

Policy-Making Process of Higher Education and Vocational Training in the EU

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Abstract

This article examines policy-making process of higher education and vocational training in the EU from viewpoints of the norm and legalization. The legal system of the EU is characterized by binding hard law as the legislation and non-binding soft law as norm. In the field of the international relations, the norm is a standard of appropriate behavior for actors with a given identity. Despite that education policy-making of the EU cannot be separated from norm and legalization, except for a literature by Kleibrink such a research is few. Therefore, from this perspective, this paper is organized. First, I will analyze the norm life cycle, composed of norm emergence, norm cascade and norm internalization, for policy-making of higher education and vocational training during the era from the ECSC to the present day. I extract the fact that norm life cycle is found for evolution of the EU education policies. Second, I will evaluate legalization level for higher education and vocational training of the EU, that is, degree of legalization dimensions composed of obligation, precision and delegation. Finally, I will investigate the single institutional framework that guarantees consistency and continuity of the policy-making in the EU. I analyze whether the single institutional framework is satisfied in the EU education policy using an example of higher education programme called Socrates. I conclude that the single institutional framework supports the norm life cycle of the policy-making process of the EU education policy.

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Introduction

Analysis of education policy-making process in the EU is of fundamental importance, because history of education policy of the EU is history of the norm and legalization. This paper highlights policy-making process of higher education and vocational training in the EU from viewpoints of norm and legalization. The norm which is standard of behavior and sometimes non-binding soft law is remarkable property in the legal system of the EU. The soft law is juristically justified by the EU secondary legislation such as non-binding recommendation and opinion, and binding directive with harmonization in the Member States. Furthermore, in implementation of the directive, the Open Method of Coordination is applied without sanction even if objective of the directive has not been attained.

Although history of the education policy in the EU is that of norm and legalization, such a research is few except for a literature by Kleibrink, who investigated a National Qualification Framework from viewpoints of the norm life cycle. The original idea of the norm life cycle, where the norm evolves in three stages from norm emergence to norm internalization via norm cascade, is presented by Finnemore and Sikkink in a field of the international relations.

Organization of this paper is threefold. First, I will analyze the norm life cycle for the policy of higher education and vocational training during the era from the European Coal and Steel Community (the ECSC) to the present day. Through scrutiny of the education history of the EU, obtained is a result that the norm life cycle, composed of norm emergency, norm cascade and norm internalization, is found in making-process of the EU education policy. Second, I will evaluate degree of legalization dimensions, obligation, precision and delegation, in the EU education policy, considering the EU secondary legislation. Third, I will examine the single institutional framework which guarantees consistency and continuity of the education policies. It is concluded that the single institutional framework enables the norm life cycle of the policy-making process of the education in the EU.

Norm and Legalization

This section introduces concepts of norm and legalization as precedent research. The concept of norm has been developed in the international relations and international organization, influenced by emergence of globally mutual dependency in the 1970s and 1980s. This paper is an application of the norm to the education policy in the EU.

By Finnemore and Sikkink, who are scholars in the international relations and international organization, *norm* is defined as a standard of appropriate behavior for actors with a given identity. Furthermore, by Krasner, who is also a scholar in the international relations, *norm* is standards of behavior defined in terms of rights and obligations. Norm is an element of the regime. Regime is defined as a set of principles, norms, rules and decision-making procedures around which expectations of actors converge in the given area of international relations.

Finnemore and Sikkink understand the policy-making process as evolution of norm. In order to model policy-making process, they present a norm life cycle composed of three stages, norm emergence, norm cascade and norm internalization. The norm

emergence is the first stage in which actors, feeling reform necessary, are busily engaged in persuading new norm. The norm cascade is the second stage in which new norm is propagated and recognized in public. The norm internalization is the third stage in which new norm is institutionalized and legalized as law.

The legalization is discussed the field of international relations and international organization, concerning the soft law. Abbott, Keohane, Moravcsik, Slaughter and Snidal presented three dimensions of the legalization, i.e., obligation, precision and delegation and discussed degree of these dimensions.

Norm Life Cycle and Legalization in Higher Education Policy of the EU

In this section, I will analyze the norm life cycle and evaluates legalization level for the policy of higher education during the era from the ECSC to the present day. By scrutinizing records published in the Official Journal of the EU, combinations of items about higher education policy of the EU; year, norm, stage of norm life cycle, legalization, characteristic of legalization and legalization are obtained in Table 1.

