Education Division documents. No. 18.

Swedish Folk Development Education and Developing Countries

Introductions, Cases and Explanatory Comments
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INTRODUCTION

Non-formal adult education has a deeply rooted tradition in Sweden. The Swedish word for it is 'Folkbildning'. Since it has not been an offspring of the university - as is the case in many countries - rather little has been written about it, particularly for the international public.

In the last three decades Sweden has developed a co-operation with several Third World countries in the field of adult education. Government and non-government agencies have supported adult education programmes. Swedish adult educators have worked in many developing countries. Many people in these countries and also in the industrialized part of the world have started asking themselves: What is in fact non-formal adult education as it is being practised in Sweden? Has it got any particular characteristics which distinguish it from the common practice of adult education in other countries? The Swedes seem to think that it has? Has it got something special to offer to developing countries? Or are the Swedes just trying to practise some new form of neo-colonialism?

In this booklet we shall try to throw some light on these questions. We shall do so by giving a few facts about the background and actual situation of the 'Folkbildning' and first and foremost by referring to experience from Swedish participation in non-formal adult education activities in several developing countries. We hope that this shall, for instance, be of use to foreigners who would like to get a deepened knowledge about the core values and practices of our 'Folkbildning'. Also, it may be of value to representatives of developing countries considering a cooperation with Sweden in this field.

We also feel that this booklet could be of use to Swedes, who are in the process of preparing themselves for work within this sector in developing countries. It will give them an answer to their question: what have other Swedes done before us under similar circumstances? The experience from abroad may also show them more clearly what are the most important core characteristics and values of 'Folkbildning'.

- It was initiated by folk movements or by smaller groups of private citizens.

In order for the reader to understand more deeply some of the ideological-pedagogical luggage that a Swedish Folk Development Educator carries with him whether working at home or abroad, we shall elaborate some of the characteristics mentioned.

It was stated above that the FDE pedagogy is based on participation and that FDE is profoundly democratic in its outlook. These two things go closely together. They tell us something about the way FDE looks upon man, society and work. Democracy implies an absolute belief in the capacity of all human beings for developing themselves and for taking an active part in the development of society. If one believes in this capacity one will strive to create opportunitites for everyone to participate and to make him take these opportunities. The FDE pedagogy holds that active participation will promote efficient learning. Participation pedagogy means that students are encouraged and assisted to become more and more active in and responsible for their studies, not only for their content but also for their planning, methodology and evalution.

The leaders - tutors will be responsible for safe-guarding and developing the democratic and participatory attitudes and modes of work. Therefore democratic training and participatory pedagogy must constitute important parts of the FDE leader-tutor training. (Significantly the words 'leader' and 'tutor' are used much more in FDE than the word 'teacher'.)

The FDE arose in a situation when farmers and working class people felt they had to help each other to acquire more learning and culture. Because of this it is natural that the emphasis in FDE pedagogy is on group learning and learning through interchange between all involved in the study process, student-student-tutor. Similarly because of this, FDE has not traditionally been geared towards formal qualifications. FDE stood apart from the formal school from the very beginning. It developed in order to make people stronger, more active and more functional as citizens, better equipped to fend for their rights and for the betterment of the conditions of themselves and of their fellows of the same folk movement. This was partly done in opposition to the established elite and its elitist school. This tradition prevails. Certificates are not awarded in most forms of FDE. Where they are awarded they do not

give graded estimates of levels of knowledge in particular subjects but a general judgement of social and learning abilities. At the FDE core there is the idea of education as a process of continuous and broad development of the human being rather than a progress up a staircase with formally delimited steps, each leading on to the next exactly defined one.

It was stated above that FDE is run by non-government organizations and that it is independent of the formal school system. One rather unique thing to note in this context is that the Swedish central government gives grants to cover the large share of the costs of all the FDE organizations. The government does this with very little interference in the design or running of their activities. Whether an organization is loyal to the government policies or, for instance, is affiliated to an opposition party makes no difference in this respect. In this sense the Swedish FDE has an extraordinary degree of freedom. According to the very general conditions laid down by the government for giving grants Folk Development Education may not be used for indoctrination - not even of government views. FDE must be free, these conditions state, also in the sense that any arguments for or against any phenomenon must be allowed to enter the studies. A Swedish Folk Development Educator would only denominate a kind of education 'true education' if this freedom is there.

THE STUDY CIRCLE - an Introduction by Johan Norbeck

In the late 19th century, when the first strong adverse effects of the industrial revolution were being felt in Sweden, there arose several folk movements strongly engaged in social problems. There was the temperance movement, the labour movement, the non-conformist church movements, the consumer cooperative movement and others still. It is from demands for education within these folk movements that the study circle was born. The ordinary working man, engaged in their causes, was struggling for better conditions for himself and his fellow-men. Education was one privilege of the upper classes of which he wanted a fair share, partly for its own sake, partly because he saw it as a tool that would enable him to acquire more power also within the political and the cultural field. However, there were hardly any financial or material resources to start schools for the adults of the lower classes. There were, for instance, no teachers to help. The upper classes wanted to keep their prerogatives and there was hardly any chance to get help from them. In that situation of need the study circle proved to be the form that could meet some important needs.

The genuine study circle functions in the following way: a group of people who want to learn something get together. They work to obtain material that can help them to learn about the subject, e.g. one or more books. They study this material and devote their meetings to discussion thereby helping each other to understand and putting the information into the context of their own concrete experience. They choose a leader among themselves, who then, sometimes, is not an expert in the subject. He is to be their truly democratic leader and not their teacher in any traditional sense. Or rather, he and all in the group should be each others' teachers, all with equal influence on what to study and how to study it, all eager to give out of their own ideas and knowledge.

The popular movements in time formed educational associations which took on the task of stimulating the formation of study circles as well as helping them in various ways. They, for example, started producing materials. They wrote study guides to already existing books or they wrote new books. They also, to a growing extent, started to furnish leaders to groups that wanted leaders with some special knowledge or with training in study circle leadership. Thus, in time, most study circles have come to be led by people with both subject expertise and training, but, nota bene!, those leaders are still supposed to function

as democratic leaders in a fully democratic study process, where the mutual giving and taking in the discussion is the most important element. That is what they have been trained for.

In 1902 the first circles in modern Swedish tradition were tested. Ten years later there were about 1000 circles in the country and now there are about 300 000 going every year. Roughly one million people go to one or more circle meetings every week (out of Sweden's entire population of 8 million). All sorts of subjects are being studied, the three most important fields being esthetic subjects about 35%, languages 30% and social issues about 20%

NON-FORMAL EDUCATION IN TAMILNADU - a case by Tyko Holgersson

Background

My story is from a Non-Governmental Organisation, TELC, which is one of the churches in southern India. It has been involved in education over a long time, and even today a good number of rural primary schools, high schools etc. are run by the church, with the aid of Government grants.

I worked there, mainly with rural primary education, in 1976 - 79, and I was concerned about the educational situation for the backward groups of the rural areas. Teachers have worked for generations with the ambition that education would lift up the backward people, eradicate caste-differences, superstition and illiteracy, promote hygiene, health and general development. But what has happened? The economic development has been in favour of those already rich, poverty has become deeper, caste opression is still a serious problem. Even though some of the manual agricultural labourers have gone to school, they forget to read and write, and the education they received has very little relevance to them in their everyday life.

