the risk of compromising the future of European Higher Education cooperation. Therefore, the French delegation also showed concerns over its contribution to the budget of such an institution, but supported the creation of a specialist working group for the European University in order to iron out some of these concerns.

Despite France's hesitations, Gaston Berger[225] convinced his colleague Roger Seydoux[226] that France would benefit from taking a more flexible approach to the European University project. He argued that France would stand a better chance of having its viewpoint heard if it were to propose a realistic and attractive counter-project rather than continue to bombard other proposals with negative arguments. Berger, with a viewpoint exclusively focused on French scientific research and Higher Education, believed that the specialised institutes that were being created or were indeed already established, would only be capable of competing at the international level if they also drew on professors from other states. Such enlargement would come naturally from an attachment to a European University. Contrary to the Italian idea, the university would be set up in France and would use French as its operating language to complement the languages spoken in the Community. Berger's colleagues supported his proposal as long as the university remained limited in size and complemented teaching in national universities rather than threatening it (Palayret, 1996). The French move has been described as a political one, which featured in the overall French policy to avoid any supranational communities in favour of intergovernmental cooperation. In this context, the European University project became one element in the much bigger dispute concerning the forms of political cooperation or integration among the Six (Lambert, 1962).

The Dutch delegation provided its full availability to collaborate on the creation of an institution of university level, despite the difficulties in which it found itself.[227] However, it did not agree to the establishment of a complete university and expressed a strong desire, like the French delegation, to create an institution dedicated to nuclear energy. According to the Dutch preference, the institution should work in close collaboration with the European Community as an important aspect of the cultural mission

[225] A French industrialist who retrained as a Professor of Philosophy (1896-1960)
[226] A French academic and diplomat (1908-1985)
[227] Extrait du procès-verbal de la reunion restreinte du comitédes réprésentants permanent, tenue à Bruxelles le 21 janvier 1959 (CM2/1959-917, HAEU)

with a main objective to promote the European plan in higher teaching and scientific research in the area of atomic energy, and areas in which national universities were lacking in teaching and research provision. A secondary objective would be to promote collaboration on the European plan, but in a more general sense, by means of conferences on European integration, from a historical, cultural, economic, social and legal perspective.

Like the French delegation, the Dutch supported the creation of a Working Group on the European University project in order to keep proceedings moving. The Dutch in particular thought the conventions setting up the European University should be completely detached from the initiative of the Six and that other states should be welcome to participate. The Dutch feeling was that a university of the Six would be too narrow and it would be more appropriate if the project were to be handled by the Council of Europe's Cultural Committee or the European Universities Committee of the Western European Union, especially regarding the financial aspects. The Dutch, along with the Belgians, were most fearful of increased expenditure that went above states' financial obligations in teaching and research laid down in the Eurotom Treaty. The Dutch delegation highlighted that it would find it difficult to justify funding a university of a more general nature because of the restrictions that had been imposed on national universities in the Netherlands.[228]

The Belgian delegation expressed a general agreement for the creation of a university institution, with a preference for a postgraduate institution. The Belgians felt it would be too premature to create a complete university, which should be created progressively.[229] It believed, however, that in the creation of a university institution, the European Community should keep in mind the provision of this type that is already available in European countries. In this sense, the Belgians could conceive the idea of establishing a network of high-level institutions with an administrative headquarters in Florence.

The Belgian delegation expressed serious concerns with the institution proposed by the Italian delegation, claiming it would conflict with the College of Europe, already established in Bruges. According to the Belgian delegation, the Italians' institution had an

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[228] Exposé présenté par les experts néerlandais du Groupe de Travail sur l'Université Européene (CM2/1958-953, HAEU)
[229] Extrait du procès-verbal de la reunion restreinte du comitédes répr;esentants permanent, tenue à Bruxelles le 21 janvier 1959 (CM2/1959-917, HAEU)

almost identical structure to that of the College of Europe, with a focus on human sciences, and historical, political, legal and economic sciences. The Belgians therefore proposed the creation of a centre of research and postgraduate teaching based on four departments: history and civilization, political sciences, law, and economics, even though similar centres already existed. They proposed that the institution in Florence had a unique character that emphasized theoretical physics, and pure and applied mathematics, while the College of Europe would focus on its original disciplines of legal and administrative sciences, economic sciences, and political and social sciences.[230]

Similarly to Italy and Germany, the Luxembourgian delegation was profoundly convinced of the need to create a European university to complement the European community.[231] It considered the project's objective to be the establishment of a complete university with traditional faculties, from higher teaching to postgraduate training. According to the Luxembourgian delegation, the focus of the institution should be dedicated to European issues and the problems facing the Community; it should be a functional institution oriented towards the economic and political objectives of the European Community. The Luxembourgian representative, Pierre Pescatore,[232] was the chairman of the working group on the European University project.[233]

It should be added that since 1949, Luxembourg already had similar experiences to the European University project, which came in the form of an attempt to set up an 'Institut Luxembourgeois Universitaire'. Luxembourg did not have its own university, so it pursued plans to create a university institute during the post-war period. Unfortunately, the project failed to come to fruition, but the issue was raised again in 1978.[234]

From the outset, the Italians maintained a strong conviction for the European University project and can be considered its greatest advocates. Along the same vein as the Luxembourgian and German delegations, the Italian delegation whole-heartedly believed in the need for the creation of a European University alongside the European

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[230] The Belgian position on the European University (EUI-791, HAEU)
[231] Extrait du procès-verbal de la reunion restreinte du comitédes réprensentants permanent, tenue à Bruxelles le 21 janvier 1959 (CM2/1959-917, HAEU)
[232] Pierre Pescatore (1919-2010) was a professor and a judge at the European Court of Justice. He worked for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1946-1967, during the establishment of the European Community.
[233] Aide-memoire du Gouvernement Luxembourgois relative au projet d'une Université Européenne (CM2/1958-952, HAEU)
[234] Letter from Henri Koch Kent to Prof. Walter Lipgens (EUI-794, 1978, HAEU)

Community.[235] They were pleased with the proposal that the German delegation had submitted at the Messina conference, which promoted the establishment of a "European University presenting the characteristics of an autonomous institute to supply the necessary means of research and allow access to profound and new knowledge", and to promote European cooperation as well as to offer general European culture. The Italians did not want to completely dismiss the importance of nuclear sciences, but they favoured a complete university over a specialised centre.

In order for such an institution to be true to its mission of promoting European integration and European culture, the Italian delegation believed that it had to be created progressively to avoid a soul-less institution that did not have the ability to address the needs of the future. If it were to truly complement the European Community, it was imperative that it had the means to contribute concretely to the scientific and technical needs of tomorrow's Europe. In this context, it would also prepare functionaries for the European institutions, as well as diplomats and professors of history and languages.

The Italians deepened their proposal with practical details on the logistical orientation of a European University. They suggested it could host between three and six thousand students from university to doctoral level, which Germany supported since it was against the creation of a purely postgraduate university because such institutions did not exist in Germany. Although the proposal submitted by Italy was for a complete university, all programmes and students would have a research focus that linked to European integration. With such a specific European focus, the European University would therefore not compete with national universities because it was a research area in which national universities had limited resources. The University's faculty would therefore also be oriented strongly towards themes surrounding European integration, and professors would come from across the world. The Italians advocated the setting up of faculties comprising chemistry, physics, mathematics, biology, agronomy, political and legal sciences, economics and commerce, civil engineering, literature and philosophy (Palayret, 1996). The Italian delegation proposed that the six member states would supply the budget for the

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[235] Extrait du procès-verbal de la reunion restreinte du comitédes réprésentants permanent, tenue à Bruxelles le 21 janvier 1959 (CM2/1959-917, HAEU)

University, and towards the finalisation of the project, Italy reserved state-owned buildings in Florence to host the institution.[236]

In 1958, the Association of the Universities of Europe also highlighted its objections to a centralised university. It questioned the very definition of a 'European University', suggesting that all the universities across Europe were in fact European because they were born and developed in Europe. If the recruitment of academic staff from different nationalities is what makes it European, it is not enough; national universities also welcome academic staff and students that are not of the nationality of the university. Neither would it be necessary to create a European University to intensify exchanges. In response to the suggestion that the European University would focus on European studies, the Association suggested that it risks becoming too political, a training centre for militants and officials, which may not be compatible with a scientific mission. If the envisaged university was to be a success, the Association suggested that it could not be mediocre, but at the same time, it could not overshadow existing universities or create a threat. Moreover, the Association pointed to a risk of cultural centralisation.

According to the Association, if the European University was to be created, it should not repeat the work of the existing universities, and it should not take on a political character. It should not favour a Europe that it limited to the Six, and it should not become an artificial creation without a soul. It should be a de-centralised university that does not give the monopoly to determined country or organisation, and it should be a new concept that favours the birth of a united Europe.[237]

Towards the creation of the European University

In December 1959, under the guidance of Etienne Hirsch, President of the Euratom Commission, the Euratom Commission eventually proposed the creation of a "university with general competences" to be the "the university of Europe", which of all the proposed projects was closest to that of Italy and Germany. In a meeting in January 1960, the

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[236] Memoire presente par le Gouvernement Italien sur le projet de création d'une Université Européenne (CM2/1958-952, HAEU)
[237] Association des Universités d'Europe, Difficultés souvlées par la création d'une Université Européenne Centralisée, Examen des objections que susciterait un tel projet, par le Professeur Guy Michaud, Juillet 1958 (HC-64, HAEU)

members of Euratom's Commission for Scientific and Technical Research insisted on: the need for the other two European Communities (the European Economic Community and European Coal and Steel Community) to participate in the creation of the European University; the importance of the linguistic problem and the need to contribute to language learning across Europe at the level of secondary education; the need to revise the teaching of human sciences with a European perspective; the importance of such teaching for the future of European youth; the importance of not establishing student quotas that are too rigid towards nationality and the percentage of non-member nationalities; the need for a liberal policy for the nationality of professors; the need to establish the university progressively to ensure its status; and the importance of universities in producing the professors of the next generation.[238] It was highlighted that the European Commission needed to avoid creating a 'supranational' university that would compete with national universities, but to create an academic community devoted to assisting national universities on the European plan in the teaching and training of young people. It would therefore be important to take action in the short term to assure public opinion and that of universities and scientific environments on the creation of a European University. The Commission gave M. Geiger the task of completing an 'Interim Report on the Creation of a European University'.[239] However, the European University was defined as forming only a part of a more complex plan for increasing cultural and scientific cooperation under a European Council for Higher Learning and Research (Lambert, 1962).

The Interim Report, also known more colloquially as the 'Geiger Report' was submitted to the Commission and discussed on 27 April 1960 in Florence by the Interim Committee for the European University. The report made three main proposals in this regard: on the European University, on European Higher Education and research institutes, and on exchanges at university level. On the question of the European University, it was noted that the university's structure would be different to that of conventional universities, and would only teach disciplines grouped in departments (six: Law, Economics, Social and Political Science, History, Pure Mathematics and Theoretical Physics) and not faculties. It would welcome students that had already received three or four years of university education, and

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[238] Ibid (CEAB/12-631, HAEU)

[239] Meeting of 26 January 1960 including exposé of M. Hirsch on the state of advancement of the work on the creation of a European University and on a common centre for nuclear research at Ispra, and on a centre of nuclear research at Petten, Assemblée Parlementaire Européenne, Commission de la Recherche Scientifique et Technique (CEAB/12-631, HAEU)

would confer the diploma of 'Doctor of the European University'. It would host around 250 students in the first year and then 500 students per year during the first five years of its establishment, and students would not be limited to those of the member states. A system of bursaries would be developed with support from states, the Community, and public and private organisations. The professorial body would be composed of permanent professors with a Chair of the European University, professors with a temporary Chair, professors assigned only to courses, and academic assistants (two for each professor). The role of the University would be to contribute to the spiritual development of Europe, and would therefore not compete with national universities. On the contrary, the insufficient student places led to a necessity for the new European University.[240]

It was suggested that, as the Interim Report stated that European University would be created by the Community, this indicated it would fulfil a political mission. However, Geiger denied any intrusion of political motives into the academic sphere, suggesting – in the words of the German Philosopher Karl Jaspers – that universities are seen as public establishments and the patrimony of the nation as an expression of a people. It was suggested that the idea of the economic integration process requiring output in the cultural field was undoubtedly at the root of the Council of Ministers of the EEC and Euratom decisions in July 1959, setting up the Interim Committee for the European University (Lambert, 1962).

The Committee considered the preservation of the freedom enjoyed by traditional universities and advised that the European University would therefore be an autonomous institution. Emphasis was made, however, to collaboration with existing universities and scientific institutions, making the European University a centre of high specialisation and of European cooperation at the highest level.[241]

The mission of the European University would be to reinforce the cultural and scientific potential of Europe by contributing the research and teaching, especially in fields that are of high priority to the construction of Europe and the close collaboration between member

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[240] Extrait du process-verbale des activités de l'Assemblée Parlementaire Européenne, No. 4/1961, Analyse du rapport intérimaire de M. Geiger (Commission de la Recherche et de la Culture), doc. 1299/60 (CEAB/12-847, HAEU)

[241] Rapport du Comité Intérimaire aux Conseils de la Communauté Economique Européenne et de la Communauté Européenne de l'Énergie Atomique, Comité Intérimaire pour l'Université Européenne, c.i.u. 86/60, doc. EUR/C/1408/60f, Florence, 27 avril 1960 (CEAB/12-631, HAEU)

states. In particular, its role would be to: facilitate solutions to problems that such construction and collaboration poses; contribute to training individuals who will then work in the public services of their own countries, in the European institutions and in the intellectual and economic life of Europe; and study the problems that require a concentration of efforts for the European plan.

As for the European Institutes of Higher Education and Research, the idea had been created as a counter proposal to the European University project by Gaston Berger, but it became an additional proposal in the report that was supported by the academics. With material assistance from the Community, the idea was to provide a European label to deserving institutions according to the importance and relevance of their academic output. The creation of advanced research centres was also proposed to address the areas of most relevance to the six states of the European Community. Lastly, the report encouraged the expansion of university exchanges and overall, identified four sectors that deserved sustained effort: the equivalence of degrees, the harmonisation of study programmes, increased exchanges and the setting up of a reciprocal information system.[242]

Despite discussions taking place on the university's infrastructure regarding its governing body and the appointment of a rector and a secretary, discussions stalled at the Council meetings in June and July 1960 due to reservations from member states over the title of the institution and the source of its funding. On 20 June 1960, it was nevertheless decided that the European University would be hosted in Florence, Italy.

The location of the European University brought about more disagreement amongst the member states. The Germans, along with the Belgians, preferred Luxembourg as the location, acting as a natural extension of the European schools. Since German universities were particularly decentralised and fell under the powers of the Länder, hosting a European University in Germany that depended on the national authorities would have been seen negatively. Bearing in mind that a decision on the location of the European institutions had not yet been made, and Germany had indicated that they should be located, the location of the European University began to be used as a bargaining tool with Luxembourg (with an unanimous vote, Luxembourg would have vetoed the idea of hosting the Communities in Brussels). When Luxembourg refused to bargain, the Italians seized the opportunity to

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[242] Ibid (CEAB/12-631, HAEU)

make their proposal of spreading the European institutions across Europe to avoid Brussels becoming the capital of Europe. Of course, Italy wanted a bite of the apple and hoped that a part of the Community – the European University – could be hosted in Italy. Despite rejection from the Benelux countries and thanks to the agreement of France, Italy was allowed to proceed with diplomatic action to secure the European University in Florence.

A new intergovernmental orientation

Unfortunately, the Italians were unable to pursue the project further because, in October 1960, the French representative suggested the question of the European University were tackled in the framework of a European cultural cooperation agency if it were to be set up. This proposal threw into question the supranational orientation of the European University. Previously, the Italian delegation, with support from the Belgian and German delegations, had declared their conviction for institutional links with the Community, though the German delegation pointed out the difficulty in navigating around three Communities.[243] However, Charles de Gaulle sought to reduce supranational tendencies, claiming that the Commission could not constitute a political power and that Europe should be governed on the basis of intergovernmental cooperation. Furthermore, the French opposed the title of European 'University' for the institution,[244] while the other delegations agreed on such a title. For the French, the European University project fell into the French political plan with an emphasis on university exchanges and the equivalence of degrees, where such questions would be discussed in regular meetings between Education ministers. This was the first time the project was truly reconsidered in a framework of intergovernmental cultural cooperation away from the involvement of the Commission. The Italians used this to re-launch the project in the framework of the countries of the Council of Europe, where Britain and Denmark especially showed an interest.