Year	Norm	Stage of Norm Cycle	Legalization	Characteristic of Legalization	Legalization Level		
					Obligation	Precision	Delegation
1951	Start of the ECSC	Norm emergency	Treaty of Paris	Treaty	High	High	High
1955	Start of Higher Education Policy in the ECSC	Norm emergency	Europe University Plan at Messina Conference	Foreign Minister Meeting	High	Middle	High
1957	Separation of Higher Education from Vocational Training	Norm Internalization	Treaty of Rome,	Treaty	High	High	High
1960s	Non-intervention to education as the ECSC	Norm as an unwritten law	Tacit understanding		Low	Low	Low
1976	Start of education policy in the EC	Norm emergency	Action programme in education	Resolution of the Council and of the Ministers of Education Meeting within the Council	High	Middle	High

1982	Internal market as EC grand strategy	Norm cascade with norm evolution	The European Council Copenhagen	European Council, Conclusions	High	High	High
1984	Internal market as EC grand strategy	Norm cascade with norm evolution	The European Council Fontainebleau	European Council, Conclusions	High	High	High
1985	Internal market as EC grand strategy	Norm cascade with norm evolution	Delors speech in parliament	Parliament Speech	High	Middle	High
1985	Internal market as EC grand strategy	Norm cascade with norm evolution	White Paper, Completing the Internal Market	White Paper from the Commission to the European Council	Middle	Low	High
1986	Constitutional foundation	Norm Internalization	Single European Act	Treaty	High	High	High
1987	Higher Education	Norm Internalization	Erasmus	Council Decision	High	Middle	High
1988	Youth Education	Norm Internalization	Youth for Europe	Council Decision	High	Middle	High
1988	European dimension in education	Norm cascade with norm evolution	European dimension in education	Resolution of the Council and of the Ministers of Education, Meeting within the Council	High	Middle	High
1989	Language education	Norm Internalization	Lingua	Council Decision	High	Middle	High
1990	Higher education	Norm Internalization	Tempus	Council Decision	High	Middle	High
1992	Equalization of general	Norm internalization	The Treaty of	Treaty	High	High	High

	education and vocational training	on	Maastricht				
1993	European dimension of education	Norm cascade with norm evolution	Green paper	Commission of the European Communities	Middle	Low	High
1995	Higher education	Norm Internalization	Socrates	Decision of the European Parliament and of the Council	High	Middle	High
1995	Lifelong Learning	Norm Internalization	establishing 1996 as the 'European year of lifelong learning'	Decision of the European Parliament and of the Council	High	Middle	High
1995	Learning Society	Norm cascade with norm evolution	White paper on Education and Training	Commission of the European Communities	Middle	Low	High
1997	Europe of Knowledge	Norm cascade with norm evolution	Towards a Europe of Knowledge	Commission of the European Communities	Middle	Low	High
1999	Higher Education	Norm cascade	Bologna Declaration	Non-EU Organization	Low	Middle	Low
2000	Education in Knowledge Society	Norm cascade with norm evolution	Lisbon process	Lisbon European Council Presidency Conclusions	High	High	High
2004	"Education & Training 2010" The Success of the Lisbon Strategy Hinges on	Norm cascade with norm evolution	Incorporation of Bologna process into Lisbon process	Council of the European Union, Outcome of Proceedings	High	Middle	High

	Urgent Reforms			gs			
2009	Strategic Framework for European Cooperation in Education and Training (“ET 2020”)	Norm internalization	Lifelong Learning Integration of HE and VT	Council Conclusions	High	Middle	High

Table 1 : Norm Life Cycle and Legalization of Higher Education Policy

Table 1 is made by this author based on the following citations.

Citation: The Treaty of Paris 1951, Messina Conference 1955, The Treaty of Rome, 1957, OJ C 38 19-2-1976, The European Council Copenhagen 3 and 4 December 1982, The European Council Fontainebleau 25 and 26 June 1984, Jacques Delors first speech to the Parliament 1985, COM85/310 final 1985, Single European Act 1986, OJ L 166, 25-6-1987, OJ L 158, 25-6-1988, OJ C 177, 6-7-1988, OJ L 239 16-8-1989, OJ L 131, 23-5-1990, The Maastricht Treaty 1992, COM 93/457 final 29-9-1993, OJ L 87, 20-4-1995, OJ L 256/45, 26-10-1995, COM 95/590 final 29-11-1995, COM 97/563 final 12-11-1997, Joint declaration of the ministers responsible for higher education Convened in Bologna, 19-6-1999, Lisbon European Council 23-3-2000, Council of the European Union, Brussels, 3-3-2004, OJ C 119/02 28-5-2009

Through analysis of policy-making process of higher education in the EU, I draw out several aspects concerning norm life cycle.