What was it like in Sweden when the Swedish working-class first started to organise their studies? Our country was backward, and ours workers were oppressed. But as they studied, they also took steps to change their society. And they proved that adult education organised with the full participation of the learners is a more effective method for changing repressive structures. This was useful and inspiring knowledge which I had in my baggage when I started working

in this Indian environment.

While I was working with these problems, the Indian Government announced a nation-wide adult education programme, and non-governmental organisations were invited to help and implement this programme in their local districts . Our organisation applied for grants to carry out the programme in the area where I was working, and so we started a partly Freire-inspired non-formal adult education programme. By describing a few incidents from the time when we started and developed the work, I hope to explain also the principles for this kind of education. It will be seen that Non-formal education to me is not simply education for adults, or education for illiterate people. It is a different method of learning, developing from the situation of the learner.

FORMAL AND NON-FORMAL EDUCATION - one of various existing definitions.
According to Coombs with Ahmed 1974:
"Formal education as used here is, of course, the highly institutionalized, chronologically graded and hierarchically structured "education system", spanning lower primary school and the upper reaches of the university.
Nonformal education as used here is any organized, systematic, educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population, adults as well as children. Thus defined, nonformal education includes, for example, agricultural extension and farmer training programs, adult literacy programs, occupational skill training given outside the formal system, youth clubs with substantial educational purposes, and various community programs of instruction in health, nutrition, family planning, cooperatives, and the like".

Spelling the word of the illiterate

We had our first training camp for group leaders, or animators as we called them. After they had talked informally with the illiterate agricultural workers of the rural village where we camped, a good number of them volunteered to take part in a reading lesson. A word "poluppu" had come out very strongly in their conversation, and this word was now used for spelling in the Tamil alphabet. The word "poluppu"

is the local dialect for "pilaipu" which is the Tamil word for survival. It is derived from the verb "pilai", to survive, and though it is not the simplest word for starting the literacy process, it was commonly used among these people and had a deep meaning to them. The question "Unga poluppu jenna?" - "What is your survival?" - is their simplest way of asking: "What work do you do in order to earn your livelihood?" And this question sparked off a lively discussion about the hardships of the landless labourers, their low wages as daily coolies, their times of starvation in the off-seasons, their dependency on money-lenders, etc.

The word was written on an easle, and the learners tried to draw the same letters on slates. They wrote with great enthusiasm, maybe because they were writing their own word, their own life and struggle, as they had described them in the group discussion. By the end of this first lesson, they had understood the way in which words are built up by letters, they could spell this word, and also make one or two other words by using the same letters. They dispersed from their first lesson with the promise that they would learn reading and writing faster than their own children who go to school.And indeed they did. After four or five months they could read fairly well, and after ten months we felt that they had completed a good literacy course.

The culture of the learners as the base for education

Let med describe another incident: In one of the first study groups, a group of women, the word written on the blackboard was "thanni" which means water. The discussion was on the water situation in the village. The outcaste people, to whom the learners belonged, only had access to a dirty pond used also for cattle and for washing. The discussion was on the health problems, and also about the fact that high-caste village leaders had utilised a government grant for drinking-water in their own part of the village only.

There was no door to the shed where the lesson was being held, and interested spectators were coming and going. One young boy who had attended high school came in, pointed to the blackboard and laughed:
-Ha, there is a spelling mistake. You have written "thanni", but it should be spelt "thannir" with an 'r'.
The women looked suspiciously at him and asked: - What do you mean?
And the boy explained: - In all the books it is written "thannir" with an 'r'

at the end. Only here in this area we say "thanni", but the real spelling is "thannir".

I thought that the women would feel inferior because they did not know proper tamil, but to my surprise they got angry:

-What nonsense are you talking? Do you think that we are discussing book water? We are talking about the real water which is here in our pond, and we call it "thanni". Get out, we are not worried about your books.

After this followed an agitated discussion about the difference between formal and non-formal education. I was surprised that these women saw a very clear distinction: The books are written far away and describe conditions in cities and other places which these women will never reach. So the word of books are not for them. And the skills learnt in formal schools would be useless to them in their life as landless labourers. In fact, even that boy who had gone to high school could find no use for his schooling and was just unemployed.

In contrast to this, they were now involved in quite a different kind of education. They were discussing not the wisdom of books but the wisdom of real life. This was very useful in their own situation, it was their own knowledge, their own experience. Previously they had always been told that their own knowledge was nothing, that they were stupid and could not think for themselves. But now, after starting this course, they had started to realise that the knowledge which is based on one's own experience is the only true knowledge. They had become suspicious about the knowledge represented by books: "Those educated in formal schools say that we are stupid. Is their education perhaps a fraud invented by the privileged as a means to make the poor people believe that they know nothing?"

Development starts by analysing our own situation

After a few weeks when the learners in our groups needed some simple reading text, we issued a "newspaper". It was just a folded, printed paper with simple reading in bold characters, and the "news" were related to the life and the area of the learners.

One such piece of news was the Government regulation about minimum wages: - Did you know what the Government has decided?? The minimum permit-

ted daily wage for men is 6.40 rupees, and for women 4.40 rupees.

This was hot news. Not because of the difference between men and women, but because up to now such legislation was unknown to the workers, and this minimum amount was considerably higher than most learners were getting.
Most of the learners are themselves daily labourers, and they meet only in kerosene light late after a long day's labour. Now they discussed the reasons why they did not receive the minimum wage and what they could do about it. Discussions with their employers followed, and in a few villages this led to spontaneous but ill-planned strikes. Some managed to raise their wages a bit. In many cases the workers were defeated. But this only meant that they would come together again, analyse the cause of their defeat, and plan future actions.

Of course, they have always seen the difference between rich and poor in the village, but it is only now, when they jointly reflect over their situation, that they realise what the oppression really means. They find that they are exploited as underpaid labourers, that the land-owners purposely deceive them and keep them down. In contrast to the traditional caste system where the outcastes are held to be not fully human, they experience in their group fellowship that they have a clearer analysis of their village than the leaders of the village have, they feel that they are full human beings and they learn to treat one another with dignity. This is radical in their environment.
They discover their own culture. They have always been made to think that they have no culture, that they are rough and primitive. And to start with, they may not be used to framing their own thoughts. But they have a knowledge related to real life - their own experience. And once they feel free to express themselves they may fast develop drama, story-telling, new songs, etc. and they take a pride in their own culture.

They analyse their society from below. The perspective of the oppressed is quite different from that of the official leaders. They become aware of the class conflict, and they go fairly fast from words to deeds. They try to find ways for working their own development, and when they do this they become a power for change in their society.

Some groups stick to their original intention to learn reading and writing, others take the literacy process lighter and see their group mainly as a base for discussing various ways of developing living conditions in their village.

In the days when the Swedish workers started to study and organise themselves, the same powers were at work. People who learn to take themselves seriously will no longer be subject to "fate" or to the will of the leaders, they no longer take it for granted that the big people in society are the ones to decide for them. They themselves assume responsibility for their own situation. For us who worked with this project the Swedish experience made us strong in our belief that something could really be changed through this way of working.

Democratic leadership

It must be said that not all groups work in a very revolutionary way. Many have a very traditional approach to the spelling activities, keep quiet and listen to their leader.

We found that the crucial point in this programme is the role of the leader. We had made it a rule, already from the start, that the animator, or group leader, should be selected from the village, he or she should if possible come from the same community, live in the same part of the village where the group of learners live. We thought it important that the group should know that "the leader is one of us". The way study circle leaders were originally selected in Sweden was an important precedent for us when we suggested this.