On 18 July 1961, a meeting in Bonn with the heads of State set up a Council of Ministers responsible for education and international cultural relations to negotiate university cooperation and exchanges, the European mission that could be assigned to national university and research institutes, the creation of a European University in Florence with

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[243] Extrait du procès-verbal de la 112ème réunion tenue à Bruxelles le 13-15 juin 1960, approuvé le 20 septembre 1960, doc. 387/60, Conseil de la CEE et Conseil de la CEEA (CEAB/12-631, HAEU)
[244] Procès-verbal de la 121ème réunion, 5 septembre 1960, approuvé le 3 octobre 1960, doc. 546/60 (CEAB/12-631, HAEU)

an intellectual and financial contribution from the Six.[245] The Italians were assigned responsibility for implementing the project, and they had suggested they were chosen because the Germans, who had initially re-launched the question of the European University with a proposal at the Messina Conference, were unable to proceed due to constitutional obstacles that do not allow the government to interfere with matters of the Länder, of which higher education was a part.[246]

A greater emphasis on cooperation amongst national universities and their European vocation brought about a notable shift in Europe's university policy. As this also changed the programme for setting up the European University, no further reference was made to the Community's involvement in the creation of the European University. The European Commission and the European Parliament had shown strong support for the European University project since 1959 and were therefore disappointed by the Bonn decisions, claiming that they ignored the proposals developed by the Eurotom Commission, the Interim Committee and the European Parliament. The European Parliament stated clearly that the European University in Florence was not the university wished for by the Parliament. The Commission was still waiting for the creation of that University and would not cease to fight for its realisation.[247]

However, developments continued on an intergovernmental basis, but questions were raised over the feasibility of the Six creating a university since the Six did not constitute a state and only a state could create a university. It would have to be an institute conferring degrees recognised in the six member states. It was suggested that the university was set up as an Italian national university, specialising in European studies and thus supported by the Six, but the Italians were not keen. De Gaulle did not want a university created under European law, so with his agreement, Germany gave Italy a mandate to create the university under national law with a European label on it. The other states would provide intellectual and financial support. Italy was not completely in agreement; the Italians knew they had been loaded with a project riddled with well-known difficulties. They found themselves with a project they were deeply attached to, but with the responsibility of re-

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[245] Bonn Communiqué, 19 juillet 1961, Bruxelles, doc. EUR/C/2606/61f (EUI-8, HAEU)

[246] 'L'Università Europea, Oggi', Introduzione ad un dibattito sull'Università Europea promosso dalla unione Fiorentina, il 22 febbraio 1970, nella sede di Palazzo Strozzi a Firenze (EUI-8, HAEU)

[247] Extrait du procès-verbal des activités de l'Assemblée Parlementaire Européenne, No. 4/1961, Analyse du rapport intérimaire de M. Geiger (Commission de la Recherche et de la Culture), doc. 1299/60 (CEAB/12-847, HAEU)

launching it on different terms than their own. Nevertheless, they proceeded to adopt in 1963 a draft Italian law on setting up the European University in Florence and to intensify negotiations to flesh out the directives of the Bonn meeting. Italy set up an organising committee on which sat representatives of the Six as well as the three communities, demonstrating a keenness to involve the communities. The Committee created the founding act for the University and visited and approved a construction project at Villa Tolomei in Florence. More discussions on finance arose; considering the responsibility Italy had assumed in the European University and particularly the construction project, France proposed that Italy bore the construction costs. The fact was that France did not want the 'University' to become a real university and could only use financial power to hinder its development. France also requested that the involvement of the European Communities to be ceased.

Unfortunately, the project encountered further delays throughout 1962 and 1963. The other states doubted Italy's ability to see through the Florence Project, particularly given Italy's lack of preparation on the financial questions. Differences within the Italian government were also blamed for the delays; while the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was happy to settle for a specialised institute for advanced studies, the Ministry of Education wanted a fully-fledged university, which in order to satisfy Giorgio La Pira (Mayor of Florence) would welcome students from underdeveloped countries such as Africa and South America. With a new government, the Education Minister Giacinto Bosco was asked to draft the statutes for the European University. However, considering himself at liberty to draft his own proposal given the Italian control over the project, his proposal was for a fully-fledged university and, of course, not accepted.

The other states took advantage of the delays to request the project be withdrawn; a request particularly driven by the German rectors. They would accept, however, a high-level institute created by many European states to avoid political interference, focusing on aspects of Europe that were studied poorly in national universities. Finally, the project was resumed in July 1963 when the new Italian Education Minister Luigi Guire launched it at a colloquium and the draft Italian law was accepted by the Council of Ministers.

Two intergovermental conferences took place in November 1963 and May 1964 and the project started to move forward again. However, the timing clashed with the Elysée Treaty

and the 'empty chair crisis', causing further setbacks for the Florence project. Talks resumed in mid-1965, but were troubled until 1969. The Italians then drew up another proposal for an institute of four departments (economics, law, political and social sciences, and history and civilization), which would also provide training for business leaders and involve the participation of Britain. In February 1969, the Italian diplomat Cattani visited all the capitals of the Six plus London to sound out reactions. The resignation of Charles de Gaulle in April 1969 facilitated European enlargement, considerably helping the Italians' plans for the European University project in this regard.

It had been suggested that there will little interest from other Council of Europe states in joining the European University with the exception of Denmark, which stated its interest in August 1960. Once it had been established whether or not such countries can become full or associate members of the Common Market, a solution would be found to the problem of cultural cooperation in general. Then, it would be inconceivable that the Six would object to enlarging the basis of the University; it had been suggested that the British, for example, would make an important contribution and play a significant role in such a project (Lambert, 1962).

The Hague Summit of December 1969 provided much more favourable circumstances than the Six had previously experienced. The new French Prime Minister Georges Pompidou needed European success for domestic purposes and the new German Chancellor Willy Brandt was freer to move. The heads of state noted that the European initiatives could only really succeed if they included the involvement of the youth, which confirmed an interest in the European University. In 1969, the University Commission of the European Movement reiterated the importance of a European University for Europe. It would be essential for forging Europe; thus far the privileged tools of intelligence and culture had been abandoned. It was time to change the mentality towards the direction of a European civilisation, and this would be the soul of the European University. During the time of Europe, citizens would not remain in their own countries; they would organise cultural exchange and allow the 'intellectual workers' to discover Europe, and in order to avoid remaining at the artisanal stage, it was necessary to build the European University. A true European civilisation was considered the only valid interlocutor with the foreign civilisations, and this element alone should prompt the establishment of the university as

soon as possible. The European University would be able to create the 'Europe of brains' that was so reclaimed.[248]

The establishment of the European University Institute

The Italians sought to reach an initial understanding with the French and, in October 1970 and February 1971, the Six agreed the European University would be linked to the Communities and called the European University Institute.[249] It would be a postgraduate institution and would be governed by a High Council made up of member state representatives and an Academic Council of teaching staff and students. Its four departments of economics, law, political and social sciences, and history and civilization would confer the doctorate and it would be funded by the member states (at least until 1977, when a review would take place). The official languages would be German, English, French, Italian and Dutch, with French and English as the official working languages.[250]

Commentators suggested that not more than one third of the student body should be of one nationality, the departments that would provide teaching that would gain from being presented in a European context, and the teaching staff provisions. The eventuality of certain points being amended in the work in progress should not be excluded and that some of the fundamental criticisms made by the Assembly are worth noting because they reflect the overall role of the University. The Assembly maintained that the University must not limit itself purely to addressing the European questions, that students who have not yet completed their studies at their national universities should be admitted, that the majority of professorial staff should be permanent members of the teaching body to guarantee the University the maximum autonomy in teaching and research, that the rector should be appointed by the professorial staff and can only be rejected by the Council of Ministers only in exceptional cases (Lambert, 1962).

The final agreement took place on 16 November 1971 at a meeting of Education Ministers when France (Olivier Guichard) pledged that it would accept the European University

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[248] Commission Universitaire du Mouvement Européen, Rapport introductive par M. Philippe Dubief, Organisation Française du Mouvement Européen, 1969 (HC-30, HAEU)
[249] Rapport Conclusif, Conférence Intergouvernmentale pour l'Université Européenne, Rome, 1-3 février 1971 (EUI-8, HAEU)
[250] Ibid (EUI-8, HAEU)

project if Italy accepted France's Centre of Educational Development. Italy's Riccardo Misasi agreed. The signing of the Convention setting up the European University Institute (EUI) therefore took place in Florence on 19 April 1972, and it welcomed its first students in the autumn of 1976 at the Badia Fiesolana in San Domenico di Fiesole, which was initially a temporary location until works at Villa Tolomei in central Florence had been completed.[251]

Today, with around 500 students, the European University Institute is a smaller institution compared to the original plan to create a complete university. The Institute specialises in doctoral degrees across four faculties: History and Civilization; Economics; Law; and Political and Social Science. The governance of the EUI is intergovernmental, with member states sitting on a High Council and a Budget Committee, which both meet twice a year. Member states of the EUI must be member states of the EU, though not all member states of the EU have joined the EUI convention. Member states of the EUI provide the institutions core budget, as well as bursaries to students from its own countries. Some member states also sponsor students from non-European countries. The EU does not have a role in the EUI's governance, though it is consulted and has a representative on the high council. The EUI now attracts extensive external funding, much of which is EU funding, but the EUI does not depend on the EU from a governance point of view. The majority of its externally-funded projects are hosted by the EUI's research centre, the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, which was founded in 1992 in a second phase of the EUI's development. A further phase of development is currently taken place with the establishment of a School of Transnational Governance in June 2017, offering Exectutive Training, Masters programmes and Young Policy Leader Fellowship programmes. The School is in a pilot phase, funded by the European Commission.

Obstacles to the European University project

The European University project experienced a long, slow development that was not without obstacles. Differing opinions among member states applied the heaviest brakes to the project, but several practical considerations also arose. First, there was a question of equivalence of degrees. With students from different European countries with different

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[251] Note à l'attention de M. Dahrendorf, Commission des Communautés Européennes, Groupe d'Enseignement et Éducation, 22 janvier 1973, Bruxelles (EUI-8, HAEU)

qualifications, it would be necessary to find a solution to recognise equally the diplomas from across the member states. A lack of a common system of degree-equivalence created obstacles for admissions to the University. Similarly, it was important to ensure that the degrees conferred at the European University were recognised in the European member states.

Languages posed the second significant obstacle, especially because they were yet to be defined for the European Community. The official languages of the University would need to be decided, to be adopted for theses, courses, administration and official communication. It would need to be decided whether the University would impose criteria for applicants to be able to speak certain languages. However, there was potential for languages to play a significant role in the European University. For example, during discussions on the 'Geiger Report', it was suggested that the European University could play an emerging intermediary role between European languages by bringing together and making accessible the important scientific sources in European languages.[252] The University Commission of the European Movement proposed the creation of a European linguistic diploma alongside other university qualifications.[253]

Third, the recruitment of professors posed a series of problems. Tenured professors would not necessarily be willing to leave their national universities for a fixed-term position, and it was questionable whether they would even move to a different country for another permanent position. It had been suggested in plans for the European University that professors should not be permanent in order to ensure fresh ideas and knowledge entered the institution, but at the same time, faculty solely based on sabbatical professors from other institutions could cause instability for the European University.

In addition, it was noted that the creation of a library presents great difficulties since the war had destroyed a large number of documents, and American university had bought up large volumes of stock in recent years.[254]

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[252] Note concernant la création d'une université Européenne par les Communautés Européennes par M. Geiger, 22 octobre 1959 (CEAB/12-2416, HAEU)
[253] Commission Universitaire du Mouvement Européen, Rapport introductive par M. Philippe Dubief, Organisation Française du Mouvement Européen, 1969 (HC-30, HAEU)
[254] Procès-verbal de la reunion constitutive du 25 septembre 1959, Assemblée Parlementaire Européenne (CEAB/12-2416, HAEU)

Finally, there was a general wariness among several member states towards a supranational institution and its potential threat to national higher education institutions if it gained too much importance. In a similar vein, there was fear that creating a European higher education institution could lead to the European Commission meddling in the affairs of national universities.

The coexistence of two European academic institutions

Discussions within the European Council of Ministers on how to implement article 9 of the Euratom Treaty, for the creation of an institution of university status, began in 1960, sending shock waves through the already-established College of Europe. The first reaction came from the College's alumni. They met for a study weekend on Bruges on 6-7 December 1958 to discuss the problem of the creation of a European University or a postgraduate university institution. The Alumni Association sent letters to the Presidents of the European Economic Community and Euratom, as well as to the members of the European Parliament's Research Committee, highlighting that the institutes of European studies were already available to the European communities and should therefore be considered within the framework of the European University. In particular, they called for the College of Europe to be integrated into the new postgraduate institution.[255] Rector Brugmans was convinced of the threat that the European University posed on the College of Europe, due to its much larger dimension and similar academic focus. For him, since first appearing in the press in 1955, the European University initiative has only intensified an already fundamental problem (Vermuelen, 2000). The College's Administrative Council held lengthy debates in 1960 on the subject of the European University, but it was decided that the College should use the interest in the University as leverage to gain recognition for the College as a postgraduate institution and appeal for funding. The uncertainty had a pragmatic impact on the developments of the library building work, since the Mayor of Bruges was not convinced about continuing the project until the College's future had been secured.

Relief came with the news that the idea of a supranational university had been blocked by the French at a meeting of the Heads of State in Bonn in 1961, and the Alumni Association

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[255] Déclaration de la Commission de la recherche scientifique et technique, Assemblée Parlementaire Européenne, doc. APE/1362, Luxembourg, 22 janvier 1959 (CM2/1959-917, HAEU)

took advantage of the circumstances to adopt two resolutions in 1962. The first recommended the recognition of the College as an institute of advanced European studies with similar status to the European University, and the second recommended the increase in student numbers to at least 100, in the permanent academic body with two further professors, and the introduction of a two-year course leading to a doctorate. Only the expansion of the College was successful.

Another bombshell came when the EUI was established in 1972, and information on its funding was made available. Its budget was far greater than that of the College of Europe, and EUI member states were obliged by convention to contribute to the budget. It raised the question as to whether the College of Europe had missed an opportunity to become an integral part of the European system of institutes of advanced European studies, and it had to rethink its mission. Lukaszewski approached the issue head-on in his first statement as College of Europe Rector in 1972, stating that the College of Europe should be expanded and comparable to the EUI. He noted that the EUI would have the same characteristics as the College of Europe, but for several hundreds of students and several dozens of professors, and in particular, with more financial resources and a more solid legal basis. This raises the question of whether two such institutions can coexist with a clear division of work for mutual benefit. Defending the College's position, Lukaszewski highlighted that it was the first 'European' academic institution and is thus well known. It has always held the process of European integration at the centre of its teaching and research, and has always loyally reflected the national diversity of Europe. In general, Lukaszewski identified its added value compared to the EUI as its ability to foster a European community owing to the fact that students and professors are hosted together in halls of residence and can acquaint themselves with different cultures and intellectual approaches, and its ability to foster good connections with the European institutions thanks to its close proximity to Brussels and easy access to the Hague, Paris, Bonn, Luxembourg and London.[256] By 1988, an agreement of collaboration between in the institutions, and with the European Institute of Public Administration later created in Maastricht, was established.