The European University plan at the Messina Conference (1955) and the first action programme of education by Resolution of the Council and of the Ministers of Education, Meeting within the Council (1976) are addressed as the norm emergence in general education policy of the EU. The time interval between 1955 and 1976 is long, because the higher education policy in the ECSC and EC is a few by unwritten law of non-intervention to the education, except for Staff Regulations of Officials of European Communities about selection of contract staff at compulsory education, post-secondary education and secondary education (Article 5, OJ L 289 17.11.1969). This Resolution (1976) is a start of higher education policy in a sense that an Education Committee shall be set up consisting of representatives of the Member States and of the Commission, which shall meet periodically. Furthermore, the Education Committee shall take measures of educational studies and research on the topics, adapted language-teaching methods, the mother tongue and culture in school curricula, access to education at all levels and so on. The core of this Resolution is rather humanist concept considering multicultural society of the Europe than market-oriented one which is a driving force of every education policy after 1980.

The Treaty of Rome (1957), as a legal foundation of the ECSC, influenced almost policy-making of education policies. From the viewpoint of the education, the Treaty of Rome includes two important articles. Article 57 is codified for mutual recognition of diplomas, certificates and other evidence of formal qualification. Article 128 is written about general principles for implementing a common vocational training

policy. Separation of general education including higher education (article 57) from vocational training (Article 128) is remarkable in the Treaty of Rome. This separation between higher education and vocational training is a norm internalization evolved from prevailing norm before the Treaty of Rome.

The EU strategy of the education policy drastically changed in the early 1980s. The EU education reform started motivated by the European Council held in Copenhagen (1982), the European Council held in Fontainebleau (1984), White Paper (1985) and the first speech by Delors in the Parliament (1986). Series of these movements are addressed as norm cascade with norm evolution of grand strategy of the EC, internal market. As the strategy of the internal market was prioritized the highest, the education policy was consequently prioritized the highest as the driving force to realize the internal market. In the Copenhagen European Council, discussed was on the economic and social situation, and the need to fight unemployment especially among the young people, where the solution depends on development of ability of the youth. In the Fontainebleau European Council, 'A peoples Europe' was emphasized as important matter, in which a general system for ensuring the equivalence of university diplomas was codified as education policy. The White Paper entitled "Completing the Internal Market" (1985) presented measures to remove physical barriers, technical barriers and fiscal barriers among the Member States. Jacques Delors, the 8th President of the European Commission, made a speech to the European Parliament in 1986. The Presidents stressed further development of the Community can allow the internal market and monetary and technology cooperation. The high priority of the educational policy as the tool for realization of these purposes was implicitly included in his speech.

The Single European Act (SEA 1986) is addressed as the norm internalization in a sense that SEA provided constitutional foundation for unity of the Europe, though there exist no provisions of the education policy in the SEA.

Several action programmes such as Erasmus (1987), Lingua (1988), Youth for Europe (1989) and Tempus (1990) are addressed as the norm internalization. The European dimension in education (1988) is also addressed as the norm internalization.

The Treaty of Maastricht (1992) is constitutional framework evolved from the Single European Act. This Treaty is also addressed as internalization of the education policy in which higher education and vocational training are equally treated (Article 3 (p)). Separation between higher education and vocational training was codified in the Treaty of Rome. This separation written in the Treaty of Rome disappeared due to equalization of higher education and vocational training in the Treaty of Maastricht.

Green Paper (1993) is addressed as norm cascade with norm evolution, respectively. The Green Paper emphasized European dimension of education by referring Article 126 of the Maastricht Treaty, where the provision is written about development of quality education by encouraging cooperation between the Member States.

A Decision of the European Parliament and of this Council (1995) entitled 'establishing 1996 as the "European year of lifelong learning' and a Communication from the Commission (1997) entitled 'Towards a Future of Europe' are addressed as norm internalization and norm cascade with norm evolution, respectively.