It happened that one or two trained teachers offered to do this work in the evenings. Or there was a young girl from the caste village who volunteered to lead a group of Harijan women.

In some cases, such a group worked very well. But we found that it is very hard for the ordinary teacher to break away from his traditional teacher attitude. He will stand before his class and give lectures, with a stick in his hand, while we expect the animator to sit cross-legged among the learners and encourage them to discuss. We also found that it is hard to remove the class difference when the teacher or leader comes from above. Even when the group has elected someone of their own as leader, it happens quite often that this person tries to establish himself or herself as a real teacher, and so we found that much attention has to be paid to the attitude of the leader. It is essential that the leader develops democratic values in the group.

The work of the group leader is to help the group to work smoothly

together. Dominant members must be kept back a bit, and the shy members should be encouraged to take full part.

THE STUDY CIRCLE LEADER IN THE SWEDISH TRADITION

Originally the leader was picked out by the members of the circle from among themselves. This happens even today, although most leaders are now procured from the study association because of their special qualifications. Still leaders of study circles are not teachers. They are leaders of a democratic, participatory study process and they have been trained for that.

The general tasks of the study circle leader are the following:

- to be ultimately responsible for the study process.
- the encourage and assist a division of responsibility between all the members as equally as possible for the work of the circle.
- to work towards creating a group climate conducive to efficient study and good results.

The specific tasks of the leader at each meeting (these tasks also reflect the normal study process):

1 Start the meeting by - a summary of the work of last meeting.
- going through the plan for this meeting
- deciding on a point of departure for the work of this meeting.

2 Procure new knowledge from the members or from sources chosen by them.

3 Initiate an interchange and collaboration between the members of the circle in order for all to come to really understand the new knowledge, that has been presented.

4 Initiate and lead a discussion about the newly-won knowledge.

5 Make a summary of what has been said and see to it that conclusions are drawn.

6 Initiate the planning of special tasks for group members and of what is going to happen in the next meeting.

NB, when there is a talk of 'group members' above the leader is always included.

The group fellowship will most probably be a new experience to the learners. Their discussions and sharings will demonstrate that the knowledge does not only come from the teacher or from the book but is derived from the thoughts of the group as a whole. The analysis is a joint effort. Unity and loyalty will stem from this. The members will discover the power of the united group, and they will try collective actions such as mass appeals to officials, strikes, contract work, or cooperatives.

It is important that the group can meet in a free and open spirit, and that everybody feels free to speak. This must be kept in mind when the groups are organised. We found that when a group did not work well it was either that the leader was too dominant, or else there was division in the group.

Oppressors and oppressed cannot be in the same group if all shall feel free to speak. It was not unusual that the landowner or the employer would send his man to the group to find out who said what. One can easily observe how an open and spontaneous discussion is silenced when such a visitor enters the group. This has to be kept in mind also before organising the group.

There has to be a fairly thorough survey of the village, and the power structure has to be identified. Sometimes there are differences of opinion within the study group which are caused by some old enmity or difference in the society. This should be analysed and overcome. This is also part of the training in democratic values.

"Real education is never non-political" (Nyerere)

It happened that one group leader illustrated the word "kadan", debt, by drawing a picture of the money-lender coming to fetch the only goat from an indebted peasant. This was a situation familiar to the villagers.

As they were discussing this, the local landowner cum money-lender came along, and he was very upset when he saw the picture. He shouted: -Why do you draw pictures of me? He saw to it that the animator was beaten, he had people throw stones at the evening gatherings, he even put up a faked case against the animator to get him behind the bars.

Local clashes are bound to be a side-effect of real education in an unjust society as this. But we should avoid to create situations where the group leader becomes the key person in these confrontations. It is better when the group as a whole, having analysed its situation, goes to joint action. Leaders are sometimes quite upset when they see injustice, and they try to instigate the group or provoke the authorities. It takes longer time to convince the group that it shall do something, and the actions agreed upon may not appear

so radical. But the action of the group will be more respected than that of an individual.

This is something I have learnt from the Swedish adult education tradition. Actions are agreed upon by the whole group, and even if an individual acts it is on behalf of the group, and he cannot be individually punished. It may be important to distinguish clearly between the learning process and the activities which stem from the group discussions. It is not the job of the educator to act on behalf of the learners or to instigate them into radical action. But they should learn to take full responsibility for their own ideas and their own deeds. Especially in times of tension, the educator will be blamed for involving people in political activities. It should then be clear that the activities are not run by the educators but are the full responsibility of the learners. The educator may help them to discuss and analyse, but the decision to act must be of their own free choice.

On the other hand, action as well as reflection on the actions taken are steps in the continued and deepening analysis of their situation. Even an action which was not successful may be useful for discussion. If for instance the learners decide to go on strike and the employers call in workers from outside or employ the police to subdue the strikers, such experience may be important for understanding the way in which the dominating powers in their society work together. Out of this "lesson" will come a more longterm, maybe a more responsible strategy for changing the society. This in turn may lead to it that grievances can be solved in a more peaceful way, or that the traditional humiliation slowly will give way so that the rights of the oppressed people will be respected.

Many different ways for development are attempted. The improvement of the individual lifestyle should be mentioned as an achievement: personal cleanliness, family life, the appearance of the hut. Joint efforts are also taken for tidying up in the neighbourhood: actions to get drinking water, or road, or attempts to put an end to old quarrels.

Some groups learn skills for self-employment in an attempt to earn something during the off-seasons when there is no agricultural work. Some start some joint enterprise such as road work on contract, or

group bank loans for milch animals. Banks have been hesitant to give loans to small people who have no assets as security, but they have come forward to give loans on "group security" because they feel the educational programme means there is some assurance that repayment will be regular.

Most of the above initiatives have the traditional approach for development. In the beginning of their literacy work the learners are enthusiastic about the "progress". But as time goes on, they turn over to use the word "unity" as the key word for their development.

People who are used to studying together in their literacy group may very well stand together in society too. I was given the example of a village where the women had their way of tackling their landlord through unity:

Sixty women look for plantation work, and the landlord says: I need twenty workers for planting this field. In earlier times, there used to be a rush for work, only a minority of the women would get it, and the landowner could press the wages. Now, the women will sit back, one woman will speak on behalf of them all and will discuss the conditions:
- This is a big paddy field, we will not do it unless you employ thirty.
- Okey, I will take thirty people.
- We are sixty. It means you employ all of us, and we work for half the day.

Or else, to avoid quarrels within the group, the workers make a list and take turns in going for work, so that job opportunities will be equally distributed.

Structures for non-formal education

We started non-formal education in a very open way, we felt our way forward by adjusting to the local situations, and we did not think that the organisation needs to be very rigid. But also non-formal needs its forms and routines.

Leadership training: Field workers start work in a village by making a house-to-house survey to find out the local needs and to find where there are groups of potential learners. These are invited to join the programme and to select somebody in the village to be their leader or animator. Such animators are given a ten days intensive training

where they do group dynamics, analysis of society, literacy methods, etc. They are also closely supervised, and are given continued guidance and in-service training as long as they continue as group leaders.

The animators meet weekly with their field worker, they report from the activities of their groups, discuss the main difficulties and issues brought up, and plan the next weeks' work.