It can be said that the College of Europe is like no other academic institution in continental Europe. It can be distinguished from others due to four factors: human, in the multinational

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[256] Note sur l'état et les perspectives du Collège d'Europe par Jerzy Lukaszewski, 07/07/1972, ME-2084, HAEU)

composition of the student and professorial body, which live together in halls of residence fostering a European intellectual community; programmatic, in its multidisciplinary programme of postgraduate studies; organisational, in its freedom as an independent institution rather than a national institution tied to regulations; and social, in its creation by the European Movement as an intention to contribute to the construction of a united Europe (Bekemans & eds., 1999).

The friction between the two institutions can be sensed in the paper written in 1969 by the College of Europe Rector Brugmans, in which he begins by posing a fundamental question that had not been considered – or perhaps dared to be posed – by the other scholars or actors in the project: "Should a united Europe have a Central European University?" (Brugmans, 1969). With this bold gesture, Brugmans throws into question not only the role, but also the whole purpose of the European University. Nevertheless, he is quick to assure his readers that generally-speaking he believes the European University project was a good idea. He supports his argument by making reference to the Abigenses war and the creation of the University of Toulouse, the 1572 siege in Leiden and the first Calvinist University, and the rebirth of the Prussian State and the creation of the University of Berlin, to suggest that it is normal for a new political entity to want to express its ideals culturally in the form of an intellectual institution. In the case of the construction of Europe, he suggests it would have been perfectly understandable that the European Movement would have wanted to do the same.

After confirming that the Bonn Declaration handed over responsibility of the European University to the Italian Government, Brugmans questions "Why is it then that so little came out of such an apparently good idea?" His response is one that by now we know to be as the brakes implemented by the French Government of Charles De Gaulle to avoid the "supranationality" aspect of the project. However, Brugmans delves further by questioning whether this constituted a true conclusion and why the Italian Government, which he notes as strongly anti-Gaullist, was not able to produce a concrete proposal arousing new enthusiasm. Brugmans is not able to identify the answer to his question, but having read more recent studies, we now know that the Italians were having internal troubles within their Government, namely between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Florentine Mayor Giorgio La Pira.

Harking back to the significance of the European University, Brugmans notes here that it still had not been made clear "in how far and in what form the 'European University' would fill a gap and correspond to a concrete need in the academic world". He adds that the public debate has been politicised as if it were obvious what a "European University" would be, what its purpose would be and how it could be conceived. Maybe Brugmans was right; was it taken for granted that everyone should just know what the European University was supposed to do, which is why its mission was never truly defined.

Turning back to the original request of the cultural commission of the European Movement to Europeanise the academic world, Brugmans points out that while the European University in Florence would never Europeanise higher education since it would see only a small percentage of European students – which Palayret agreed with – it does have the potential to act as a pioneer-institution for experimenting new types of teaching and research. Depending on the success of the new forms of teaching and research, they could subsequently be diffused across the national institutions in Europe. He highlights that the overall aim should be to cleanse European universities of "nationalistic thinking". In this regard, three proposals can be noted to fulfil the aim. The first is that of Gaston Berger, who proposed the creation of a "European label" for specialist institutes, which was included in the Interim Committee report but buried shortly after. The second proposal was made during a symposium organised by the College of Europe in 1960, suggesting the organisation of precise research projects to be carried out jointly by a group of universities. The final proposal, which is described as the most radical, involved a compulsory term at a foreign university, which was already discussed by the Association des Instituts d'Études Européennes. This would restore an old tradition seen in Germany in which students were expected to attend different universities within Germany, only the tradition would be adopted in a broader sense.

In addition to questioning the role of the European University, in this section Brugmans also casts a shadow over the decision to host the European University in Florence. He believes it reasonable to ask whether Florence, being so far from Brussels, is the appropriate location for the study of European integration. He agrees that it could be a suitable location for the study of European cultural history, for instance, but he dismisses the problem given that – at the time – the proposal was no longer to study European integration in a single European University.

A further question posed is "why the apparently so ambitious scheme originally proposed at Messina had so remarkably little repercussions in the academic world?" Brugmans suggests that there was never a team of enthusiastic academics ready to embark on the European University in Florence, leaving behind their national careers. The Florence project had no followers, which made it difficult to push through in a difficult political climate. In Brugmans's bold words:

> "Florence was never an issue. Nobody actually fought for it. Nobody accepted to risk his career on it. Nobody really felt that this was the thing to do, because it did correspond to a burning need of the European Community, and even of the European civilization" (Brugmans, 1969).

Brugmans suggests that what Europe really needed were institutions like Harvard Business School or the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, which would be closer to the vision of Gaston Berger, "rather than all ill-defined 'University'" (Brugmans, 1969). With this suggestion, Brugmans was trying to put forth the principle of pooling European resources in precise fields where there is a gap in the provisions available at national level. He proposes that the reason why academics of national universities were reluctant to renounce their national careers was due to the fact that it was unclear what exactly the Florence European University could offer them. If they were able to leave their national universities for an institution that provided "American" possibilities in "European" surroundings that filled a gap in their national system, perhaps they would be more inclined to embark on such an initiative.

Brugmans continues with his proposal by adding that such a European institution does not have to limit itself to its original specialist areas, but once established it could develop into a centre for higher learning. In this sense, Brugmans envisaged the European University being established where the need is greatest and developing into a pioneer institution, innovating methods and questioning programmes. In the same way that a united Europe can only be attractive if it is a new Europe, Brugman concludes that however large or small the European University is, it should be a "nucleus of fresh thinking, an experimental enterprise, a ferment in the world of learning" and that it should not be limited to citizens of the Community.

Brugmans's take on the European University project stands out amongst other studies for its provocation, which on many occasions verges onto the cynical and ironic. He puts forward a series of bold questions that stir up thoughts on the overall success of the European University and its true significance and mission. It should be remembered that during the period in which the study was undertaken, there was a great deal of skepticism, when squabbles were occurring within the Italian Government, and as the long and slow negotiation process was finally nearing its outcome. In doing so, Brugmans appears to be the only scholar to address the European University project from a negative stance, which are in synergy with a bitterness towards the European University as Rector of the College of Europe. However, it can also be said that in some cases his arguments can perhaps be considered the most honest. It is true that such institution needed to carefully devise its mission and understand its place and contribution within the European higher education sector.

Conclusion

For some, great expectations were placed on the European University project and they saw the EUI as only the beginning of a bigger project. In 1962, Lambert opens the question of a possible replica university in another state. He suggests that if the University in Florence were to prove successful, attracting large numbers of students spending part of their study at the University as well as international students, it may become too small. Therefore, it may occur to another state to create another European University in their country. For example, if Belgium decided to create another European University, it might consider developing its already existing College of Europe to create a counter-part to the Florence University.

Looking now at the situation over forty years later, although it was a very valuable consideration, it was not feasible since – in this form at least – the European University's development was not as great as it was perhaps hoped in the 1960s. Given the complexities of its development, in the form of diverging domestic opinions and legitimate obstacles to its creation, the creation of a smaller institution than originally foreseen can be justified. When placed within the broader context of European integration and the construction of Europe, the creation of an academic institution of a European nature encounters obstacles

linked to the cohabitation of different nationalities, the recognition of diplomas and the mobility of academic staff.

Furthermore, the existence of two European academic institutions posed problems for the project. The European University was forever living with the imposing shadow of the College of Europe over its shoulder and the College of Europe forever living in the shadow of the European University, creating a difficult dynamic that in some ways conditioned the development of each institution. Time has smoothed out the differences and in a quickly changing Europe, the need and role of the two institutions shall be as pertinent as they were at the beginning of European integration.

This chapter presented the case study of the European University project, as a demonstration of the dynamics at play when the European Community and the member states collaborate on a concrete initiative in the field of education. The chapter highlighted the complexities of harmonising aspects of education across borders due to the diversity among education systems. Moreover, although the project was an initiative developed and coordinated within the framework of the European Community, namely within the context of Euratom, it faced notable resistance from member states, in which opinions diverged more frequently than they converged. This is very telling of policy development in education at European level in general, especially as the project was then taken away from the European Community and ultimately succeeded as an intergovernmental project. Left under the supervision of the European Community, the European University project would have likely failed. Such exclusion of the European Community echoes more recent initiatives in education, namely the Bologna Process, which leads to the interpretation that intergovernmentalism is the preferred context to develop policy in education. The case study therefore rejects the notion that policy development becomes automatic once a certain level of control has been given to the European Community, as per neofunctionalism, because if this was the case, there would be a greater possibility that today we would be dealing with a University of Europe as a recognised European insitution. The case study therefore places emphasis on the role of the state in matters relating to education at European level.

Chapter Ten | Analysis

Introduction

      This chapter aims to bring together the content of the previous chapters to make suggestions on the role of the state in the development of activities in the field of education, and the tensions at play between the national and supranational level when it comes to exerting power in the field. Were nation-states willing to renounce power to the supranational level? Were there spillover triggers that made supranational power in educational matters inevitable? If competence in education did not expand to the supranational level, what were the forces reflecting it back to national power and to what extent were national interests responsible?

The theoretical framework adopted to test task expansion in education was that of the opposing neofunctionalist and intergovernmentalist theories. Neofunctionalists emphasise the difficulties encountered by public authorities when coping with economic and social issues, causing political actors to shift their loyalties towards a new centre. Once the decision has been made to transfer loyalty in one area, it has unintended consequences that led to spillover in new areas of policy. Intergovernmentalists claim that the creation of supranational institutions is only possible if the states are in agreement and the advancement of integration thus depends on states. However, tracing the development of activities in education at the European level during the construction of Europe shows that explanations cannot be placed within an intergovernmental or neofunctionalist 'box'. The factors that emerge to demonstrate why education policy does not fit into these theoretical explanations are: statism and the function of states as individual entities; the cultural and economic motivations for developing an education policy; and the significance of time and context in policy development.

Neofunctionalism and education

      The notion of spillover in matters relating to education is apparent. From the beginning of European integration spillover from other policy areas into education can be identified: The movement of people, which led to a need to address the recognition of qualifications and periods of study abroad, the teaching of foreign languages, provisions

and specialist training for teaching the children of migrant children; a common agricultural policy, which led to vocational training of agricultural workers; a common vocational training programme, which required the training of teachers; and scientific cooperation, which called upon strengthened connections between higher education institutions and the mobility and exchange of research staff.

Member states are confronted with a variety of problems relating to education, which cannot always be managed at the national level. The introduction of the free movement of people brought about increased pressure to provide greater and more varied educational opportunities, and the organisational and financial implications became a common interest at a higher level than the nation-state. Policies in other sectors such as industry and social affairs spilled over into education with potential spill from future regional policies, where educational opportunities and infrastructures would necessarily come into play. It can be said that education was proving to emerge as the nuts and bolts of numerous areas of European Community policy in the way that neofunctionalism had predicted.

According to neofunctionalist theory, nation-states would not be able to determine the direction, extent and pace of change once a certain degree of loyalty had already been transferred to the supranational level. Supranational institutions would become actors in their own right with the deliberate entrepreneurial action by European authorities, and not necessarily based on the spontaneous emergence of new functional agencies. In the supranational context, it can be proposed that the basic actors are also autonomous individuals, acting in representation of the supranational institution and its interests. Policy entrepreneurship is a theory that has already been proposed by Corbett to explain the advancement of education and higher education policy, but it focuses largely on actors within the supranational institutions. While the proposal put forward in this framework is plausible in many respects, with too much focus on supranational actors it risks sympathising with neofunctionalist theory, implying that individual states were not involved in the process and their interests not considered. Furthermore, although the theory of policy entrepreneurship identifies key actors to suggest the successful advancement of education and higher education policy at European level, it lacks a profound analysis and explanation for their motives. Neither does it flesh out the notion of spillover, which played an important role in the development of education at the European level.

The European University project provides a palpable demonstration of the type of spillover that can occur within the field of education at European level. The European University can be perceived as a 'product' of the Europeanisation of higher education. In this sense, the European University had the potential to become the hub of European higher education and the centre of coordination for European research and ability; a beacon for other European higher education institutions. However, the attempt to create a university in which no nationality dominates and which is governed by all member states brought together numerous issues, namely for the harmonisation of higher education more generally, including the mutual recognition of qualifications, mobility, research cooperation, and the learning and use of languages. The European University represented to a certain extent a structural example of Europe with people from different nationalities coming together to live, work and study in the same physical location, putting into practice within an educational setting the core principles of a united Europe. It showed that uploading education to the European level had repercussions stemming from the mobility of people, and the mobility of their academic lives. The University was confronted with the need to establish a system of recognition of qualifications in order to admit its students fairly from the member states and beyond. Moreover, it had to consider the qualification that it would confer to ensure it would be recognised within the member states.

Furthermore, the University needed to accommodate the different languages that would be spoken, and identify the formal working languages and the linguistic skills that it would require from its students, professors and staff. In this regard, it would need to promote language learning to offer its members the opportunity to maintain and improve their language skills. It would also need to develop ways to cooperate on a European level with other university institutions, especially if it was to function alongside and together with existing national universities. As it can be seen, collaborating in one area of education or a matter close to education opens a Pandora's Box of other issues to confront.

Intergovernmentalism and education

Throwing into question the plausibility of neofunctionalism, it is observed that since the European idea much of the most dynamic discussions and activities regarding education have taken place within an intergovernmental context. This is also the case when looking at the most successful more recent collaborations in the field of education at

European level, namely the Bologna Process and – although underpinned by the European Commission – the inter-institution collaboration that takes place through the Erasmus+ Programme.

According to intergovernmental theory, what Morascvik calls 'two-level games' take place, which deems to explain that actors work in the 'national' and 'international' arenas simultaneously and rather than being separated from each other, they are intertwined. What is brought to the negotiation table at international level will depend on what is important at national level, and national governments take policy positions that are shaped by national preferences. Therefore, European integration is the result of strategic calculations by national governments to promote their main economic interests. Once national interests have been established, the two-level game theory takes place as bargaining at international level begins, which is the driving force behind international or European cooperation, as opposed to the driving force being civil servants acting within the European institutions. Intergovernmentalism places states at the centre of the process.

Neofunctionalism and intergovernmentalism have been borrowed from the political scientists as a basis upon which to seek to explain the competence expansion of education upon the landscape of European integration. However, it transpires that borrowing theories from other disciplines is not always compatible with studies in education and there are a number of specific issues that have been illuminated by the research to demonstrate that neither neofunctionalism nor intergovernmentalism hold water in an education-policy context.

Statism

Chapter eight has shown that supranational influence was present in the field of education at European level, and spillover from developments in other policy areas occurred to some extent. However, the evidence also suggests that the spillover process faced resistance, and national dynamics, fuelled by domestic interests, weighed heavily on the extent of implementation and policy-development in education. In early European integration, through the neofunctionalist lens, the role of the state was questioned and upward policy development towards the supranational level was deemed automatic. Bartolini (2006) suggests that the process of European integration resulted from "problem-

pressures" after the two world wars, leading to the inadequacy of the state, and that Europeanisation can therefore be interpreted as a response to the weakening of the state system, as well as to new pressure of capitalist world development. However, several pivotal moments emerge from the evidence to demonstrate that the power and the influence of the state remained present, which is resonant with the work of Alan Milward (Milward, 1992), who argues within an intergovernmentalist framework that European integration in fact rescued the nation-state.

The case study chapter on the European University project highlights the behaviour of Charles De Gaulle vis-à-vis the European University project. Together with evidence in chapter seven outlining his reaction to the common agricultural policy they are indicators of member states' ability to influence the direction and scope of spillover and policy development. The European University project maintained its supranational component until 1960 when the French representative suggested the project should be tackled in the framework of the European cultural cooperation agency. Despite the conviction of the Italian, Belgian and German delegations that the University should have institutional links with the Community, the project was reconsidered in a framework of intergovernmental cultural cooperation. The Commission was no longer involved and the University would be governed and funded by member states of the Council of Europe on an intergovernmental basis, led by the Italians. Five years later, in 1965, De Gaulle sparked a period of 'Eurosclerosis' and the 'Empty Chair Crisis' after behaving in a similar fashion regarding voting in the European Council. De Gaulle sought to reduce supranational tendencies, claiming that the European Commission could not constitute a political power and that Europe should be governed on an intergovernmental basis. His two actions in 1960 and 1965 can support this opinion. This example of applying brakes to a supranational project in favour of intergovernmental cooperation provides a tangible demonstration of the importance of the nation-state in the governance process. The case of the European University may be on a smaller scale than European integration, but nevertheless it demonstrates nation-states' capabilities to halt supranational activities in the field of education, and not by chance a similar dynamic took place at the heart of the integration process in the form of the 'Empty Chair Crisis'. Most importantly, it provides evidence that nation-states are able to control the direction and scope of competence at European level.