Bologna process is addressed as norm cascade. Bologna process on higher education started from Bologna declaration (1998). Though Bologna process is basically non-EU organization, Bologna process was well balanced in a sense that Education Ministers of the Member States participated the meeting of this process. On the other hand, the EU started Lisbon process on “Education in Knowledge Society” (2000). Lisbon process is addressed as norm cascade with norm evolution. Finally, Lisbon process incorporated Bologna process (2004) and restarted an action programme Education and Training 2010 (ET 2010, after ET2020). The property of ET 2010 is consolidation of higher education, vocational training and lifelong learning. ET 2010 is addressed as norm internalization.

In a nutshell, the life cycle is found in the policy-making process of higher education in the EU, where the policy-making process is traced by three stages, norm emergence, norm cascade and norm internalization.

The EU Law is delineated as preparation of evaluation of legalization level of the policy-making of higher education. The primary EU legislation is the Treaty on European Union (TEU) and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU). The secondary EU legislation is composed of regulation, directive, decision recommendation and opinion (TFEU Article 288). The regulation is binding and directly applied to the Member States. The directive is binding but is harmonized in the Member States. The decision is binding to those who are interested in the decision. The recommendation and opinion are not binding.

Three dimensions of the legalization are obligation, precision and delegation. Legalization level of the obligation means binding degree about the obligation in the implementation of the policy. As legalization level, the Treaty, regulation, directive and decision are evaluated high, recommendation and opinion are middle, another is low. Legalization level of the precision means degree of non-ambiguity in the codification. As legalization level, the Treaty is evaluated high, the education programme is middle and White Paper is low. Legalization level of the delegation means degree of delegation which the States give to the EU. Therefore, legalization by the EU is evaluated high, and Bologna declaration by non-EU organization is low.

Norm Life Cycle and Legalization in Vocational Training Policy of the EU

This section analyzes the norm life cycle and evaluates legalization level for the policy of vocational training during the era from the ECSC to the present day. From records in the Official Journal of the EU, I extracted combinations of items about vocational training policy of the EU; year, norm, stage of norm life cycle, legalization, characteristic of legalization and legalization and obtained the results in Table 2.

Year	Norm	Norm Cycle	Legalization	Characteristic of Legalization	Level of Legalization		
					Obligation	Precision	Delegation
1951	Start of the ECSC	Norm emergency	Treaty of Paris	Treaty	High	High	High
1957	Separation of Higher	Norm Internalization	Treaty of Rome,	Treaty	High	High	High

	Education from Vocational Training		Article				
1960s	Non-intervention to education as the ECSC	Tacit understanding		Norm as an unwritten law	Low	Low	Low
1971	General Guideline for community activity programme on area of occupation education (French and German)	Norm Emergence	guideline	Recommendation	High	Middle	High
1976	Measures to be taken to improve the preparation of young people for work and to facilitate their transition from education to working life	Norm Emergence	Action Programme	Resolution of the Council and of the Ministers of Education, Meeting within the Council	High	Middle	High
1982	Internal market as EC grand strategy	Norm cascade with norm evolution	The European Council Copenhagen	European Council, Conclusions	High	High	High
1984	EC Education policy For internal market	Norm cascade	The European Council Fontainebleau	European Council, Conclusions	High	High	High
1985	EC Education policy For internal market	Norm cascade	Delors speech in parliament	Parliament Speech	High	Middle	High
1985	EC Education	Norm cascade	White Paper, Completing	White Paper from	Middle	Low	High

	policy For internal market		the Internal Market	the Commissi on to the European Council			
1986	Constitutional foundation	Norm Internalization	Single European Act	Treaty	High	High	High
1986	Cooperation between Universities and Enterprises	Norm Internalization	COMETT Cooperation between Universities and Enterprises regarding Training in the field of Technology	Council Decision	High	Middle	High
1987	Vocational Training	Norm Internalization	Vocational Training of Young people and their Preparation for Adult and Working Life	Council Decision	High	Middle	High
1988	European dimension in education	Norm cascade with norm evolution	European dimension in education	Resolution of the Council and of the Ministers of Education, Meeting within the Council	High	Middle	High
1991	Equalization of higher education and vocational training	Norm Internalization	Treaty of Maastricht	Treaty	High	High	High
1993	European dimension of education	Norm cascade with norm evolution	Green Paper	Commissi on of the European Communit ies	Mid dle	Low	High
1994	Vocational Training	Norm Internalization	Leonardo da Vinci	Opinion on the	High	Middle	High