Reading material: The initial method of deriving "key words" from conversation with the learners was replaced by a set of pictures. Thus, a chart will illustrate a given key word and will be the focus for discussion, and the series of pictures will constitute an initial syllabus. Later on, a monthly "newspaper" will provide reading practice relevant to the learners and their situation. The paper is prepared by the fieldworkers working in the area. For follow-up literacy work, there are a few books with stories on issues taken up by groups of learners. There are also collections of proverbs and songs gathered from learners, and a book about childbirth and health.

Follow-up: The literacy course will be completed after ten months, and the animator is employed for only that time, with a small honorary payment. Many groups wish to continue, and they organise as youth or women's groups, etc., some make use of the literature for continued literacy, others work with other issues in their society. Fieldworkers continue to visit them, and some training programmes are organised for them.

THE STUDY CIRCLE - part of a case by Folke Albinson*

One can hardly imagine a Swedish folk development educator given a certain educational task somewhere in the world who would not one day come to the conclusion that the study circle method would be the best solution to one or several of the training needs he or she must meet. For me this happened as early as during my first half year in Zambia while we were working on a proposal for a long term plan for cooperative education development. We had started working on the need and necessity of suitable training measures to reach the broad member group as well as potential members of the cooperative movement. It was clear that the study circle was obviously the best method to meet these needs.

In the five-year plan for cooperative education which was approved in August 1980, mention is made of a "group-work activity" which has, as its purpose, to increase understanding and knowledge about cooperative methods as a means to improve the quality of life. Study activities should be prepared through the production of supportive radio programmes, illustrated text books in local languages as well as the identification and training of study group leaders.

Since this study method had not really been tested earlier in the country, we decided to start on a trial basis on a limited scale in order to gain experience on which we could subsequently build. The preparatory work was completed in the middle of 1982 and in August of the same year a number of study groups in the Central Province started having their meetings, once a week over a period of ten weeks. Each meeting began with the radio programme for the meeting and the topical texts and pictures in the study booklet were discussed and commented on.

In total 291 study groups were formed in the province with approx. 4 000 participants. 61% of the participants were between the ages of 20 and 44, 83% were peasants, 33% were illiterate, and 25% were women. During the evaluation soon after the final meeting it was shown that interest in cooperative activities had increased considerably among the participants, as had the wish to form new societies. Factual knowledge about the cooperative movement had also increased significantly and interest in

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* This page was originally conceived as a part of the case by Folke Albinson starting on page 34, but was extracted and placed here so as to become part of the Study Circle chapter.

continuing studies in one way or another was great. It is too early to assess the long term effects of the study programme. The great interest in the activities together with the immediate, positive effects led however to a country-wide study group programme being implemented. This programme is carried out in all seven languages. In addition various follow-up projects will be undertaken in Central Province where the whole programme started.

FROM FOLK DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION TO NURSES' IN-SERVICE TRAINING
A case by Johan Norbeck

The University of Minho was founded in 1973 in the city of Braga in Northern Portugal. Soon after the revolution in 1974 the University decided to serve the community around in various useful ways instead of remaining an ivory tower like the old Portuguese universities.

One appropriate way of doing this was to enter the field of adult education. The University asked for Swedish assistance to help establish an adult education institution. This was granted in the form of money and human resources.

I and a colleague of mine became engaged in the work described in this case. We worked together with two Portuguese who made up the academic staff of the university adult education unit.

The University laid down certain principles for the work of the ad.ed. unit: "The adult education courses run by the University of Minho shall serve mainly as an introduction, training and stimulus for people who are then to initiate and conduct adult education in various forms.
-- adult education aimed at the part of the population in the north who has the least chance of genuine participation in the social, economic and cultural development. The people who have the least opportunities to broaden their horizons are usually to be found in the small villages".

Within the scope of these general principles the ad.ed. unit was free to initiate whatever it saw to be the most useful activities.

One thing was clear to the unit staff from the very beginning: many people of importance for the development of adult education in the Portuguese society knew very little about it. They were not aware of what scope it might have or what roles it might play in the promotion of development. To them adult education often meant literacy only, and in its most limited sense at that.

We on the unit staff then decided that the best thing to do for a beginning was to give to these people a widened perspective of what adult education might mean. We arranged a series of first courses for high and middle level functionaries of institutions already doing adult education in one form or another, such as rural and health extension services.

During this first phase of activities it was possible for us to make certain interesting observations. We noted that people working in the various extension services, whose duty it was to function to a considerable degree as adult educators, did not think of themselves as such, nor had they had any pedagogical-methodological training for that part of their job.

The need for this kind of conscientialization and training was evidently great. We found that most agriculture agents, for instance, used a most inadequate approach to the farmers. They did not even try to motivate them for new knowledge and they used a language incomprehensible to them, both in speaking to them and in printed material, that they distributed at regular intervals.

Because of these and other things some of them had been downright rebuffed by the farmers. Feeling rather taken aback by this "show of ingratitude" they then preferred to remain in their offices in town and keep themselves busy by keeping statistical records.

Other kinds of field workers, such as health workers, suffered from similar rebuffs. Only in a few cases, notably family assistants, the contact with the people was better.

A third observation that we made was that many other ad.ed. initiatives taken before and after the revolution had failed. One important reason for this seemed to be the fact that they had been thought out and initiated by the central administration and then 'exported to' and imposed upon the local people. This imposition was still going on as could be deduced from the attitudes of some of the participants. There were, for instance, primary school teachers, who had been appointed local adult educators by the central authorities. They had received a week or two of training for their new task. That had not substantially changed their basic understanding of how to perform it. They continued the kind of teaching they knew from their work with children.

Having made these observations the unit staff decided to continue their work with the following target groups: field staff of the agricultural, health and family extension services and the primary school teachers who had been appointed as local adult educators by the Ministry of Education.

All these groups needed a functional pedagogy and methods and materials adapted to it. To us on the unit staff it was clear that the pedagogy must build on much participation and responsibility on the part of the adult learners themselves. The approach must be one of real motivation and of support of local initiative and ideas - not one of cultural imperialism and imposition. Needless to say the material used in the studies would have to be well adapted to the thinking and knowledge of the target groups. It would have to raise questions and rouse curiosity rather than give answers.

Under these circumstances the Swedes felt that their field experience of running good study circles gave them a sound and helpful backing. Theory may be good but field experience is indispensable for the process of training others in the art of non-directive pedagogy, convincing them at the same time of its viability.

The unit now started a series of courses for these target groups. They were of four types, introduced in a sequence, with half a year or more in between:

Type 1

Objectives: Widen their perspectives on ad.ed., what roles it can play for the development of the community.

Make participants conscious of their important role as adult educators.

Analyse the concept "the adult learner".

Instruct them about a wide range of possible forms and methods to be used in adult education.

Introduce the "participation education" ideology and the pedagogy and methodology that goes with it.

Link the content of the two previous objectives. That is, show how various forms and methods can be adapted more or less to "participation education".

Duration: about 5 days.

Type 2.

Objectives: Make them understand the idea of study guides and especially how such guides can help "participation education".

Train them in the writing of study guides.

Give them a deeper understanding of how participation education may function in practice. (The various functions that a study guide can have give a good illustration of this and of the demands on a leader of this kind of education. Here too the Swedes had good experience from their Folk Development Education to fall back upon).

Duration: 4 + 3 days with at least 2 months in between.

Type 3.

Objectives: Make them analyse various texts with regard to specific target groups and study purposes.

Have them produce new texts for specific target groups keeping in mind a desired pedagogy.

Duration: 4 + 3 days with at least 2 months in between.

Type 4.

Objectives: Train them to become well functioning leaders in participation education.

Duration: 3 days.