Challenging the viability of neofunctionalist theory, these examples led nefunctionalist thinkers to reconsider the theory in its traditional form. One such scholar was Philippe Schmitter who coined the notion of 'spill-back' within his revised version of neofunctionalism (neo-neofunctionalism) to address the fact that states could exert power in the spillover process. The evidence suggests that spillover triggers for further integration in the field were present and paved the way for policy expansion according to neofunctionalist theory. However, the fact that today the European Community still does not possess fully-fledged competence in the field of education indicates the problematics of education at European level. It suggests that member states had some degree of control over the direction and scope of competence and to some extent the (lack of) development of activities towards the field of education further enroots Schmitter's notion of 'spill-back', that even if policy development begins along the lines of traditional neofunctionalism, competence can fall back into the hands of the nation-state.

For the nation-state, there was a seemingly evident attracting to upload competence in educational matters to the European level. As indicated in chapter five, the educational sector in all member states had been under pressure in post-war Europe; education systems and teacher training had been reviewed. Revised systems brought about new opportunities for teaching and learning in Europe, but also new problems, particularly in the increasingly globalised world. Member states would therefore benefit from tackling these global questions within a European context, if not supranational, at least at a level that went beyond the national. In general, since most member states were experiencing changes in one way or another within their education systems, at the very least, knowledge sharing would be beneficial for all.

The introduction of free movement, explained in chapter eight, had put further pressures still on the social infrastructures of the member states, including and especially education in the form of the recognition of qualifications, the learning of languages, and the integration into society and communities of migrants and their children. In order to ensure the success of the European project, citizens required a comprehensive understanding of Europe through educational activities.

However, this renouncing of competence for supranational control did not take place and in the cases in which it did, member states were able to control the direction and scope.

This can be explained by the fact that the majority of activities detailed in chapter six, which took place during the early stages of European integration, did so within the intergovernmental setting of the Council of Europe, where they also appeared to have the most success. The Conventions of the Council of Europe on the recognition of qualifications can be taken as an example. It was expected at the European level that the ratifications would be applied by the member states, but the reality showed that they did not go beyond a quick 'patch-up' of the issue. This may have been due to the member states' political resources to implement the ratifications, but it is likely also due to a lack of will to fully adopt them. The member states were able to engineer Conventions that lacked concrete detail, which reduced the Council of Europe's capacity to enforce the Conventions. It could be argued that there would have been less signatories if the Convention had been written rigidly with a legally-binding component. Member states would have been keen to protect the value and reputation of their qualifications and therefore willing to collaborate at the European level, only if they could do so on their terms. The Council of Europe had to rely on a 'top-down' approach, based on intergovernmental agreements and the cooperation of member states. Although this approach was not often successful, the significance of state power became evident, and therefore provided a valuable learning curve for future Community-level activity in education, in which the 'top-down' approach was consequently avoided.

It seemed evident from the outset that European Community involvement in all aspects of education was never going to be feasible, perhaps only in the long-term. Why? This section has placed the nation-state at the centre of the policy-development process, echoing intergovernmentalist theory, but assigning the role of principal actor to the nation-state is not enough to explain why cooperation in education at European and supranational level was so problematic.

The methodology borrowed from collective biography adopted in this study, coupled with the evidence, brings to light two important interlinked notions of diversity that help to explain why intergovernmentalism alone does not work for education policy. The first is diversity among policy areas, and the second is diversity among nation-states.

States and the distinctive nature of education policy

Policy areas are different in the themes they address, the type of actions carried out within their frameworks, their sensitivities, and the people, services or objects they impact. To this end, presuming that there is a 'one size fits all' solution to explaining the development of policy areas can be challenged. At the core of education policy, there are people instead of money or commodities; education policy directly and immediately impacts upon citizens and the way they develop as individuals. Already this provides a reason why it cannot be placed in the same box as energy policy or transport policy for example, but this line of thought can be developed further to suggest that education is a complex policy area due to its intricate webbing with nationalism, national identity, and subsequently nation-building.

The concept of nation-state is a debated area that has been addressed by Karl Marx, Max Weber and Emile Durkheim, but according to Chernilo, with no clear concept of what it is (Chernilo, 2008; 2006). Indeed, it is a complex notion that goes beyond the structural make-up to encompass the people within the state and the bonds between them, and the 'nation' and the 'state' should not be confused as the same entity. While states are composed of institutions, a nation is described as "a shared belief that its members belong together, and a shared wish to continue their life in common", and "in asserting national identity, one assumes that beliefs and commitments are mirrored by those whom one takes to share that identity" (Miller, 2000). It is also described as "not simply the product of macro-structural forces; it is simultaneously the practical accomplishment of ordinary people engaging in routine activities" (Fox and Miller Idriss, 2008) and "a human population sharing historical territory, common myths and memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members" (Smith, 1991). Anderson defines nationalism as "an expression of certain straightforward ideas which provide a framework for political life" (Anderson, 2000). Ultimately, a nation is a community of people, which is determined by a common nationality and national identity, that distinguishes one state from another.

Beneath the surface of the nation, we find nationality. In its direct sense, nationality can be described as belonging to the country from which you possess a passport, implying that nationality is assigned at birth and it is a condition imposed on the individual. However, despite being imposed on individuals, it is considered to be a means to maintaining

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solidarity among states that are large and anonymous where the individuals are unable to foster solidarity through face-to-face interaction (Miller, 2000). This notion indicates that nationality is much more profoundly embedded in individuals than simply the passport they hold. Scratching deeper below the surface of a nation, and beyond nationality, national identity can be found.

National identity is closely linked to personal identity; the first elements used to describe one's personal identity is often nationality. One's country of origin forms a marked part of who they are, but it is necessary to determine what it means for personal identity to constitute that nationality beyond the passport they carry, and hence how one's national identity shapes their personal identity. People of the same national identity believe they share similar traits that distinguish them from people from other nations. These can be of a cultural nature, consisting of shared values, tastes and sensibilities, which go beyond the simple sharing of institutions (Miller, 2000). Another thread to add to Miller's list is be the use of a common language (Laffan, 1996), though it is also possible to feel a sense of belonging to a nation in which more than one official language is spoken, such as in Belgium and Switzerland. While the nation relies on nationality to maintain its solidarity, individuals are equally reliant on national identity to provide them with a purpose that goes beyond what they are able to generate themselves. Whether they choose to recognise their national identity or not, there is a mutual need between the individual and the state: Individuals need national identity to function as social beings, and the nation – even the state – needs individuals to identity with the nation-state through its symbols and institutions (McCrone and Bechhofer, 2015).

The consequences when this mutual need breaks down can be seen in recent events in Catalonia – without forgetting other similar referenda such as that of Scotland in 2014, as well as consultative referenda in northern Italy in the autumn of 2017 for increased regional autonomy – where sub-state nationalisms have proven stronger than state nationalisms and individuals identify with a regional identity more than national identity. If individuals are unable to identify with their nationality, they seek replacements for national identities, which challenges the legitimacy of existing states.

To avoid such cases requires effective nation-building, but nation-building is a delicate process that is not as simple as instilling a common national identity on individuals. It is

not possible to simply 'adopt a national ideology' (Miller, 2000) or to change national identity. National identities are embedded in a nation's past and individuals carry an obligation to bring them forward into the present and future. New nationals inherit the past in which fellow nationals fought and spilt blood in defense of the nation, making nationality an ethical community because it stretches across generations and it is non-renouncing for the present generation. This temporal element constitutes a type of national community that cannot be shared by other forms of association (Miller, 2000).

Nation-building can be considered in the first instance as the establishment of a new state as a political entity, but it is also described as "the process whereby the inhabitants of a state's territory come to be loyal citizens of that state" (Bloom, 1990). Moreover, nation-building is the fostering of national identities, which, apart from characterising a nation's traits, myths and shared values, unite individuals to achieve the solidarity mentioned earlier. It is suggested that nation-building is successful when the nation-state has not only achieved solidarity among its people, but when it can also claim its people's loyalty, especially in cases of competition with external actors such as in international conflict or where symbols of national identity are threatened. In this context, national sentiment is an important source of power for a state when it comes to acting within the foreign policy arena (Bloom, 1990).

In order for nation-building to be successful, it is necessary that the individual feels connected to the nation-state and that they also feel the benefits of such connection. Bloom (1990) suggests that when individuals connect with the nation-state though symbols of the state, identity and psychological security are enhanced. Once an identification of the nation-state has been fostered by the mass of the people, then the same identification is passed on to new generations by family and social groupings. Nation-building is therefore not a requirement for developing countries seeking to establish nations for the first time, but it is an on-going process for developed states to ensure the solidarity and loyalty of the nation to confront national challenges when they arise. Thanks to effective nation-building, citizens not only stand together in times of terrorist attacks or national disasters, but two great wars have shown that citizens will go as far as fighting and even dying for their country. When nation-building fails, citizens look elsewhere for identifications and loyalties and the nation-state effectively risks falling apart.

If nation-building is fundamental for the survival of the nation-state, what then are the building blocks? Education provides a proposal for a mechanism in the nation-building process. Varying forms of education, whether within the framework of the formal education system or not, repeatedly prove to be important for the development and transmission of nationhood (Lowe, 1999). Similarly, Neave (2001) suggests that education is embedded in the nation-state, so much so that it is considered to have been a founding factor in its establishment, adopting education as an instrument for transferring national history to their societies and for promoting national language and culture. The link between education and national-identity formation presents itself as a fairly understudied area, yet strong links to nation-building can be drawn from areas of educational research such as the teaching of history, the teaching of language and culture and in more recent curriculum, the inclusion of teaching on citizenship. However, nation-building through the education system does not only regard teaching subjects that specifically relate to elements of national identity like national history and language, but it is also the mentality and the approach with which education is delivered to its citizens that contributes to the values and morals they develop. In this sense, educational settings can be considered as the closest context to the family setting regarding the trans-generational diffusion of elements forming national identities.

If education forms a fundamental means to nation-building and the development and transmission of national identities, it can be understood why nation-states are adamant to keep a tight grip on their education systems. For the nation-state there is too much at stake to allow any interference in the functioning of education systems and the content of curricula. As Walkenhorst (2005) suggests, education is too closely interwoven into the national fabric of a state in terms of identity, culture, heritage and solidarity. As we know from Beukel, Walkenhorst and Garben, from the point of view of supranational involvement in education, education has always been and remains an area of national sensitivity. Taking into account the considerations detailed above, nation-states will be hostile towards any meddling in a policy that has the potential to weaken its nation-building and to dilute its national identity. This is because, as suggested earlier, unsuccessful nation-building reduces national solidarity, placing the nation-state in a precarious position. It risks breaking the mutual need that exists between the citizen and the state, causing citizens to lose their sense of belonging and potentially look towards other forms of self-determination, and causing states to lose the loyalty that constitutes

their strengths in times of challenge and conflict, even from the point of view of manpower.

At this stage, it is possible to weave into this discussion the impact of globalisation on national identity to raise a point that despite an increasingly globalised world, national identities are maintained. Globalisation, which as Bartolini (2006) seeks to explain should not be confused with Europeanisation, is limiting "states' capacity to determine the cultural make-up of its citizens". Citizens across the globe are reading the same news, watching the same television programmes and the same films, following the same fashion trends and purchasing the same commodities, but the fact remains that national identities are still evident. Therefore, if factors external to education are becoming more globalised, while education systems are maintaining their national focus, this fact that education systems have so far resisted globalisation, can be used to suggest that education is an important driver in the development and maintenance of national identity. In this regard, it is true that Ball (2012) advocates, within the question of private education as a means to problems of state education, that state education is diminishing in its welfare form. However, the point is that education in the strict sense of the state system, has maintained its national domination.

Diversity between states

While Moravcsik's insistence on placing states at the centre of the process is valid, it is also valid to insist that states are not necessarily equal or function in the same way. What is therefore not apparent in intergovernmentalist theory is the acknowledgement of the diversity between states. By providing a profile for each member state within the framework of a methodology adapted from collective biography, the individuality of the six founding states of the European Community and the diversity in their circumstances during the post-war period is highlighted.

As addressed in chapter five, as the Six entered into the process of European integration, every state had suffered the effects of the Second World War, which characterised the post-war period in all states as a moment of desperation. However, the scale of desperation varied from state to state in nature and extent, from a battle for basic provisions (Germany) to the regeneration of a slumped economy (France), and to social struggles in the form of

unemployment and inflation (Italy). Even once recovered from the effects of war, the diversity between states remains – some states are larger and more powerful than others – which affects their ability to influence affairs at European level.

However, it is the differences that foster interest when assessing the national interests of each state as they enter into European integration and began to collaborate on activities at the European level. While Benelux was in the spirit of reconstruction that it had already demonstrated with the Benelux union, Germany and Italy were attempting to rebuild their societies and disassociate themselves from their totalitarian pasts, and France focused on concrete plans to regenerate the economy. It can be suggested that each state entered into the construction of Europe and cooperation in activities at the European level with its own agenda, but at the same time recognising a number of similarities and the common experience of a war-torn country that required protection from Communism. Some states were more willing than others to transfer loyalty to the European level for the sake of greater integration, while others dragged their heels.

Diversity within states

In addition to diversity between the founding states of the European Community, diversity also emerges from within the individual states. As Chernilo points out, in the creation of nation-states, they have been divided so that disputes and struggles have been more common than not (Chernilo, 2008). In a federal state, such as that of Germany, control in certain areas of policy, can be found at both the national (government) and the local (Länder) level. Such distribution of power can have an impact on policy development towards the European and supranational level, especially education, which is controlled at local level. Italy too delegates a certain degree of control to its provinces at local level, though not to the same extent as Germany.

Chapter five shows that diversity within France was political and affected the state's approach to European integration. Perhaps the most influential components in France's position at European level were its leaders: Charles De Gaulle, President from 1944-1946 and from 1959-1969; and Robert Schuman, Prime Minister from 1947-1948 and Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1948-1952. The two individuals were ferocious opposites, De

Gaulle being a strong nationalist and Schuman a strong advocate of European integration, who proposed the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community and is known to be one of the architects of European integration. The circumstances suggest a country torn in two directions. At the birth of the European idea, Robert Schuman steered the country to a key position in the discussions on uniting Europe. Between 1948 and 1958, there was a period on instability with a different Prime Minister each year before De Gaulle took office again at the beginning of 1959, which was at the crucial early stages of established integration. The ideologies of a Federal Europe were heard with difficulty under De Gaulle and on several occasions the weight of his opinion was heard, notably in the 'empty-chair crisis' of 1965 when he withdrew French participation from the Community in an act of protest against the proposal to move towards majority voting in the European Council. This led to the period of 'Eurosclerosis' and the stalling of the European integration process until De Gaulle returned when unanimous voting was reinstated.

Diversity within states can also emerges in cultural terms, which can be seen in the case of Belgium, divided culturally and linguistically between the 'Flamands' and the Walloons. In the context of education, this suggests that the Belgians were all too aware of the implications for education, including higher education, policy as they could only impose a broad set of principles at national level to maintain a certain level of consistency across the nation. However, it meant that the Belgians had a certain vision of feasibility for a European-level education policy that accommodated different languages, identities and cultures, which would be more difficult to grasp for other nations. Belgium realised though that it was necessary to achieve such common policy if the country was to compete at a higher economic and cultural level.

Diverse reactions towards European-level education

The intertwine of education and nation-building detailed above highlights the complexities of education policy, and indeed reactions towards meddling in education from external actors differed across the member states of the European Community. Incorporating the notion that states are different into the analysis can serve to explain the difference in reactions.