				Proposal for a Council Decision			
1995	Lifelong learning	Norm Internalization	White Paper establishing 1986 as the “European year of lifelong learning”	Decision of the European Parliament and of the Council	Middle	Low	High
1997	Europe of Knowledge	Norm cascade with norm evolution	Towards a Europe of Knowledge	Communication from the Commission	Middle	Low	High
1999	Vocational Training	Norm Internalization	Leonardo da Vinci (2nd phase of the Community)	Council Decision	High	Middle	High
2004	Vocational Training	Norm Internalization	Establishing a European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training	Council Regulation	High	High	High
2009	Strategic Framework for European Cooperation in Education and Training (“ET 2020”)	Norm internalization	Lifelong Learning Integration of HE and VT	Council Conclusions	High	Middle	High

Table2: Norm Life Cycle and Legalization of Vocational Training Policy

Table 2 is made by this author based on the following citations.

Citation: Rome Treaty 1957, OJ C 81 12-8-1971, OJ C 308 30-12-1976, The European Council Copenhagen 3 and 4 December 1982, The European Council Fontainebleau, 25 and 26 June 1984, Jacques Delors first speech to the Parliament 1985, COM 85/310 final 14-6-1985, Single European Act 1986, OJ L 222 8-8-1986, OJ L 346 10-12-1987, OJ C 177 6-7-1988, The Maastricht Treaty 1992, COM-93/457 final 29-09-1993, OJ C 148/5 30-5-1994, OJ L 256/45 26-10-1995, COM 97/ 563 final 12-11-1997, OJ L 146/33 11-6-1999, OJ L 355/1 1-12-2004, OJ C 119/02 28-5-2009

Through analysis of policy-making process of vocational training in the EU, I draw out the following results concerning the norm life cycle.

The vocational training policy has been changing towards integration with higher education policy since education reform in the early 1980s. The vocational training policy has been made by supplementing higher education policy which is the driving force of the internal market of the Europe.

As previously described, the provision (article 128) of the vocational training in the Treaty of Rome is the norm internalization of the prevailing norm before the Rome Treaty. As far as the author investigated, the document about vocational training was not found in the Official Journal of the ECSC.

Separation of the vocational training from higher education still existed in the 1960s. Due to Council Decision concerning an action programme for the vocational training of young people and their preparation for adult and working life (1987), it is recorded that the fundamental objectives of the common vocational training policy set down in the second principle in Decision 63/266/EEC refer, in particular, to the need to guarantee adequate vocational training for all and to avoid any harmful interaction between completion of general education and commencement of vocational training.

Set up of General guideline for community activity programme on area of occupation education (1970) meant that EU education reform did not start in the field of higher education but in that of vocational training. This guideline is addressed as norm emergency. The education reform in the early 1970s was still under influence of the Treaty of Rome in which provision of vocational training is independent of that of general education. Though non-intervention to higher education is found till end of 1960s, it is not found in the vocational training.

The action programmes such as COMETT (1986), Vocational Training of Young people and their Preparation for Adult and Working Life (1987) and Leonardo da Vinci (1994, 1999) are addressed as norm internalization.

Lifelong learning (1995) meant that vocational training and higher education are incorporated into lifelong learning, and Knowledge of Europe (1997) meant that barriers between higher education and vocational training began to break down by requirement derived from rapid development of science and technology. Lifelong learning and Knowledge of Europe are addressed by norm internalization and norm cascade with norm evolution, respectively.

In a nutshell, the life cycle is found in the policy-making process of vocational training in the EU, where the policy-making process is traced by three stages, norm emergence, norm cascade and norm internalization.

Legalization level is also evaluated in the policy-making of the vocational training, like that of higher education, considering EU primary and secondary legislations.