The various target groups mentioned before were usually mixed in the same course, between two and four in each. Participants completed this series of courses within a period of about 3 years. (1979-80 to 82-83)

THE STUDY GUIDE

The Study Guide has acquired great importance as a pedagogic instrument to assist study circle work. It may seem surprising that a circle should have use for study guides even if the leader is well versed in the subject, but this only casts light on the strength and originality of the study circle as a pedagogic form. It simply has greater possibilities than the traditional classroom teaching - it gives more dimensions to the learning process. The function of the study guide also casts light on the role of the subject expert as one of the members of the circle. He is not, as in the formal school, the central figure from whom all initiative and knowledge emanate. The study guide, just as the discussion, is a tool that all members dispose of and may make use of. It is a tool that helps them to decide for themselves the way they want their studies to be conducted.

In the study circle work knowledge is sought from many different sources: books, radio, study visits, slides... Independent of the number and diversity of sources a study guide may be used both as a tool with autonomous functions and as a complementary one.

These are the most common functions of the study guide:

1. Make an introduction to the subject and to the text or other sources to be used.
2. Give pedagogical-methodological hints for the whole study process.
3. Suggest one or more alternative plans for the study (period, number of meetings, scope, order of content etc).
4. Suggest relevant questions for discussion of various aspects of the subject.
5. Give hints of useful tasks or practical exercises.
6. Give information about other valuable sources on the subject.
7. Help penetrate and understand the text or other sources used.
8. Help relate what is studied to the reality of the participants or to other aspects of real life.
9. Stimulate a reconsideration and revaluation of attitudes, opinions and behaviour.
10. Stimulate to action and implementation even after the circle has finished.

The Study Guide may be a separate booklet or integrated into one of the texts used in the circle.

Within the courses themselves participants showed a great deal of interest and their participation was very active. What happened in the field as a result of these courses was partly a different story.

The adult education unit staff had anticipated that the participants would go back to their field work and initiate participation education either with themselves or with local people as leaders. The unit staff had also anticipated that some of the participants would try to spread these ideas to their colleagues and motivate them so that training of this kind could be extended to more people.

The actual results demonstrate the difficulties inherent in this kind of work, which meant, basically, trying to change other people's ways of performing their jobs.

But the results also show a very healthy phenomenon: Adult students will use their acquired knowledge the way they see fit -- and this is not always the way the trainers have anticipated or desired.

Here is a situation where the foreign aid worker is really put to test. Will he be flexible enough not to insist, in a case like this, that the knowledge and new skills imparted shall be used just as they are being used in his country? Will he encourage and assist a necessary adaptation of the things he has taught to this other reality? Those are crucial questions!

Some of the participants of these courses have not as yet (1983) put their new knowledge to much practical use. Some representatives of the agriculture extension and of the primary school teachers became firmly convinced of the usefulness of what they learnt. They made great plans about how to reform the field work of their services. But they seem to have been too few when they returned to their place of work and too much under pressure from their bosses who wanted them to show "fast quantitative results".

The family assistants were convinced from the beginning of the necessity of some kind of participation education. They only needed these courses as catalysts. They looked for both moral support and concrete guidance

as to methods and materials. They became particulary attracted by the study circle form and some of them have by now started study circles in small villages, partly using study material that they themselves produced in the courses and later developed further.

The most unexpected and perhaps most interesting result was reached in the group of health workers. Some nurses at the Braga town hospital showed that what they got from the courses met a long felt need. They grabbed the study circle way of working with great enthusiasm. As early as between course Type 1 and 2 they started a study circle among themselves at the hospital in order to study the hospital routines and how they could be rationalized.

Between courses Type 3 and 4 they conducted another study circle all by themselves in order to produce study material on the theme 'hospital hygiene'. They made, for instance, a series of good slides, which they took inside the hospital to show some problems connected with this theme. They also wrote six small texts on the subject and drew and painted a series of posters.

After they had concluded that circle, each one of its members started a circle of her own with other nurses and nurse's assistants as participants. All those 10 circles studied 'hospital hygiene' with the help of the study material produced in the previous circle.

The last thing that happened in the hospital before this case was written down was an evaluation seminar. The head of the nursing staff was present as well as some of the leaders and participants of the study circles and finally three of the ad.ed. unit staff of the University. Some of the nurses had made a written evaluation on the basis of interviews with all participants of the circles. Close observation had also been made of the hygienic work in the hospital after the circles had concluded as compared to before they had started. In this meeting both the head of staff and the others involved agreed that something just short of a revolution was happening to their in-service training thanks to the new ideas given in the courses at the university. Where before there had been a question of simply giving new instructions to those employed or lecturing to them, they had now been actively involved in studying and trying to solve, through their own ideas, the problems encountered in their work. An immediate, concrete change of behaviour and attitudes in their work had

been clearly observed. The nurses testified to the enormous difference in learning new things this way as compared to the method they had been subjected to before, notably the lecture. The written evaluation showed a 100% interest in continuing this kind of studies. The study material had functioned well. It had presented general, ideal solutions to various problems. The participants had then had to figure out how to approximate their concrete environment with its not so ideal conditions to these ideals.

Other hospitals in the country had already heard positive rumours of what was going on and were asking to be informed of this kind of in-service training.

The head of staff planned a minimum of ten additional circles in the autumn of the same year.

Some nurses in the hospital had also elaborated a study material on venereal diseases. This work had been initiated in one of the university courses. They intended to start study circles around this theme with young longterm patients.

Several nurses said all these steps were good and necessary measures in themselves but they had also given them the necessary real experience of the study circle way of working before they would try to use it in the field outside the hospital.

STUDY ASSOCIATIONS - an Introduction by Johan Norbeck

Under THE STUDY CIRCLE above we have already briefly described how non-formal adult education was born within the various folk movements, the Cristian Revival Movement, the Temperance Movement, the Labour Movement etc. In the first decades of this century the study circle gradually became their most important form for education. The demand for education opportunities and for cultural activities grew so rapidly among the movements' members that it was soon felt that special organizations affiliated to the various folk movements would have to be established in order to help meet the demands. They would have to assist in organizing study circles and other activities, find suitable localities, find sources and produce study materials etc.

Thus the Swedish Study Associations came into being, the first one being ABF, The Workers' Educational Association, founded in 1912. Later on most folk movements, large and small, fighting for their various ideologies and interests have created affiliated study associations or have affiliated themselves to those already created by others. There are now ten study associations in Sweden, each one sponsored and supported by several independent groups or folk movements with certain core values in common.

It is important to note that these associations are affiliated to - not part of - folk movements. One or more folk movements may be the initiators or supporters of a certain study association, but the association is still an independent organization. This fact is well in line with the Folk Development Education tradition: it makes for freedom of study, it counteracts indoctrination and paternalization.

Other important characteristics of these associations are that their activities are free and voluntary. 'Free' refers to the freedom of the forms of study: the participants are free to co-operate and they are free to influence choice of content and methods. 'Free' also means that the associations stand free in relation to sponsoring organizations and other interest groups as well as to the government.

This last thing is important and rather unique considering that most of the money for the activities of the study associations is granted by the central government. This same government will still allow freedom of design of the studies within very generous frames. This may very well

mean, for instance, that a government sponsored study circle may study views that are contrary to that of the government. This traditional relationship between the central government and the Folk Development Education has contributed to the building up of the Swedish democracy. The fact that this relationship has survived for so long shows the strength of that same democracy.