The type of national-level control over education varied amongst the states; some states' systems were centralised and hierarchical (Italy and France), while others gave more autonomy, even complete control, to the local level (Germany and Belgium). Tensions between the state and the church were present in education across the majority of the Six. The majority of universities were state-run and state-funded, or run by the Catholic Church, and overcrowding and inadequate facilities affected higher education in all states at some point between 1945 and 1975, with the exception of Luxembourg, which did not create a university until 2003. Such conditions led to student protests across the states towards the end of the 1960s.

West Germany had already experienced external meddling in its education system from the occupying Allies, who sought to restructure the system and revise curricula in an attempt to denazify the country. As a country with a history of nurturing communism, post-war West Germany was not in a position to protect its education system. Nevertheless, such re-education programmes were resisted by the local (Länder) governments, which controlled education and ultimately, the education system returned to the system adopted before Nazism.

France can be considered to be among the most nationalistic of the founding states and, drawing on the links made above between nationalism and education, it can be determined that the education of its citizens was therefore important. The evidence outlined earlier in chapter five has suggested that French citizens were encouraged to obtain the highest qualification they were capable of achieving and therefore, a university degree was highly significant for the French people and graduation from one of the 'Grandes Écoles' was considered to be a key to success. This national attachment to education created implications for their support towards the European University project. France feared that a supranational university would gain too much importance as an academic institution, and it favoured a system of reinforced cooperation among existing national universities. Vocational training and adult education were given attention in post-war France and were developed within universities as a means of facilitating economic growth. The centralisation of universities led to the increased prestige of the University of Paris as the city became the intellectual hub of France. Against this backdrop, it can thus be suggested that France could have exerted resistance towards a situation that may jeopardise or undermine the prestige of its institutions. This was demonstrated in the French delegation's

opposition to the term 'University' for the institution, and in fact, 'University Institute' was the term eventually adopted.

Italy was unified in 1861, less than 100 years earlier than the beginning of European integration, so the Italians were more accustomed to the concept of integration than other founding states, such as France. In fact, the Prime Minister Alcide De Gasperi was considered to be one of the most prominent figures in the European project and cemented Italy's place within it. This consideration comes into play when reflecting upon education: before unification, education was governed across the Italian states by the Catholic Church on a supranational basis. Neither then was the concept of supranationalism alien to the Italians. After unification, a new system was implemented with centralised governance at the regional level, though religion remained a strong element of the system. Notable was Italy's long history of universities, with the world's oldest university being established in Bologna in 1088 hence inventing the very concept of a university. Similar to other European states, the university system was oversubscribed by the 1960s, when an economic boom was also experienced.

The Belgians expressed a general agreement to create a university institution with a preference for a postgraduate institution. However, Belgium's principle concern with a European University was the competition with the already established College of Europe, in which Belgium had heavily invested. Even if the Belgian government agreed with the creation of the European University, it had a vested interest in recognising internal opinions deriving from the College of Europe. On the other hand, Luxembourg was profoundly convinced by the creation of a European University, advocating a complete university. The Luxembourgian representative, Pierre Pescatore, was the Chairman of the project's working group, which, given Luxembourg's previous experience in mediation between France and Germany and the diverse opinions over the European University project, appears to be a thought-out choice.

Luxembourg did not possess a university and thus escaped threats to a national higher education sector, and had even attempted to create an 'Institut Luxembourgeois Universitaire' (Luxembourgian University Institute) in 1949. The project did not come to fruition and it could be suggested that the Luxembourg delegation saw the European

University as an opportunity to at least to a certain extent realise their project. It can be noted that the institution eventually created was called the 'European University Institute'.

The Dutch delegation agreed with the creation of a European University, but like the French delegation, believed it should be established within an intergovernmental context, which would also allow the participation of countries outside the Six. It appears that such considerations derive from concerns over the financial burden that such a project would carry if restricted to the Six, and are in line with the fact that Dutch universities were facing limited financial resources. The Netherlands would find it difficult to justify hefty expenses for a European University when it was cutting expenses for national higher education.

Re-establishing reputation

Differing circumstances affected states' motivations for allowing control to be passed to the European level. The evidence and the contextual chapter suggest that Germany and Italy were the greatest supporters of activities at European level in the field of education, in particular the European University project, and they shared similar motivations for doing so. In both cases, the desire to re-establish a reputation emerges as a prominent driver for developing policy at European level. Germany was eager to rebuild its reputation in general and find its footing in the European arena by making a contribution where it could, which can provide an explanation for its advocacy towards the European integration process and the projects within it, including the European University.

The case of Germany shows, on the one hand, a federal government that suggested a willingness to make sacrifices to regain its reputation and gain freedom from the totalitarian regime, even at the expense of education. The German universities had been destroyed due to the presence of Communist authorities and were being re-established with the financial assistance from the USA. By 1949, in the height of talks on the European idea, American funding from the Marshall Plan had boosted the economic recovery of West Germany and subsequently, it can be said, boosted the country's confidence to rediscover its place as a leader on the European scene.

However, on the other hand, there was strong resistance from local governments, over the meddling – to a certain extent even from the national level, let alone supranational level – in the affairs of education. These tensions emerge in the case study of the European University project, in which there was conviction at the national level to pursue the project, but there was strong opposition at the local level. The Länder governments had not been consulted on the matter of collaboration on the European University and the German university rectors felt a supranational university was a threat to national universities. This opposition from the local level affected the German delegation's ability to act at European level on the matter of the European University; without the support of the Länder the German delegation could not advocate the project at European level.

Post-war Italy was in a similar place to Germany from the point of view that it was recovering from a long period of authoritarian regime: Fascism, which lasted from October 1922 until April 1945. The country was in a vulnerable state. There were questions over its governance as the result of a referendum over the monarch in 1946, in which the population voted in favour of a republic, and the country owed $360 million in reparations to other states. In 1948, Italy received Marshall funding from the US, which allowed for the creation of bridges, schools and hospitals. Italy was reliant on US funding for its recovery and economic development, which was made well known among the population and American influence had a notable effect on Italy. By 1949, Italy was considered to be America's most faithful ally and even issues that had major implications for Italian sovereignty were not debated heavily.

As one of the principle actors in the European integration process while also feeling disadvantaged among the other members of the Six, the Italian government was keen to lay European foundations in its country and establish its reputation in the European Community. Having produced the first university in the world and with a long history of universities and a rich cultural heritage, Italy saw an opportunity in the European University project to regain a position on the cultural level. The Italians were therefore enthusiastic about the European University project and were willing to make compromises by accommodating the diverse opinions to see it succeed.

Political instability did not escape the post-war Benelux countries, and to a certain extent, the Benelux countries also sought to establish their reputation in the Economic Community

by working together. Belgium experienced questioning over its governance when, in 1950, a referendum saved its monarch who later abdicated leaving the throne to his twenty-year old son. The Netherlands was dealing with the aftermath of Nazi occupation and de-colonialisation in Indonesia, which was weighing heavily on manpower and funding. However, an important aspect to the Benelux countries was their union, which, after treaties were drawn up between the three countries in 1948, was being formed at the same time as the European institutions. Together, they were able to take advantage for Marshall Plan funding and generally, they were able to recognise the benefits of political and economic union. Unfortunately, integration at the European level overshadowed the significance of the Benelux union, but it does shed light on the positive mentality of these countries towards integration. Luxembourg had been a notable player as an intermediary in the reconciliation between France and Germany, and involvement in European integration was rarely questioned by Luxembourg's population and politicians.

Shifting imperatives: From culture to economics

Moravcsik (1998) suggests that there are two opposing notions of national-preference formation. The first type of national preference is political and diplomatic, which is guided by potential threats to national sovereignty or to ideological, territorial or military integrity. In this case, cooperation can occur when member states' ideological and geopolitical visions are in line with each other. The second type of national preference is economic, in which cooperation takes place when policies benefit all parties by improving competiveness and new opportunities in the markets. This distinction between national interests exerted to protect national sovereignty and those exerted for economic motivations provides an explanation for how education policy has developed at European level. As detailed in chapter six, education at European level began with a cultural mission, which over time shifted towards an economic orientation, as indicated in chapter eight.

European identity and 'supranation-building'

The evidence in chapter six suggests that if the concept of a *supra-nation* was to be credible and appeal to the individual nations, it had to have its own culture and identity, and foster a sense of belonging and a consciousness among its citizens: a European

citizenship. It entailed the creation of common rapports between people who are geographically and spiritually attached to Europe, which meant establishing a strong cultural component to underpin the political mission of a European union. Its citizens would have a common European outlook and share a common sense of European solidarity.

In the same way that nations foster and maintain national identities for nation-building, the founders of Europe – and still the Eurocrats of today – realise that a post-national version of nation-building needs to take place if the citizens of the member states are to connect with the European Union. With cases such as Brexit and the rise in anti-European rhetoric, particularly combined with the rise in populism, this notion can be considered to be as fundamental for Europe today as it was in post-war Europe.

The European Community has remained aware that if a European solidarity and loyalty to the European Community is to be created, it must succeed in creating a European identity,[257] which can mean of a kind of 'supranation-building'. However, 'supranation-building' is more problematic than nation-building due to the fact that it aims to foster a secondary, higher 'nationality' than the original nationality. National attachment is much stronger than European attachment, but in many cases citizens identify with both. However, many also identify only with their own nationality and exclusive European attachment is rare (Westle and Buchheim, 2016). Bartolini (2005) explains that the difficulty in citizens' recognition of a post-national identity lies in the "strong resilience of national identities" and that national identities cannot be "Europeanised in the sense that they cannot be denationalised" in the same way that nations were able to make way for a language and culture commonly adopted at Community level. It is therefore contended that the cultural thickness of nationhood hampers European identity (Segatti and Guglielmi, 2016).

Despite the European Community's conviction and attempts to create a European identity from above, it should be considered that the process needs to be bottom-up. Especially if the creation of identities among citizens can be generated through education, which is an area of national competence, the fostering of self-determination with the European

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[257] European Governance : A White Paper, Commission of the European Communities, COM(2001) 428, Brussels, 25.07.2001

Community will largely depend on the member states. It will be the individual member states' view of Europe that will diffuse through their nations, rather than a top-down approach, conveying the Community's view of itself. Perceptions of what Europeanness is and what Europe means may differ among member states, which may derive from varying national historical characteristics and models of nation-building (Göncz and Lengyel, 2016). Göncz and Lengyel go on to explain that as national political elites are influential in national-identity formation and nation-building, they are also influential in the way they portray Europeanness among their nations. This notion of how Europeanness is portrayed within a nation can be extended to include the way it is transmitted through education. Different education systems have different approaches and different curricula that will affect the way 'Europe' is taught and the extent to which it is included in the curriculum. Without formal competency in education policy, the European Community will have little say in this.

Member states participate in European integration bearing their own histories, traditions and identities, which cannot always be accommodated in European governance structures. If the notion of a European identity is to succeed, it will need to be formed not as a homogenous identity, but one that accommodates and is comprised of the different national identities (Laffan, 1996). This notion harks back to the consideration regarding diversity among states dealt with in the context of statism.

Education as an instrument for fostering European spirit

If education is politics, "a nation defines itself and sustains its cultural existence, transmitting beliefs, ideas and knowledge from generation to generation" (Ward and Eden, 2009), then education is identified as a means to fostering the European identity described in the section above. As highlighted by Green (2013), there is a tight intertwine between education systems and state formation, and it is plausible that education can play a part in 'supra-state' formation.

The evidence in chapter six indicates that this notion of education – as a tool to foster a post-national identity – was identified during the European Cultural Conference of 1949. The conference pinpointed education as a means to creating European citizenship, to encompass European consciousness, belonging, outlook and solidarity. The success of a

united Europe would depend on the next generation, leading to a greater significance being attached to training responsible young people with a supranational spirit. European youth was therefore assigned notable importance in the European integration process, which encouraged the emergence of a role for civil society. In particular, a European Youth Campaign was created by the European Movement with the aim of fostering European solidarity among the youth generation, which it did so by organising meetings between leaders of youth movements and organisations, and demonstrations to raise awareness of a European reality. Civil society was encouraged to promote a greater degree of cooperation in the cultural field in a more autonomous manner. Collaboration between churches, universities, youth associations, trade unions and organisations concerned with adult education could intensify more greatly if they were free to create and maintain their own connections rather than rely on a centralised system for governing cooperation. The temporal and spatial limitations imposed on this study have not permitted a more detailed analysis of the role of civil society, but it is an area that warrants further study.

The European Cultural Conference also highlighted the need to teach the teachers in order to infiltrate a European outlook into European citizens. As highlighted by Bottery and Wright (2000) and Green (2013), teachers are required to engage with and convey to their students matters beyond the classroom, namely citizenship education, which can extend to European citizenship. Looking back to the note in chapter two on teacher agency (Barber & Mourshed, 2007; Donaldson, 2010; Priestley et al., 2016), teachers have role to play in bringing about a greater association with Europe in the classroom.

Training teachers in the affirmation of the European idea was emphasised in chapter six, which included teaching on the European idea within the framework of history and foreign language curricula, but the initiative's vision forecasted a European presence across all areas of the national curricula. The European Movement not only wanted to adopt education as an instrument to reach school-age learners, but to also reach those in further education, higher education and adult education. In these contexts, it proposed the intensification of cultural exchanges between the learning institutions of the European nations, rather than reserving the privilege of exchanges to an intellectual elite and those in liberal professions. Exchanges within educational and cultural contexts would promote language learning, which would foster common connections between the peoples of

Europe. The role of teacher training at European level is another area that also warrants further analysis, in particular the role of the European Teachers Association.

The European Movement set out to create a series of cultural and educational institutions to assist in its mission to foster European consciousness for a united Europe, including the College of Europe and the European University. In the beginning, the two institutions fell under a common initiative to foster a European nationalism and European intellectual community. Initially, the original plan was to create a fully-fledged European University, but after coming to terms with the extent of the project, the European Movement settled for the more feasible and realistic project of the College of Europe. It was suggested that this smaller project could in effect act as a pilot programme for the larger European University. The individual mission of the College of Europe became the forging of indispensable intellectual instruments for future managers of Europe. The European University became a postgraduate institution for doctoral students working on issues relating to European integration, to provide the European integration process with an intellectual underpinning. Other educational and cultural institutions created by the European Movement were the Studies Bureau, the European Cultural Centre, a European Institute of Political and Social Sciences, a European Bureau of Adult Education, and a European Foundation for Scientific Research.

In addition, the Western European Union (WEU) made a notable contribution to initiatives in the field of education. In particular, its European Universities Association brought together Rectors and Vice-Chancellors to discuss contemporary issues facing higher education across Europe and the ways in which education could play a role in a united Europe. For example, it proposed the creation of European Studies courses in European universities to create a conscience in young people of the issues surrounding European unity and to foster a sense of Europe in the hearts and minds of young people. The WEU also contributed to the promotion of cultural exchanges and university cooperation, including the exchange of information between European higher education institutions.

A change in circumstances leading to a change in path

The role for education that the architects of the European idea envisaged in the construction of Europe – within the framework of the European Movement – was oriented

heavily toward a cultural mission to foster a European citizenship and solidarity. Yet education found its place in the European policy arena thanks to its attachment to economic missions. On the one hand, during pre-European integration, education can be seen as central to a cultural mission that requires its full involvement, and on the other hand, during the European integration process it can be seen as a collateral component of an economic mission.

As Moravcsik (1998) stated, it is seen that indeed states were willing to cooperate when initiatives implied an economic return, but were reluctant if national sovereignty was threatened, which is the case in a cultural mission. Evidence in chapter seven suggests Moravcsik was right: when the European Community was eventually established in 1957, education was omitted from the Treaty of Rome, despite such enthusiasm within the European Movement's discussions. This can be explained in part by the fact that, at supranational level, a political and economic mission prevailed during the early years of European integration as the Community addressed the more pressing issues at hand, such as industry, customs, trade, transport and the common market (Shaw, 1992) in which education did not seemingly require involvement. It can be noted that the explicit issue of education's role in the construction of Europe was not raised at supranational level, avoided even, suggesting there was a hesitance for it be involved. This idea echoes what Field (1998) describes an evident taboo surrounding education within the corridors of the European Community. Eventually, the free circulation of people, which had brought about unprecedented circumstances for the member states, began to put pressure on welfare systems and the labour market, causing a political and economic attachment to education to emerge.