Single Institutional Framework in the Education Policy

Principle of the single institutional framework which guarantees consistency and continuity of activities to attain the objectives is codified in Article 3 of the Treaty of Maastricht. Realization of the single institutional framework in the educational policy-making of Socrates programme (1995) is shown in Table 3. This table means that higher education programme named Socrates is designed by taking into account of consistency and continuity, based on the EU Treaty, past Council Decisions on several education policies, Commission memorandum on the European dimension, and White Paper and Agreement on the European Economic Area on economic environment concerning growth, competitiveness and employment. I have already extracted a fact that the norm life cycle is found in evolution of not only higher education policy but also vocational training policy of the EU. This example shows that the norm life cycle about education policies is not autonomously formulated but institutionally supported by the single institutional framework as background principle of the EU.

Previous factor	Content
Article 3p of the Treaty	Contribution to education and training of quality.
Article 126 (1) of the Treaty	Development of quality education by encouraging cooperation between the Member States.
Principle of subsidiarity Article 3b of the Treaty	The Community is to take action only if the objectives of the Socrates action programme cannot be achieved by the Member States.
Article 127 (1) of the Treaty	Implementation of vocational training policy
Council Decision 87/327/EEC	Erasmus programme to promote the mobility of the university students.
Council Decision 89/489/EEC	Lingua programme to promote foreign language competence in the Community.
Council Decision 94/819/EC	Implementation of a European Community vocational training policy (Leonardo da Vinci).
Article 126 of the Treaty	This decision concerns vocational training and therefore go beyond general education as covered by Article 126 of the Treaty.
Green Paper on the European dimension	the European dimension in primary and secondary teaching.
European dimension in education at university level	The European Parliament has adopted a resolution on the European dimension in education at university level
Commission memorandum on open and distance learning	Commission memorandum and various resolutions of the European Parliament pointed out that this form of education offers considerable new opportunities.
European Council, meeting in Brussels	European Council, meeting in Brussels, adopted White Paper on Growth, Competitiveness and Employment.
Resolution on cultural diversity	Resolution on cultural diversity and the problems of school education for children of immigrants in the European Community. OJ C 42, 15. 2, 1993

Cooperation with the Council of Europe and with other international organizations	The Commission and Member States should ensure cooperation with the Council of Europe and with other international organizations such as OECD and Unesco.
Agreement on the European Economic Area	Broader cooperation in the field of education, training and youth between the European Community and its Member States on the one hand and the EFTA-EEA States on the other hand. OJ L1 3.1, 1994

Table3 Previous factors showing consistency and continuity about educational policy-making of Socrates programme

Table 3 is made by this author based on this programme and its relevant citations.
Citation : OJ L87 20-4-1995

Conclusion

Through analysis of making process of the EU education policy, I conclude that rule of the norm life cycle is satisfied in evolution of higher education policy and vocational training in the EU. I conclude that evolution of the EU higher education changed drastically from beginning in the 1980s from academic oriented concept to market oriented one. Furthermore, I conclude that development of the EU higher education policy has been accompanied by that of the EU vocational training policy. It is verified that this norm life cycle is supported by a principle of the single institutional framework.

I also conclude that legislation of the EU education policy has been evolving in accordance with development of the norm of the education policy. These legislations are supported by two factors, that is, first, policy-making is flexibly carried out using the EU secondary legislation, in which non-binding soft law is included, and, second, institution of the EU has been established based on concept of the norm.

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OJ C 308 30-12-1976 Measures to improve the preparation of young people for work and to facilitate their transition from education to working life

OJ L 222 8-8-1986 COMETT

OJ L 166 25-6-1987 Erasmus

OJ L 346 10-12-1987 Concerning an action programme for the vocational training of young people and their preparation for adult and working life

OJ C 177 6-7-1988 European dimension in education

OJ L 158 25-6-1988 Youth for Europe

OJ L 239 16-8-1989 Lingua

OJ L 131 23-5-1990 Tempus

OJ C 148/5 30-5-1994 Leonardo da Vinci

OJ L 87/ 20-4-1995 Socrates

OJ L, 256/45 26-10-1995 establishing 1996 as the “European year of lifelong learning”

OJ L 146/33 11-6-1999

OJ C 119/02 28-5-2009 ET 2020

Single European Act, 1986

Sorbonne Joint Declaration, May 25 1998

The Messina Conference, 1955

The Treaty of Rome, 25 March 1957

The European Council Copenhagen, 3 and 4 December 1982

The European Council Fontainebleau, 25 and 26 June 1984

The Treaty of Paris 1951

The Treaty of Maastricht, February 1992