It is thus a characteristic of the FDE studies that they analyse critically any view or presented fact, but the associations must also see to it that there exist conditions for an objective and comprehensive treatment of the subjects studied.

When Swedish Folk Development Educators contribute towards non-formal adult education in other parts of the world, they will carry with them the idea that this kind of education springs up from the people itself, created and carried forward by the ideologies and needs expressed by its own movements.

GOVERNMENT-AIDED ADULT EDUCATION THROUGH NON-GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONS
A case by Tyko Holgersson

Can we build up a system whereby the Government promotes non-formal adult education through non-government organizations?

This was one of the important questions when a Swedish study association, SKS, was called upon to start up forms of adult education in Zimbabwe.

Some people in Zimbabwe had met representatives of the SKS (i.e. the Swedish Church Association for Adult Education) who paid a visit to Zimbabwe soon after independence. They were only on a study tour, but they had explained the principles of non-formal education in such a way that some Zimbabwe leaders felt this may be a good type of education for a newly liberated country. So some time afterwards, an invitation was sent for them to start a programme of adult education "in the SKS style".

When the Swedish educators received this invitation, they tried to identify what specific Swedish contribution they could give to the educational situation in Zimbabwe. They knew that one significant feature of Swedish education was the structural set-up of non-formal adult education, the way in which non-government organisations function.

A typical feature of non-formal adult education in Sweden is that, though supported financially by the Government, it is carried out by non-governmental organizations based on folk movements such as churches or temperance movements, labour movements, political parties etc. In this way, adults are invited to study within their own organizations and to develop their own ideology.

Adult educators feel very strongly that the democratic pattern developed in Sweden is based on the ideological discussion and the education going on in these non-governmental popular organizations, and they think it is fair that the Government should nurture this free ongoing educational and democratic process by giving grants to non-formal education. The question is whether such a system can be "exported" to other countries.

In this case the SKS was invited by a Government official of Zimbabwe, and also by the Lutheran church, to come and do a programme of adult non-formal education in Zimbabwe. While the SKS people were prepared to take up this challenge, they did not like the programme to become merely

a Government programme or an activity within a certain church. They would rather try to introduce the organisational pattern which has been developed in Sweden, whereby different voluntary organizations are joining hands in an association for non-formal education, and they hoped that in the future the Government would see the advantages of channelling grants for adult education through this organisation rather than running a Government set-up.

In the preparatory talk in Zimbabwe, it was found that the Education department was not against this idea. But they were looking upon the SKS programme mainly as a pilot enterprise to demonstrate the methods of adult education on a small scale. In the meantime, the Education department planned to develop a Government programme for adult education for which they hoped to draw experience also from the SKS programme.

The SKS representatives contacted different non-government organizations and asked them about their involvement in non-formal or other adult education, and also tried to find out their willingness to establish an association for non-formal education. But with the exception of the Lutheran church there was little interest to embark on this until the Swedish programme had proved itself worthwhile. And so the project was started in a small way in the Masase area, in cooperation with the Government of Zimbabwe so as to correlate with the Government programme.

At the time of writing, this programme has run for little more than one year. In the meantime, both Government officials and representatives of non-government organizations in the vicinity have observed the work and have seen the advantages of this kind of education. A couple of agencies have enquired about joining the project and are given opportunity to train their field workers in the Lutheran project area so as to start up their own projects later. At a later stage, when there are different organizations running the non-formal education, then only will be the time for discussing an association for this.

The objectives of the Government in embarking on non-formal education are to give literacy to the illiterate population, and also to give social awareness and provide such knowledge which can improve health and local economic growth, especially to make women aware of their rights and their role in nation building. The local people in the Masase area fully subscribe to these objectives, but their whole outlook is different. From government

officials' point of view, education is something to be provided for the people. There is a tendency to see the illiterates as objects of the literacy process. But the illiterates and other local people who are involved in the programme regard themselves as initiators of their own development. They decide whether to study and what to study, they decide on steps to be taken as consequences of their studies. They also analyse critically their own society, and they are not afraid of criticising even the treatment given them by their own government. They discuss ways in which they can take part in building their nation according to their own ideas.

A government may be tempted to turn down this kind of criticism and to make use of adult education as a means to give government propaganda. But if the government is to retain the enthusiasm of the people, it has to permit, and even promote, such sound criticism. Ways should be found for all different groups of people to voice their views, discuss the development of their society, take their own initiatives, and have real influence on the way in which their country is run.

Some of these issues were discussed in Zimbabwe in connection with the evaluation of the "Masase project", as it is commonly named, after one year of operation. Even the discussion about the purpose of the evaluation and the different opinions on evaluation methods shows that there is a difference between the attitude of the non-government organisation and that of the government officials. The following extracts from recent records will illustrate this discussion. They show that a Swedish model for selfcritical democratic procedure is not automatically accepted in a different context.

Extracts:

1: Future plans (P. 16 in "Learning for survival", the Masase project report)

The future plan also proposes coordination with other churches and Non-Governmental organizations. Talks with the Zimbabwe Christian Council General Secretary and subsequently with the executive of the Zimbabwe Christian Council are already under way. We have proposed that those churches and organizations willing to undertake such a programme will in the initial year send their field workers to our place of operation for a year. They will have introductory courses and be deployed in the 5 districts mentioned above coupled with one of our present field workers.

Their experiences in introducing the project to a new place will present a learning experience for both of them throughout the year.

Our dream is that this project, in the future, should be under the Zimbabwe Christian Council and the Lutheran Church would just be one of the member churches participating in Non-Formal Education.

Many groups are going to register with the Government as cooperatives, a necessary step in order to qualify for assistance, loans and grants, which is their right as Zimbabwean citizens.

Lawyers Moyo, Project Leader, Masase

2: The role of SKS in Zimbabwe (p. 33 in "An initial evaluation report", a Govt.report on the Masase project)

Another problem was that SKS seemed to be of the opinion that they were bringing into Zimbabwe something completely new by way of what they termed 'folks education'. This approach meant that some local input in terms of associating the project was not fully and effectively utilised. The project should and must be associated with co-operative movements such as those controlled by the Ministry of Lands and Rural Development, study groups organised by the Ministry of Education and Culture, to water project organised by the Ministry of Water Development and so on. These association relationships should have been fully explored as a way of mapping out what assistance they can give on a long term strategy. To think, as SKS did, that the non-formal education project in Masase is unique not only in Zimbabwe, but in Africa is being naive and missing the point. Zimbabwe h developed and is developing a national non-formal education programme. What is being offered by SKS should and can only be regarded as complementa to the national non-formal education efforts not as something unique becau this "unique animal" runs the risk of being viewed as out of step or at variance with non-formal education national efforts in Zimbabwe.

Boni R.S. Chivore, Evaluator, on behalf of the Zimbabwe Ministry of Education

3: Non-formal education in a one-party state (Extract from an interview Sept. 1983 in Stockholm.) J.A. Hedenquist, educator in the Masase project:

My question is: Do you think it is reconcilable in the future, with a one-party state system, to believe in creating in Zimbabwe a non-formal educational work which is independent in relation to the state, bodies who are making their own policies like Swedish Adult Education Associations. Do you think this will contradict the one-party state concept?

M.J. Matshaz, professor in Adult education, University of Zimbabwe:
The fact that very few of the Ministry of Adult Education personnel who are supposed to manage the NFE are themselves adult educators creates a lot of problems. Because they have come from the rigid bureaucratic systematic schools with rules and regulations to be obeyed, they do not realize that we in adult and Non-formal education operate in a kind of horizontal relationship, and so the whole emphasis is on the hierarchic relations.