As outlined in chapter eight, as the European Community unfolded, education was associated to several areas of European Community competence and the success of certain missions, causing the political and economic attachment to strengthen and interference with education appeared inevitable and unavoidable; for the free movement of workers, qualifications and study abroad required recognition, and the free movement of workers also implied the movement of 'workers' in the education sector, particularly higher education. With free circulation fully implemented and the movement of workers encouraged, dramatic changes occurred in the extent and nature of migration within the Community. As workers from other member states had the right to equal treatment as

nationals with regard to employment, social security, living and working conditions, trade union rights, the education of children and the right to be accompanied by their families, increased migration had an impact on member-state economies and their social infrastructures. A significant consideration was the integration of migrants into the societies of the new member states, for which it was necessary to develop vocational and linguistic training provisions. The integration of migrants' children into society and into the new education systems faced challenges, namely in increasing the provision of linguistic training and teachers' knowledge and experience of migrants' children home cultures, languages and education systems. It was equally important to develop the study of Europe in order to facilitate migrants' integration into the member states of Europe. Intensification of the need for a certain degree of competence in educational matters reached a critical point, provoking a more involved role in educational matters for the European Community, which led to concrete actions from the Community.[258] In this case, education was integrated – though still in a limited manner - into the areas of Community competence when it had an economic and political attachment.

As Field (1998) suggests, no education system has ever been completely isolated from external influences. The new circumstances during early European integration have since provided leverage for the European Community to continue and develop activities in fields connected to education, especially in line with increasing global competitiveness on the labour market. Even when, within the framework of the European Community, member states did not include education in the Treaty of Rome, external factors linked to free movement continued to lean heavily on national systems. Even today, this notion continues as globalisation continues to exert pressures on national education systems. This is in line with Field's view that, in the context of globalisation, nation-states become less capable of containing an increasingly international economy, where they are required to be more competitive and therefore intensify activities relating to education in order to foster a knowledge economy (Field, 1998). Similarly, as Lawn and Grek (2012) had said, states and economies change in speed and scale, which also affects national education systems

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[258] A Resolution of the Ministers of Education, meeting within the Council, followed in June 1974 on cooperation in the field of education. The member states also adopted two action programmes: The Social Action Programme in 1974 and the Education Action Programme in 1976. The latter action programme set up an Education Committee and addressed: better facilities for the education and training of nationals and the children of nationals of other member and non-member states; the promotion of closer relations between educational systems in Europe; the compilation of up-to-date documentation and statistics on education; cooperation in higher education; the teaching of foreign languages; and equal opportunities for free access to all forms of education.

and their relationships with the state, to the point when education can no longer be contained within natural borders. Globalisation challenges the national orientation of education, which has especially impacted higher education systems in their new roles to contribute to the fostering of a global knowledge society (Hartmann, 2011). Globalisation challenges education's role in nation-building, but at the same time creates, as Hartmann describes, its own imagined community, which is linked to the global knowledge society. The ways that education is delivered is changing in response to global pressures.

Globalisation has brought about the massification of higher education participation, increased information sharing through the internet, and increased cross-border learning and partnership collaborations (Streitweiser, 2014). Moreover, there are shifts and developments in the way that education is provided, which challenges traditional public education. This includes the growing investment in education and training by private investors, as well as the swelling numbers of massive open online courses (MOOCS). Furthermore, there is an increasing role of business, social enterprise and philanthropy in education provision, which have a national and global impact on education policy. Often these services are provided in areas where the state provision falls short (Ball, 2012). Such investment suggests a clear aim to contributing to upskilling the population to foster greater competitiveness in the global world.

It is also student mobility that experiences developments caused by the changing context of the global knowledge economy. Push-pull variables are having a substantial impact on the pace, directions and outcomes of student mobility, which include mutual understanding, revenue earning, skill migration and capacity building (Choudaha & De Wit, 2014). Mutual understanding is considered to be a political, social and cultural factor, while capacity building is educational. However, it is notable that the final two variables, revenue earning and skill migration, are both economic factors. This highlights the significance of economy in student mobility in today's world.

The temporal nature of policy development

Temporality brings another dimension to the study by highlighting how factors and circumstances affecting policy development change over time. Instead of examining a

series of single moments in time, looking at the temporal unfolding of processes reveals connections, raises questions and finds answers that may have otherwise been omitted.

While the role of temporality has been addressed in areas such as the sociology of education (Lingard & Thompson, 2017; Leaton Gray, 2017), little attention has been paid to specifically temporal dimensions of social and political processes (Pierson, 2004). For a start, the notion of time is absent from neofunctionalist theory. The clearest explanation is that the theory was developed at the beginning of European integration when experience of time passing during the integration process had not yet occurred and was therefore not considered. In fact, in opposition to neofunctionalism, Moravcsik's work, as a historical study testing a series of standardised hypotheses across five critical stages in the European integration process, takes temporality into consideration. Compared to neofunctionalist theory, which can be seen more as a prediction of how the integration process would develop, Moravcsik had the privilege of being able to test the theory within a temporal framework, looking back in time to seek explanations for how the integration process had taken place. However, what still cannot be found in intergovernmentalism is an unpacking of what the temporal dimension means to the analysis.

History is often used as a source of empirical material, rather than to explain how politics unfolds over time (Pierson, 2004). Events can be studied with a historical approach to seek causal accounts to explain certain outcomes, which provide a widened understanding of particular events. However, it does not necessarily explain how the events fit into a broader research programme. Other scholars use history to search for illustrative material to serve as an explanation for a model being used in the present, but this does not shed light on the temporal dimension of a process (Pierson, 2004).

Temporal sequencing demonstrates how factors and circumstances for development change over time. If the analysis focuses on the role of a particular actor, or hones in on a particular element in policy development, it is easy to lose sight of what is happening around that main actor, and this changes the overall scope, direction and speed of development. Complex dynamics can be fleshed out of a temporal sequence of events or processes that are linked together and laid out over time, highlighting previously overlooked outcomes and explanations to the way in which policy develops. Taking into consideration not only the 'what' in a process, but also the 'when', the temporal ordering

of events can cast light on why certain results appear. It is therefore not to say that the outcome would be the same if the same event occurred at a different moment in time because surrounding variables causing the outcome may not be the same. As Tilly puts it, "*when* things happen in a sequence affects *how* they happen" (Tilly, 1984). Over time, individual actors change and a member state's economic circumstances improve or worsen, which impacts decisions taken at that time. If the same decision is to be taken ten years later, those variables may be different and may favour the decision. This process can be identified in the development of education policy when events that led to formal activities in education at European level are placed in a sequence spanning a period of three decades, and the European University project in particular provides a tangible example of how decisions made at different times can impact the result.

The European University project was initiated and re-initiated on several occasions, highlighting a series of significant dates in the development of the European University project. The first being 1949, when at a meeting of the cultural section of the European Movement the proposal of a European University were first discussed, but opinions were divided on the type of institution to be created and ultimately the College of Europe was created in 1950. The next date is 1956, when a proposal was presented again at the Messina conference in 1956 by the German delegation. However, it was not discussed and passed to an intergovernmental committee. In 1957, within the framework of Euratom, the Commission then proposed the creation of a joint atomic research centre to form the basis of a European University and appeared as article 9 in the Euratom Treaty. The project continued to develop within this framework, but in 1960 it returned to an intergovernmental context after its supranational orientation was contested by the French delegation, De Gaulle in particular. In 1961, the project was assigned to the Italians who managed the project until the creation of the European University Institute in Florence (Italy) in 1972. The decade-long gap in the project's development was caused by a conflict of ideas on the orientation of the institution, as well as temporal clashes with the Elysée Treaty and the 'empty-chair crisis'. The resignation of De Gaulle in 1969 facilitated the development of the project as he had caused a significant obstacle to its progression. Taking into consideration the temporal sequencing of these events causes questions to emerge as to whether the outcomes would have been the same if the dates were different. If the proposals had been presented at a time when De Gaulle was not in power, it could be argued that the project would have developed more smoothly or perhaps continued to

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unfold within a supranational context. The fact that the project was proposed again in 1956 when nuclear energy was a hot topic in the Community meant it was shoehorned into that context, but had it been pursued at a different time, would it had taken on a different orientation? This example demonstrates that temporal sequencing highlights the importance of background variables in the development of processes.

Furthermore, from this example it is possible to see that time is a common link between a process in which multiple events and micro-processes overlap and interconnect. Each event or process can be considered individually, but exploring the broader sequence of events leading towards a common outcome highlights intersections in distinctive paths of different, though linked, long-term processes. This notion can be combined with intergovernmentalist theory, focusing on national interests, to explain how policies develop when national interests converge. Each member state follows its individual path based on domestic interests, causing a web of overlapping processes under the umbrella of education, but an outcome will not occur until several of the paths meet an intersection. Similarly, the notion of multiple events and micro-processes overlapping and interconnecting lends itself to the concept of spillover. Individual processes take place in other policy areas, which encounter an intersection with education causing an outcome in the development of education policy. For example, by following the process of the free movement of people, an intersection is found at the recognition of diplomas and qualifications or the teaching of languages. Alternatively, the process of developing scientific research intersects with cross-border university collaboration and exchanges.

Another consideration is that each individual process takes place at a different speed. Some member states may be eager to develop activities in education while others are hesitant, causing the lining up of national interests to be a slow-moving process, and the significance of that happening only being understood over time. Member state interests change as their circumstances change and shifts in motivations can be seen, which cause a stop-start development in each path and delays in their intersection. A temporal study exposes a shift from a cultural to an economic motivation to develop common activities in education at European level. A temporal study shows this shift over time, as circumstances change, and therefore the context in which education is used as a tool also changes over time. It can be said that the context in which education is proposed to be used provided a

juncture for triggering an outcome: when collaboration in education incurred an economic benefit, national interests converged, leading to an outcome.

Pépin had highlighted the need to avoid the assumption that activities in education had not taken place before the 1970s and that the evolving process of establishing a European education policy had been long. Indeed, political outcomes may therefore be a slow-moving, cumulative process (Pierson, 2004). There is a need to reflect upon what Ferdinand Braudel coined the *longue durée*; education demonstrates that developing policy can take a long time to develop and establish. The convergence of national interests may require considerable time to pass before it takes place, and only a temporal sequence can highlight such an aspect in the history of policy establishment. Moreover, limiting the study of causes and outcomes to the confines of individual paths of member states can lead to overlooking the significance of the junctures between them.

When the element of persistence is present in a process, it also causes it to be slow-moving. Pressures accumulate over time without an effect until a threshold is reached, causing actors' reassessment of options which leads to a rapid outcome (Pierson, 2004). The process in which the field of education becomes an area of competency at European level in the broad sense is an example in itself of how persistence over time can generate an outcome. Discussions at European level on education emerged as early as 1948, but these did not transfer into formal activities within the European Community when it was established. Sixteen years passed before education was formally recognised as an area of competence of the European Commission. Nevertheless, in that time, the subject persisted with discussions taking place within an intergovernmental context and the importance of a role for education in the European integration process became evermore evident as the consequences of uniting Europe touched upon educational matters accumulated. It can be said that the threshold was reached in 1973 after the Janne Report called for member states to reassess their options regarding collaboration in the field of education. Once through the threshold, indeed activities began to develop at a faster pace. If events during the development of European education policy had been considered independently from each other, this element of persistence may have been overlooked.

The importance of context

If a study focuses heavily on a determined set of variables to identify an outcome to a process, it is easy to dismiss context as external details. However, strong background variables may condition other factors to affect the ultimate outcome. Considering the context of a process brings to light the relationships involved in a process; how certain factors are related to one another in a certain setting. Actors are shaped partly by the relationship with their setting and, in the same way that a moment in time is part of a broader temporal process, events take place within the setting of other events. How they sit within that setting can determine their significance (Pierson, 2004). In this case, thinking about context means thinking about how activities and initiatives in the field of education relate to the broader process of uniting Europe and how the latter may have impacted those activities. Two contextual settings that affected the development of European education policy can be identified: political climate and governance.

The first contextual setting is the political climate. The significance of the role of education in European integration was perhaps most apparent in the work of the European Movement, as outlined in chapter six, which saw it as a tool to foster a European identity, European culture, a European spirit, and secure European solidarity for the future. All these elements were needed if European unity were to be a success. States' readiness to discuss and implement activities in education seemingly fell upon a backdrop of desperation. The Second World War had caused large-scale destruction across the continent; the consequences of Communism had starkly come to light and its threat continued to loom. Of course, this was not the first time that nations of Europe faced the pressures of rebuilding their societies after war, for the First World War had already profoundly damaged them so that the second hit arriving in 1939 rocked them to their core. It was imperative that the European nations avoided any such reoccurrences and that its main objective had to be the creation and sustainability of peace. Uniting the countries of Western Europe was presented by the European Movement as the most feasible means to reaching such an achievement. Advocates of a united Europe fiercely maintained that if Europe were to hold war at bay, it could only do so if it were to create a close union between its six key states, namely France, Italy, West Germany, Luxembourg, Belgium and the Netherlands. There was a need to join forces to rebuild economies, as well as to face problems that could not be contained and managed within national borders. European

nations had to agree to the creation of a *supra-nation*, which would inevitably come to impact on national affairs and interests even if it were based on cooperation between nations rather than the introduction of purely supranational power. European solidarity existed when faced with the wake of a war, and solidarity fosters a genuine willingness to identify common solutions to problems that affect all parties. This proposes an explanation for the strong conviction of the role that education could play at European level, which sits starkly in contrariety to the role that education took – or not – a decade later upon the establishment of the European Community.

Indeed, a decade had passed and the level of European solidarity that existed immediately after the war, and that had given impetus to collaboration in education, had withered. The establishment of the European Community brought about a new context – the movement of people – which called for collaboration in education in regard to university exchanges, the recognition of diplomas, the teaching of languages, cross-border research collaboration, etc. Here, the point on globalisation mentioned above can be called back into the discussion to demonstrate a second political climate that gave impetus to European education policy. As global pressures began to affect national education systems and states sought to increase their competitiveness towards a global knowledge economy, emphasis was placed once again on education.

The governance of activities through intergovernmentalism and supranationalism provide a second context that impacts the development of education policy. Despite an apparent need to move to some degree towards Community competence in education with the introduction of free movement, competence during early European integration was maintained in an intergovernmental context; the Council of Europe carried out the majority of activity relating to the education sector. The discussions during this period that referred concretely to cooperation in higher education took place within intergovernmental contexts and collaborations, namely the meeting organised by the European University Association and the University of Grenoble, detailed in chapter seven. This can be confirmed by the Janne Report, which even as far into the European integration process as 1972, stated that existing initiatives in education since the uniting of Europe had been slow and developed within intergovernmental contexts.

It has been said that the Treaty of Rome itself provided ambiguous circumstances of creating both intergovernmental and supranational contexts (Keohane and Hoffman, 1991). There were institutions such as the European Parliament, European Commission and the European Court of Justice which acted as supranational institutions, but the Council of Ministers and the European Council functioned within an intergovernmental context. This difference in the type of institutions created tensions. If member states did decide to upload competence to the European level, they could still control the scope and direction of its development by carefully choosing the institution and therefore context in which it was dealt. It is therefore not surprising that much of the activities and initiatives in the field of education took place within the framework of the Council of Ministers, an intergovernmental context.

It can be seen that whether activities and initiatives in education are pursued, and at what pace, is closely linked to the governance setting in which they are situated. This is shown by the fact that the majority of activities with concrete outcomes have taken place within the intergovernmental setting of the Council of Europe. These include: the work of the Cultural Committee set up at the Hague Congress (1948) and the consequent discussions within the European Cultural Conference (1949); the creation of the College of Europe (1950), the activities in the framework of the Western European Union, including inter-university cooperation (1954) and the creation of a specialist committee for university rectors (1955), which resulted in the European Rectors Conference (1959); the activities throughout the 1950s and 1960s in the framework of the Council of Europe in the field of vocational training, Higher Education and Language and Adult Education, including the recognition of qualifications and exchanges; and the Report of the Interim Committee to the European Economic Community and Euratom within the framework of the creation of a European University (1960), addressing also European Higher Education Institutes and exchanges at university level including the harmonisation of study programmes. The most concrete outputs came in the form of institutions, which were not integrated into the European institutions that were later established in 1957.[259]

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[259] The European Cultural Centre was established in the Italian city of Venice, where it continues to exist as a centre operated by the European Cultural Foundation and registered in the Netherlands. The EBAE was established in 1953 by representatives from European states and now exists as a non-governmental organisation. The College of Europe remains one of the most successful initiatives since its creation in 1949 as it continues to be a thriving institution carrying out teaching, training and research on European Union issues and although it works closely with the European Union, it is not subjected to supranational governance. The European University project later materialised in 1976 in the form of an intergovernmental

The European University project is also a valuable demonstration of how collaboration in an educational field depends on the governance setting. Although the idea of the European University was born within the context of the European Movement, on an intergovernmental basis, it developed within the creation of the European institutions and was eventually included as an article in the Euratom Treaty when the European Community was established, and hence it gained a supranational component. However, this placement of the European University within a supranational context sparked resistance from some member states, namely France, and the project returned to an intergovernmental context, in which it has since remained.

Member states are watchful of the extent to which they cooperate and they respond to intergovernmental cooperation because it provides a more stable grounding to ensure control over the scope and extent of competence. This notion has been highlighted by Garben (2011) in the context of the Bologna Process – she states that, by opting for the intergovernmental context to develop the Bologna Process, member states have signalled their rejection of the European institutions as drivers of European integration in higher education. Member states sought to avoid the influence of the European institutions. Garben describes a 're-nationalisation' process in higher education through the adoption of the Bologna Process, in which member states seek to take back control.

The intergovernmental context therefore also provides more fertile soil for discussions to drive forward policy development, while in a supranational context, as seen in the European University project, brakes are applied and an increased protectionist approach is adopted. In fact, feeling the member states' resistance and protectiveness in regard to education, which could potentially stall policy development, the European Commission adopted the term 'cooperation' in the context of activities and initiatives in education, as explained in chapter eight. It was a means to reassuring education ministers that they could collaborate at European level without legal intervention. Cooperation would be based upon Resolutions and Conclusions rather than legally-binding regulations and decisions. In fact, after the creation of the term 'cooperation' for activities in the educational field, the education ministers were more disposed to European-level activities and met within the

institution, the European University Institute in Florence, for doctoral students and research on areas of a European nature.

Council in November 1971. This shift towards a willingness to take on a forward-thinking approach came from the secure environment in which to collaborate without losing control over matters relating to education, and it opened education ministers up to the fact that there was benefit in cooperating in education, especially in the wider social dimension, because European integration was not only meant in economic terms. In this sense, it helped allay fears that collaborating in education meant jeopardising national sovereignty, culture and identity.

Conclusion

The implication of carrying out an interdisciplinary study lies in confronting its complexity when adopting a theoretical framework. While it may appear advantageous to be able to call upon more than one discipline to provide a model in which to situate a study, having a greater choice does not always mean the right solution is available. What has been highlighted by this study is the need to remain cautious when borrowing theories from other disciplines. In this study, education has been used as a test case for assessing policy development and it can be seen that it is a unique policy area that requires a hybrid of more than one theoretical framework in order to comprehensively explain its development at European level.

The value of neofunctionalism can be found in its notion of spillover. Education does not act alone; it is part of a complex interweaving of areas such as migration, employment, training in specific fields including agriculture, law and health, multilingualism, and scientific research. Therefore, restricting research to the single policy area of education will not provide a full account of the vastness of the field. Equally, one cannot reject the notion of spillover when analysing activities within the field of education because the extensive overlap into other policy areas demonstrates that spillover is an integral component to the nature of education. However, the limits of neofunctionalism can be seen in its lack of consideration for nationalism and the role of states in the integration process.

Giving space to the role of states has been a central aim of this study. This falls most closely in line with an intergovernmentalist outlook on the development of education and higher education policy at European level and challenges the work of Corbett, who suggests that policy development in education was largely thanks to the entrepreneurial

action of individuals at European level. Emphasis is placed on the voices of the member states, which were heard in the process; the majority of initiatives took place within an intergovernmental context and when activities took on a truly supranational component – as in the case of the European University project – it was reverted back to an intergovernmental setting by the member states. Although intergovernmentalism provides a more feasible basis for explaining development in education policy, it is still not a perfect fit. Intergovernmentalism takes a macro perspective on policy-making, as opposed to considering a single policy area, and since education is so unique, there are some aspects in which intergovernmentalism falls short. Each state is different and can exert different amounts of influence in the policy development process, depending on their background circumstances, and this power to influence can change over time as circumstances change. With authoritarianism still looming over their shoulders, Germany and Italy began life in the integration process with less influential power and a need to prove their worth in the face of a democratic Europe, but later gained their position and even took the lead in certain initiatives (European University project). Therefore, while intergovernmentalism pays more attention to member-state interests, further consideration can be made to temporality and context.

Exploration of the significance of temporal and contextual components in the development of European education policy has not been done justice in this study due to the scope permitted in the timescale provided. The work of Paul Pierson can be consulted in this regard (Howlett and Goetz, 2014; Goetz, 2004). Pierson goes against the grain of taking a 'snap shot' view of the social world, and coined the notion that 'history matters' by placing events into a temporal sequence to establish their meaning, which is often lost when events are stripped of their context. According to Pierson, complex social dynamics can be better understood by constructing 'moving pictures' as opposed to a 'snap shot'.

Finally, education and the nation-state are closely linked. Since education is highly specific to nation-building and in the formation of national citizenship, member states have taken an exceptionally protectionist approach towards education at European level. If neofunctionalism and intergovernmentalism ultimately work by the assumption that member states are willing to conduct activities and upload a certain level of competence to the European level, albeit on their terms in intergovernmentalism's case, it must also be considered that there are particular areas – namely education – in which member states

simply do not want to collaborate at European level. They can be convinced if there is clear benefit to be gained, usually economic in the ways that Weymann (2010) explains through the fostering of a knowledge-based economy to improve competition for power and wealth. But ultimately, education will predominantly remain a matter of national governance.

Chapter Eleven | Conclusion

This study began by posing the following questions: Were nation-states willing to renounce their power in education in favour of the supranational level? Were there spillover triggers that made supranational power in educational matters inevitable? If competence in education did not expand to the supranational level, what were the forces reflecting it back to national power and to what extent were national interests responsible? Ultimately, was the dominant force in influencing education policy at European level from the national or supranational level?

In short, nation-states are generally reluctant to cede control over education to the supranational level. They prefer to cooperate within an intergovernmental context and a suggestion for this is education's social and cultural significance. This analysis places states at the centre of the argument. At the time of the introduction of the European Community, the power of the nation-state came under questioning, but it has been demonstrated that the role of the state in specifically the development of a European Union education policy has been significant. The significance of the European University and the College of Europe in the development of European higher education has been three-fold in demonstrating the complexities of developing education policy in general, namely the interconnected areas that are impacted (spillover), and they highlight the intricacy and significance of national interests in the developmental process.

Spillover triggers were present and constituted a significant component in the development of educational activities. Education touches upon numerous other policy areas and at the beginning of European integration, it was seen necessary for education to be 'central to the full and healthy development of the Community'[260]. Consequently, several articles of the Treaty of Rome, including article 57 on the recognition of diplomas and article 118 making provisions for basic and advanced professional training to enable professional people to work all over the Community. It was increasingly recognised that the economic and social objectives of the Community could only truly be realised if economic and social policies were accompanied by appropriate educational policies, policies which will help assure not only the economic strength of the member states, but also a richer and fuller life for every

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[260] Economic and Social Committee of Euratom and the European Economic Community (1975)

one of their citizens.[261] It was recognised above all that the future of the Community's wellbeing depended on an 'imaginative and effective' educational policy. This did not necessarily imply a common European policy in the overall sense that was applicable to other areas such as agriculture. The diversity in educational traditions and systems across the member states enriches Europe's culture and therefore harmonisation of educational systems would not be the desired goal. However, since – especially in the early stages of European integration – national education systems were continually under review and development, there was space for the developing European Community to be integrated into national education in order to foster the European solidarity, spirit, culture and identity that would be necessary for the true realisation of 'Europe' in every sense. What was required was 'a common commitment to the development of a strategy of educational cooperation supported by a more systematic interchange of information and experience'.[262]

However, despite the recognised need within the European Community for education as an instrumental tool in the success of European integration, and despite the presence of spillover triggers in other areas of European Community competence, full competence was not transferred from a national to supranational level. When it comes to educational affairs, a patent tension can be highlighted between the national and supranational level; on the one hand, the supranational Community recognising the significant value of education's role in the integration process and the fostering of a European citizenship, and on the other, states' resistance to a field that has the potential to jeopardise national identity, culture and sovereignty if states are not able to keep the reins tight. States allowed a certain degree of transfer when it touched upon economic interests, but they are more reluctant to upload power when it concerns the more sensitive issues of culture and identity. Educational activities are contained within an intergovernmental context where their direction and scope can be monitored and controlled by the member states. National interests were a key driver or staller of development, which occurs when national interests either converge towards a common objective or when national interests to develop policy for various reasons relating to the individual state are numerous enough. For example, between 1945 and 1976, Germany and Italy were keen to re-establish their states after Nazism and Fascism and forget the education systems of those regimes, while France a victim of the aforementioned negative forms of nationalism sought to protect its culture and identity led

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[261] Economic and Social Committee of Euratom and the European Economic Community (1975)
[262] Commission of the European Communities (1974)

by the nationalistic character of Charles De Gaulle. Ultimately, this explanation places the state at the centre of the development process.

The times when an overlap can be identified in the influence of the national and supranational level regarding education activities is during early discussions on European integration, as outlined in chapter six. During this time, it was recognised by state delegates and European-Community founders alike that it was important to use education as a mechanism to foster a European spirit if the European project was to succeed. However, the majority of such discussions did not materialise into concrete initiatives pursued by the European Community. The single exception was the European University, which proceeded towards realisation within an intergovernmental context without a governing influence from the European Community.

Competence development is complex and the temporal aspect weighs heavily, which is also shown in the European University case study. Over time, circumstances and actors change; for example, when De Gaulle was no longer in power, it paved the way for increased integration including UK accession to the European Community, which he had previously blocked. A temporal study shows that spillover only works so far and intergovernmentalism does not always offer explanatory power because on occasions spillover does take place to a certain extent. There is no clear-cut explanation for how competence at European level develops due to evolving variables over time. However, what can be explained is that the power of the state is not lost or under threat, and states continue to play a significant role in the expansion of competence at European level.

Education can be set apart from other policy areas dealt with at European level. Other policy areas have accelerated towards a greater degree of political integration and a recognised field of European competence, some having been considered as early in the integration process as education, others even later. Indeed, the question posed is why some policy areas subjected to political integration beyond the nation-state have developed further than education. It has been said in this study that education is closely entwined with nationalism. When nationalism is strong, states are reluctant to involve the European Community in matters relating to national education. When the strength of nationalism is weaker, such as the cases of Italy and Germany which sought to rid their states of the negative forms of nationalism, there is more inclination to intensify cooperation at

European level, and even allow for supranational control. Over the course of European integration, more often than not, nationalism has prevailed and therefore, the education policy envisioned by the European Movement in 1948 and the European Community in 1975 when the Community formally established a section dedicated to education, did not materialise.

This is a pertinent matter of our times. The rise of populism and the reawakening of strong nationalist views are creating a notable dent in the European Union, and are throwing into question the concept European integration, to which Brexit is testament. It can be suggested that the cracks of nationalism that were so feared in post-war Europe were, in the end, only patched up by European integration and are beginning to re-emerge. Such idea further cements in the notion that the state is not lost, that national preferences have always prevailed and the European Union's strength against growing nationalism will be tested.

European symbols have been created including a European flag, a European patrimony of historic towns and sites, and a Europe Day, but has it been enough to foster a European consciousness and solidarity? Economic, financial, military, demographic and environmental crises at global level can put European solidarity to the test and have the capacity to strengthen the European Union or shatter it. Whether a European identity emerges to replace or complement national identities during a time of global crisis will demonstrate the success of European unity. This was precisely the line of thinking taken by the European Movement in the early stages of European integration outlined in chapter six.

It raises the question whether the EU would now have the strength it needs in the face of this confrontation with a strengthened nationalism if it had been able achieve the cultural mission to foster European consciousness, spirit, identity and solidarity. It is claimed that in today's Europe, European sentiment only exists in a minority of the European population. A sense of European solidarity and identity that can rival national sentiment has not been created, indicating that the activities and decisions of the 1990s have not sufficiently impacted as hoped. A very small number of European citizens consider themselves as solely European, and a marginally larger group consider themselves citizens of another nation before they consider themselves as European, suggesting that there is no strong affective bond to Europe (Anderson, 2000). If European sentiment had existed

would it have contained, at least in part, the rise of populism that we see today and which was perhaps one of the greatest fears of the advocates of the European idea in 1948?

Education continues to have a significant role to play in the European integration process to disseminate knowledge and to foster European solidarity and consciousness to secure Europe's future. It is a hard task to *manage* nationalism without increasing the already identifiable tension between member states and the Community within the field of education, but a more prominent role for education in educating civilians on the mission and work of the European Union could have gone a long way. Perhaps now, sixty years later, we are paying the consequences of a lack of a fully-fledged European education policy.

On a final note, highlighting that historical studies in the political and social sciences can be useful to current affairs, this study is able to make a contribution by informing policymaking in the current climate. If the European Union is to foster European solidarity through a European identity, to strengthen its position against the rise in anti-European sentiment, it would benefit from reinforced investment in cooperation in education at European level, as envisaged by the founders of the European Community.

Shortly after completing this conclusion, the European Commission communicated to the European Parliament, Council, Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on 17 November 2017, that there should be a strengthening of European identity through education and culture. The communication[263] harks back to the discussions during pre-European integration, including points on language learning, mobility, teacher training and the creation of institutions, this time a School of European and Transnational Governance at the European University Institute. However, as this study shows, it will be necessary to keep in mind that the influence of the nation-state remains strong in matters relating to education, and therefore, fostering closer cooperation should take a strategic bottom-up approach. Education will never become a fully-fledged area of supranational competence, but the European Union does have an important, strategic role to play in bringing member states together and guiding the development of education policy through

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[263] 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 November 2017, Strasbourg, COM (2017)673 final (14.11.2017).

the intricate webbing that surrounds it, and in such endeavour *in varietate concordia*[264] will be more significant than ever.

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[264] "Unity in Diversity". Motto of the European Union, introduced in 2000.