Unfortunately almost nobody in the Division of Non-Formal Education is an adult educator. But you can not blame the Government for that, because adult educators are not there. So, if they are not there, what are you going to do? You employ the nearest schoolteacher, he is there, but unfortunately he is used to teaching differently. And his concept of discipline is that orders from above have to be obeyed, whether these orders conform with what ought to be achieved or not.

As to whether adult education can come from the grassroots, as it has done in the Swedish project, and grow from bottom and up in a kind of participatory culture, I have my doubts. Perhaps examples from elsewhere will illustrate this. Once you have a one-party state, clearly you have to muzzle free expressions so that the expression is an official one. And once the expression is an official one, it means that such voluntary organizations find it very difficult to exist.

We may refer to the situation in Tanzania. Adult education in Tanzania has been a very successful one, but from above, not from the grassroots. From above it has been very successful, and highly supported by the head of the state. So I would foresee a similar situation in Zimbabwe. The reason for the beautiful result of non-formal education in Tanzania was that adult educators, expatriates and nationals, were allowed enough room to develop the right kind of adult education orientation. My fear is that in Zimbabwe

it is too far before adult educators have the right orientation and work with critical approaches.

ATTITUDES TO WORK RELATIONS

A case by Johan Nosbeck

In July 1969 I arrived in Tanzania to take up a post as Resident Tutor of the Institute of Adult Education. I took over a small office with a staff of three Tanzanians, one organiser, one clerk and one messenger clerk. They had all been brought up with colonial bosses and I could clearly see some of the insignia of those bosses in the office: the huge oak desk and the bell on top of it (the kind of bell that you tap to make it ring).

There was nobody there but my staff to introduce me to the office and I was told many useful things, but also things that once more made me discern the old masters and their attitudes. The clerk told me, for instance, that I was supposed to ring the bell if I wanted something from the file cabinet. Then the messenger clerk would come from the other room to fetch it for me. (That cabinet was actually three feet from my desk.)

With the attitudes and the view of man of the Swedish Folk Education ingrained in my soul I felt strongly from the start, that I could not carry on those traditions. If the work had to be done that way, I knew I could not function well, nor would I have much to contribute. I wanted all of us in the office to feel like a team, where anybody would do any kind of work provided he had the time or the skills for it. And, of course, I wanted us all to gradually develop new skills. Under normal circumstances there would naturally be a practical differentiation of duties, but what I wanted was a real team spirit, where we all tried to help each other forward, and where we simply did what was practical in any given situation regardless of formal status.

I discussed this with my co-workers in the little office and they looked sceptical. They looked even more sceptical when during the following weeks I actually acted accordingly. I never did ring the bell on my desk. I learnt the filing system and fetched the files myself. I went to the post office with letters to be mailed if the messenger clerk was busy with other important things. And I tried to get all of them involved in the real purpose of the work at the office. I discussed, for instance, the design and pedagogy of certain activities not only with the organiser but also with the clerks.

I got to know some Europeans in that town and I told them about my efforts and where I was aiming. They too were very sceptical, many of them were

downright scornful and strongly advised me against such behaviour. "That will never work," they said "Your staff will quickly lose their respect for you."

...

They were wrong. And I was happy to see that my fundamental ideas were right. I must admit I was never able to develop the messenger clerk into a better cleaner. I wanted strongly to wean him from beating the dust layers every morning with his piece of cloth, just moving the dust temporarily from one place to another. This, however, was probably one area where he did not want to be developed. Apart from that we came to function very much as a team, and once my co-workers trusted in me they also started telling me stories of their former heads of office. They acted out their behaviour in short scenes now and then in a most elucidating manner. Their comments and those scenes proved to me that they had never been fooled by their former bosses' behaviour. They had never respected them. Behind their backs they had always made fun of their inflated manners.

As we know from experience all over the world a pronounced hierarchical organization with "long distances" between people is not conducive to good work performance. I felt very happy that I had those other values and attitudes with me from my non-formal adult education experience.

After one year at the office I got a Tanzanian counterpart. He was a bright young fellow, who soon picked up the necesseray knowledge and skills, so that he would be prepared to replace me. After he had proved himself for one year I told our superiors to make him take over the office. This was arranged and I left the town for other duties elsewhere.

After some months I visited my old office when passing through the town on business. I found the staff ill at ease. One clerk found an excuse to take me aside and he explained to me the reasons for their sullen airs. The new Resident Tutor had reverted to the kind of manners that we had managed to abolish at that office. Those manners were, of course, the pattern he was used to before. They matched with the ideas he had got of how a boss should behave. The staff was so discontented with the change of relations at the office that they felt like quitting.

I managed to get a private talk with my successor that same afternoon. I told him what I had heard and I repeated the things that we had discussed when we were working together: about how we tried to bring about a change in working relations at the office and why. He had known it and he had

worked with it for a year together with us, but typically, on taking over the job himself, he felt insecure and a bit afraid and so he reverted to the old patterns which seemed to protect him better.

When I had this talk with him I could see that he understood and that he took it to his heart. He was courageous and clever enough, I later heard to try it out in practice, and during the following year I heard from the staff that things were running smoothly.

A question to ask: Was this whole process marked by cultural imperialism on my part? I just decided to act as I did without consulting the culture of my co-workers. Maybe, it was against not only the colonial behaviour but also the behaviour of their traditional culture? In that case, if change along these lines was necessary to make the work more efficient, how should it have been introduced?

THE FOLK HIGH SCHOOL - an Introduction by Rolf Sundén

The Nordic Folk High Schools were started in the middle of the 19th century in small countries where the vast majority of the population was - in one way or other - dependent on farming. The main force behind the new schools was movements among progressive individuals in the farming population. Farmers' co-operatives started, new laws gave political power to the farmers. Running co-operative societies and using one's newly acquired political power called for more knowledge and skills. Thus, the need for education for young farmers became evident and folk high schools were started to offer courses during the part of the year when farming activities were at their lowest.

Later on schools were opened for the working class and girls were also admitted. Folk movements, such as the labour movement, churches, the temperance movement, sports associations etc. started their own schools. The schools were gradually being supported by the government and in a few decades time they came to be financed mainly by the central government and in some cases also by local government. Still they managed to stay free from strict government regulations and to retain their independence. This is the situation even today in all the Nordic countries.

The course programme of each school is officially to be determined by the board of the school. In practice the greatest influence on this is exercised by the teaching staff and the principal after consultations with both students and board members. In many other respects, however, the board plays a crucial role. It serves as the link to the community and to the associatio or organizations that run the school. It also sets the long term goals and tasks, it secures the necessary financial means and it recruits the staff.

As a result of the freedom from detailed government regulations the folk hig schools can easily adapt to new needs and conditions which may arise. This has proved to be very useful in a rapidly changing society. From the very beginning the FHS - with their freedom, their adult students and their devoted teachers - have acted as laboratories for new teaching methods. Pedagogical experiments in the FHS have always been accepted and encouraged by the authorities. From the very beginning a mixture of practice and theory was a common feature in most FHS. Very early on role play was also used. These days there is much experimenting with integrated curricula and with more participation pedagogy.

Students at folk high schools have many opportunities to participate in discussions, to take responsibility and to practise democracy. It is not surprising to find that many trade union leaders, local and central politicians and national leaders are former FHS students.