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Appendix 1 | Table of primary sources consulted at the Historical Archives of the European Union (HAEU)

Dossier number	Dossier description/title	Date
Collection: Movement Européen		
ME-1371	Créations et activités du Bureau Européen de l'éducation populaire	1954
ME-162	Initiatives concernant la jeunesse proposées au ME avant la création de la CEJ	1948/49
ME-2945	Congress of Europe, The Hague - Verbatim Report	1949
ME-421	Congress of Europe, The Hague	1948
ME-456	Projet de création d'une académie d'Europe	1949
ME-531	Congrès de Lausanne	1949
ME-534	Congrès de Lausanne	1949
ME-536	Congrès de Lausanne	1949
ME-537	Congrès de Lausanne	1949
ME-538	Congrès de Lausanne	1949
ME-539	Congrès de Lausanne	1949
ME-540	Congrès de Lausanne	1949
ME-819	Notes concernants les relations interuniversitaires européens	1949
ME-1665	Schéms des cours tenus pendant l'année académique	1970-1971
ME-1872	Conseil d'Administration du Collège d'Europe	1950-1959
ME-2084	Relations entre le Secrétariat international et le Collège d'Europe, vol. 3	1965-1974
Collection: Jules Guéron		
JG-90	Universitaire Européenne	1958-1964
Collection: Conseil de la Communauté Économique Européenne, Conseil de la Communauté Européenne de l'Énergie Atonomique		
CM2/1963-754	Harmonisation des enseignements nucléaires au niveau technique	1963
CM2/1958 951	Université européenne	1958
CM2/1958 952	Université européenne	1958
CM2/1958 953	Université européenne	1958
CM2/1958 956	Centre commun de recherches nucléaires prévu à l'article 8 du traité instituant la CEEA	1958
CM2/1959 873	Coopération scientifique européenne	1959
CM2/1959 917	Université européenne	1959
CM2/1959 921	Université européenne	1959

CM2/1960 756	Mise en oeuvre de propositions du mémorandum Wigny sur les plans culturel et scientifique	1960
CM2/1960 757	Création de pools de documentation et de traduction en collaboration avec des organismes américains et britanniques	1960
CM2/1960 758	Elaboration du réglement du Comité d'arbitrage à l'article 18 du traité instituant la CEEA	1960

Collection: European University Institute

EUI-8	Creation of the European University Institute	1960-1975
EUI-791	Belgian position concerning the European University	1959-1970
EUI-792	German position concerning the European University	1963-1995
EUI-794	First drafts and ideas about a creation of a European University	1949-1956

Collection: Communauté européenne du charbon et de l'acier. Haute Autorité

CEAB12-2416	Université européenne: rapport intérimaire de la Commission de la recherche scientifique et technique sur la question de la création d'une université européenne, procès-verbaux des réunions de la Commission de la recherche scientifique. Volume 1	1959-1971
CEAB12-847	Université européenne: structure/disciplines et comparabilité aux universités nationales	1961-1962

Collection: Economic and Social Committee

CES/1974-20.63-01 5740	L'éducation dans la Communauté Européenne (COM(74) 253 final + final 2)	1974
CES/1974-20.63-02 5741	L'éducation dans la Communauté Européenne (COM(74) 253 final + final 2)	1974
CES/1974-20.63-03 5742	L'éducation dans la Communauté Européenne (COM(74) 253 final + final 2)	1974
CES/1974-60.23-04 5743	L'éducation dans la Communauté Européenne (COM(74) 253 final + final 2)	1974
CES/1974-60.23-05 5744	L'éducation dans la Communauté Européenne (COM(74) 253 final + final 2)	1974

Collection: CEE/CEEA Commissions

BAC-009-1973-50	Enseignement et formation professionnelle : coopération entre les Etats membres dans le domaine de l'éducation ; rapport conclusif de la conférence intergouvernementale pour l'université européenne à Florence (Firenze, Italie), 19-21 octobre 1970	1973

Collection: Henri Cartan

HC-30	Activités de l'AEDE-France	1960

HC-64	Association des universitaires d'Europe	1958

Collection: Assemblée parlementaire européenne et Parlement européen avant l'élection directe

PEO-1021	Reconnaissance mutuelle des diplômes, certificats et autres titres (Norbert Hougardy)	1969
PEO-8322	Reconnaissance mutuelle des diplômes, certificats et autres titres	1962
PEO-9671	Equivalence des diplômes	1968

Collection: Alexandre Marc

AM-216	Institut universitaire d'études européennes de Turin	1955-1956
AM-391	Centre européen de documentation et de recherches	1954
AM-438	Université Internationale	1952

Collection: Western European Union

WEU-6	Fourth Session of the Assembly of WEU, (Second Part), Volumes III and IV - Assembly Documents and Minutes and Official report of debates	1958
WEU-7	Fifth Session of the Assembly of WEU, (First Part), Volumes I and II - Assembly Documents and Minutes and Official report of debates	1959
WEU-8	Fifth Session of the Assembly of WEU, (Second Part), Volumes III and IV - Assembly Documents and Minutes and Official report of debates	1959
WEU-9	Sixth Session of the Assembly of WEU, (First Part), Volumes I and II - Assembly Documents and Minutes and Official report of debates	1960

Appendix 2 | Data Codebook

Chapter 6 | Education and the European 'Idea' (1945-1956)

1. Abolishing barriers
2. Adult education
3. Bursaries
4. Catholicism
5. College of Europe
6. Common civilisation
7. Common intellectual base
8. Communication between nations fostering European Culture
9. Construction of Europe
10. Coordination of research
11. Cultural and moral values
12. Cultural unity
13. Displaced students and teachers
14. Disseminating to Europe
15. Domestic interests
16. Education
17. Equivalence of degrees
18. Europe divided
19. European citizenship
20. European colleges/institutes
21. European conscience
22. European Cultural Centre
23. European idea
24. European passports
25. European patriotism
26. European policy of culture
27. European public opinion
28. European sections in universities
29. European solidarity
30. European spirit
31. European unity
32. European University
33. Exchanges (culture, people, ideas)
34. Franco-German relations
35. Free circulation of books
36. Freeing culture from politics
37. Funding
38. Higher Education
39. History
40. Independence of European culture
41. Institute of Europe
42. Institutions
43. Interference in national interests
44. Intergovernmental cooperation
45. Mobilisation of spiritual and intellectual energies

46. Moral and social independence
47. No to a European nationalism
48. Politics influencing teaching
49. Popular/informal/workers' education
50. Spiritual and cultural community
51. Supranationalism
52. Tax on books
53. Teacher training
54. University/ies
55. Western European Union
56. Women in a new Europe
57. Youth

Chapter 7 | The emergence of a formal place for education in European integration (1957-1970)

1. Academic exchanges
2. Academic mobility
3. Academic qualifications
4. Bursaries
5. Common Agricultural Policy
6. Common Research Centre
7. Common Vocational Training Policy
8. Cooperation in (higher/) education
9. Cross-border collaboration
10. Cultural integration
11. Diplomas
12. Diversity of education systems
13. Domestic interests
14. Education
15. Equivalence of qualifications/diplomas
16. European Council of Higher Education and Research
17. European Office for Exchanges
18. European Guide for the University Student
19. European Social Fund
20. European Scientific Community
21. European Student Record Book/Academic Passport
22. European University
23. European University Association
24. Europeanisation of education
25. Exchanges
26. Foreign languages/languages
27. Free circulation of people
28. Harmonisation of programmes/common study programmes
29. Higher Education
30. Information sharing
31. Inter-institution collaboration
32. Intergovernmentalism
33. International Association of Universities
34. International cooperation

Chapter 8 | Reaching a Community-level education policy (1971-1976)

22. European Vocational Training Centre
23. Exchange of ideas
24. Exchanges
25. Free movement of people
26. Free movement of workers
27. Harmonisation
28. Intergovernmentalism
29. Integration (of migrants)
30. Integration of migrant children
31. Janne Report
32. Language learning
33. Languages
34. Migrant workers
35. Migration
36. Open University
37. Provisions for migrants
38. Qualifications
39. Recognition of qualifications/diplomas
40. Research
41. Resistance from states
42. Rome Treaties
43. Social actions/objectives
44. Social Action Programme
45. Skills
46. Spillover
47. State control
48. Student mobility
49. Study visits
50. Teacher exchanges
51. Teacher mobility
52. Teaching
53. Teachers
54. University/ies
55. Vocational training
56. Workers
57. Working conditions

Chapter 9 | An intellectual hub for Europe: The College of Europe and the European University

1. Bruges
2. Bursaries
3. Coexistence
4. College of Europe
5. Culture
6. Disciplines
7. Domestic interests
8. European consciousness
9. European integration
10. European nationalism

11. European solidarity
12. European studies
13. European University Institute
14. European University project
15. Florence
16. Fostering Europeans
17. Funding
18. Institutional governance
19. Institutional structure
20. Intergovernmentalism
21. Interim report
22. Language learning
23. Languages
24. Member state opinion
25. Mission (College of Europe)
26. Mission (European University)
27. Nationalism
28. Nuclear research (including centre)
29. Obstacles
30. Pilot project
31. Professorial recruitment
32. Qualifications
33. Recognition of qualifications
34. Resistance from states
35. Spillover
36. Study programme
37. Supranationalism
38. Training

Appendix 3 | The Education Systems of the Six: A Comparison (for the period 1945-1976)

Country	School system governance type	Compulsory schooling age & average years in schooling (1975)	University governance type	HE course provision	Number of universities	Percentage of population with degrees (1975)	Vocational Training provision	Types of qualifications obtainable	Education system characterised by
Belgium	High level of school autonomy265 and otherwise governed by the three autonomous education systems (for the Flemish Community, the French Community and the German-speaking Community); there was little influence from the federal government; Education governance was a sensitive issue until 1958, when a 'school pacte' was then introduced to bring the three systems closer together.266	6-16 years, plus 2 years of at least part-time study; average of 8.11 years in school.	2 state-controlled universities, plus a number of private universities including Catholic (not-state-controlled).	Traditional university courses267; non-university: higher technical education; higher economics studies; higher agricultural studies; higher studies in the paramedical fields; higher social studies; higher studies in the arts; higher pedagogical studies.	4, plus 11 other specialist institutes teaching university-level courses (1967).	5.48	In secondary education, students followed either a pre-vocational year or general secondary education, technical secondary education, artistic secondary education, vocational secondary education; Advanced secondary education included strong vocational component.	*Agrégation de l'enseignement supérieur* (highest university qualification); *Agrégation de l'enseignement secondaire supérieur* (teaching qualification); *Candidature* (1st stage university qualification); *Doctorat* (university qualification with thesis); *Licence* (2-3 years after candidature); *Professional qualification* (3 years upon 2 years' preparation for the *candidature*, e.g. engineer, civil engineer, pharmacist.	The freedom of education: In Belgium, education is seen as a constitutional right. Every (legal) person can organise education and establish schools to that aim. The constitution also guarantees a freedom of school choice for the parents.268
France	Highly centralised with power delegated to 17 rectors to review schools. The rectors were high-level civil servants appointed by the Ministry of Education to oversee a large educational district, and were formally chancellors of the universities in their district.	6-18 years; average of 7.56 years in school.	High level of state centralisation.	Traditional university courses[2]; *grandes écoles* offering specialised courses in business, engineering, arts, journalism; Institutes of Further Education, including for the civil service; *écoles normales supérieures* for advanced teacher training, national school of arts and crafts, and national institute of applied science.	17, plus 4 private Catholic Universities (in 1959).	2.59	The *Lycée* (further education) was either general, technical, or vocational; careers services were set up to support vocational training opportunities at national, regional and local level.	*Baccalaureat* (secondary school leaving certificate); *Bac de technician* (industry/commercial qualification); *Bac de théologie* (qualification from a religious institution); *Brevet de technician* (HE qualification for 2 years' study); *Capacité en droit* (2 years of law studies); *Diplôme Universitaire d'études universitaires générales – DEUG* (general HE qualification); *Docteur d'état* (highest HE degree); *Doctorat d'université* (diploma for 3rd cycle studies organised by the universities); *Licence* (HE diploma).	High level of state centralisation.

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[265] Schools have the freedom to develop their own curricula, assessments and self-evaluations.

[266] See page 101; informal agreement between the three main Belgian parties to create a coherent policy for education, to foster nation-wide cultural development and material growth.

[267] Courses in traditional academic fields that entailed full-time attendance at the university and award qualifications for first cycle tertiary education.

[268] https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/national-policies/eurydice/content/belgium-flemish-community_en

Germany	Competence of the *Länder*[269], with national coordination.	6-18 years; average of 10.92 years in school.	Semi-independent, semi-state run.	Traditional university courses[2], plus technical courses.	10, plus 5 that were closed during the war and then re-opened after 1945.	5.46	A vocational-technical sector was introduced in the 1970s (later developed more considerably in the 1990s) with levels up to university and alternative pathways to HE. There was emphasis on short vocational courses and technical colleges trained to one or two levels of a professional qualification: *Graduierung* (short practical courses; or *Diplom* (longer, more theoretical courses, such as engineering, economics, professions leading to social work).	*Diplom* (university qualification for those who did not want to take the teacher training course); *Doktor* (HE qualification with thesis); *Erste Staatsprüngfung* (HE qualification, basic requirement in pharmacy, medicine, law and primary and secondary teaching); *Fachhochschulreife* (entrance requirement for professional schools); *Habilitation* (teacher training qualification); *Hochschulreife* (entrance requirement for HE); *Reifezeugnis* (School leaving certificate); *Zwischenprüfung* (Intermediate exam after 2 years study in the arts and human sciences).	Emphasis on vocational training, introducing a Vocational Training Act in 1969, including continual vocational training and out-of-school vocational training.
Italy	Competence of the regions and autonomy on the part of the schools. Before unification, governance of the schools was centralised to the church.	6-11 years, then 6-14 introduced in 1962; average of 5.94 years in school.	Centralised, state-run system with some private institutions (e.g. Catholic) and specialist institutes.	Traditional university courses[2]; engineering and architecture at polytechnic institutes; sociology, engineering and architecture and teacher training at institutes dedicated to one specialisation; Scuole Normale Superiore (Higher Normal Schools) did not offer academic qualifications but promoted the highest cultural level in humanities.	23, plus private institutions (e.g. Catholic) and specialist institutes (in 1950s).	44% of students with secondary school education diploma obtained an HE qualification.	Secondary education led to university or to the labour market via vocational training at vocational institutes; vocational state institutes we recognised as fully-qualified, leading to a diploma.	*Laurea* (1st stage HE qualification); *Diploma di maturità* (school leaving certificate, including *professionale* for vocational route); *Dottorato* (3rd stage HE qualification with thesis); *Esame di Stato* (higher specialist diploma).	Short length of compulsory education; high level of church influence.

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[269]German name for the federal states of Germany

Country									
Luxembourg	Centralised and state run with some private and Catholic institutions	4-15 years (pre-school, primary and secondary school).	No university until 2003; HE courses were available at *lycées techniques* (vocational colleges), but they awarded national diplomas of HE rather than full degrees; the Centre Universitaire was created in 1969 to regulate HE.	No university was present until 2003, so students went abroad (especially France) to complete degrees or attended the *lycées techniques* (vocational colleges offering HE courses).	None in Luxembourg until 2003	No degrees available from Luxembourg before 2003.	Not very developed, but there was a vocational strand to upper secondary education (*lycée technique*).	No university before 2003, so no formal degrees were offered, but a *Brevet de technicien supérier* (Higher Vocational Certificate) could be obtained from a *lycée technique* (vocational college) after 2 years of study.	A tri-lingual schooling system (Luxembourgish, French and German).
The Netherlands	High level of school autonomy[1]; a large proportion of private institutions (2/3 of Dutch school-age children attended privately run schools, including Catholic, but which were also funded by the state.	5-16 years; average of 9.29 years in school.	State-run system.	Traditional university courses[2]; teacher training; technological; agricultural; economics (no formal doctorate existed).	9 state universities, 3 private institutions, and 1 municipal university (including 3 state technological universities, a state agricultural university and a private school of economics).	5.92	Until 1968, girls attended 'housekeeping school' and boys 'technical school', then higher vocational training was introduced after 1968 and was later developed, especially with EU programmes.	Doctoral exam (2nd stage of HE, 2-3 years); *Doctoraat* (highest HE qualification); *Eindexamen* (school leaving certificate); *Ingenieur* (HE qualification from a technological university); *Doctorandus* (2-3 years after the *Kandidaat*); *Kandidaat* (1sta stage HE qualification); *Meester in de rechten* (master of laws).	Freedom of education, especially to establish schools, and the high number of private but state-funded schools.

Based on data outlined in in chapter 5 of thesis, plus the following documents:
De La Fuente, A., Doménech, R. (2012),"Educational attainment in the OECD, 1960-2010", *BBVA Research Working Paper*, 17 September 2012, Valencia.
"A World Guide to Higher Education: A Comparative Survey of Systems, Degrees and Qualifications", UNESCO, Bowker Publishing Company, Essex (1976)
"Overview: Quality Assurance System in Higher Education, The Netherlands", NIAD-UE (National Institution for Academic Degrees and University Evaluation), Tokyo (2011)