All but a few FHS are boarding schools. The boarding facilities are regarded as pedagogical assets. The fact that they are there promotes social training, democratic training, project work and cultural activities.

FOLK DEVELOPMENT COLLEGES IN TANZANIA - a case by Rolf Sundén

Tanzania regards two ideas as the key components of development, namely self-reliance and people's participation. This has been emphasized first and foremost by President Julius K.Nyerere in several important speeches and policy statements.

These two concepts have laid the basis for Tanzania's strong commitment to adult education. During the 1970s Tanzania carried through literacy campaigns which brought the illiteracy rate from 67-68 % in 1969 down to 19-20 % in 1981. Mass education campaigns, utilizing radio programmes, booklets, and study groups proved to be very successful and drew millions of participants. A series of supporting programmes for post-literacy activities includes village libraries, radio programmes, regional newspapers etc. A political and administrative set-up guides and supervises the various programmes.

The Folk Development College programme described as the third step, is of particular interest among the post literacy activities. A delegation from Tanzania visited Sweden in 1971 with the purpose of studying the Swedish adult education system. In their report the delegation stressed the important role the Folk High School had played in developing the Swedish society and particularly the smooth development towards democracy. The delegation recommended strongly that some adult education institutions in Tanzania should be developed along the lines of the Nordic Folk High Schools.

That was also the decision, and the first folk development colleges (FDCs) were established during the financial year 1975-76. The number has since then increased rapidly and is now 52. Most of the FDCs are situated in rural areas. The first ones were actually former rural training centres transformed into FDCs, i.e. educational institutions with a broader, multipurpose task.

Aims and objectives of the project.

The Ministry of National Education set in 1974 the aims and objectives of the FDCs.

- The development of all Tanzanians as subjects of their own development. They aim at the development of the whole personality, the ability to think, participate in the economic, cultural, political and social life of the community. They aim at producing self-actualizing human

beings who can be able to identify their problems and act upon them in an intelligent way.

- To help all people to understand the country's policy of socialism and self-reliance and to encourage them to contribute positively to the political life of their communities.
- To improve the knowledge and skills of adults in such fields as agriculture, handicrafts, domestic science, health and water supply. This is based on the fact that the knowledge of Tanzanians must keep increasing and changing in order that new techniques can be applied to increase production.
- To develop democratic and co-operative knowledge and skills among the people - particularly in Ujamaa villages. Man cannot survive in isolation, but it is only through co-operation with others that he can be liberated from the constraints imposed on him by his fellow men.
- To help in the training of leadership skills to back participation and self-reliance within the community.
- To increase the knowledge of Tanzanian culture and to improve an active involvement in cultural activities.

According to the original plans there should be one FDC in each district. Instead of increasing the number above the 52 now in operation, it has been decided that those already established are to be consolidated. Also in the original plans it was stated that the main target group are those who have recently acquired skills in reading, writing, and arithmetic.

Two types of courses are being arranged at the FDCis, short courses and long courses. Short courses are either organized by the FDC itself within its budgetary limits or run and sponsored by other ministries or by parastatal organisations. The Prime Minister's Office utilizes a number of FDCs for a staged training of village book-keepers. The Ministry of Agriculture runs courses within its field, etc. The short courses offered by the FDC should be geared to meet stated needs in the surrounding areas. Those needs would include agriculture, house-keeping, health, house construction, political matters, library work, co-operative shop-keeping or other subjects requested by the district leadership or introduced after contacts with the villages.

Long courses - by definition more than six months - include both theoretical and practical subjects. The theoretical subjects are the same for all students: Political education, book-keeping, rural development/economics, and national culture. There is, of course, also theory in connection with the practical training. The practical training follows three different streams: Agriculture, Domestic Science, and Technical

Science. It is stated that 60 % of the time at the FDCs should be practical work and 40 % theoretical studies. But it is also said that practice and theory should have a stimulating effect upon each other.

The aim is that a substantial part of the current expenditure of a college should be covered by profits from the practical work/self-reliance activities.

The training in practical subjects works at different levels of technology. Agricultural teaching gives training in the traditional tilling of the soil with hoes, it introduces the use of oxen as draught-animals, and it also gives training in the use and maintenance of tractors. The same applies to other subjects.

Recruitment of students.

It is intended that the actual course programme of the individual FDC should be prepared by the principal and staff in collaboration with the political and administrative leaders of the surrounding areas. The training needs have to be identified from studies of the development plans and after visits to the villages.

Students are nominated/selected by their village councils. They are supposed to return to the village after the training and work for the benefit of their fellow villagers. In many cases a contract to that effect is signed between the village council and the nominated student.

As mentioned above a prerequisite for enrolment is literacy. Students should also be adults (normally 18 years and above). A majority of the students - particularly in long courses - are actually Std.VII leavers. The main target group - however - was originally the new literates, i.e. those who had successfully passed stages III and IV of the national literacy programme. When it came to realities it was evident that a series of factors made for a different mixture of students than that which was originally intended. It is difficult for adults to leave their families for a long course. Some of the subjects offered are difficult for those who have not attended primary school. When Std.VII leavers are sent to FDCs, the village leaders often have in mind to use their capabilities for specific tasks in the village and young persons with primary education are regarded to be more fit for such tasks.

Distinctive features of the FDCs.

The traditional formal school systems tend to alienate students from rural life. A certificate from a school is in too many cases a one-way ticket from the village to the town. This is creating enormous problems in many developing countries. The FDC programme is an attempt to alter this trend, to create an alternative school system for rural areas. An FDC working in line with the aims and objectives of the programme will serve the villages in various aspects and enrich village life. It has the potentials for providing relevant skills for the development of the villages. It can be used to train village leaders to be more efficient in administrative/technical terms but also to be more aware of their proper role in the political sphere. It can supply villagers with adequate skills in child care, shop keeping, modern farming etc. but also transmit the cultural heritage to new generations.

When attitudes should be challenged the participation pedagogy of the FHS is sometimes very useful. Instead of preaching the teacher can make the change come from the students themselves by using their own experience, their practical work and the discussions they can have in relation to these things. In the little case related below we made an effort to combine traditional house-keeping with modern nutrition science at one of the Tanzanian FDC's.

A home economics teacher at an FDC wanted to introduce new ideas and habits as regards nutrition. She discussed with me what methods to use in order to succeed. I told her about some typical folk high school approaches from my country. The methods she decided to use after that conversation were simple but effective for her purposes.

The teacher started by asking the girls in the class to tell her about the vegetables they normally cultivated at home. She also made them tell her about the kind of food they made from these vegetables and what kind of food they liked. Then she asked the girls to bring seeds of those vegetables to the school. They then together started cultivating them in the school garden and later to cook with them. It was then easy for the teacher to show the girls how they could enrich the food they were used to in various ways and how they could grow a greater variety of vegetables to get a better allround nutrition.

Thus, the students' own background experience was enriched with the more scientific knowledge of the teacher. This is good and typical FHS/FDC pedagogy: building new knowledge on to what the students brought with them when they came.

One of many aims of all educational programmes is to give service to the community. But for many individuals the main purpose of schooling is the betterment of their own or their children's life. The ideal FDC student goes to school in order to increase his/her capability to improve village life, spiritually as well as materially. He has been selected by the village council with the specific purpose that he will return to the village after the training to take up a given task in the village. Even if an FDC course hopefully will improve the private life of the students the crucial point is the communal responsibilities.

Since 1967 "Education for Self-reliance" has been the guideline for all educational institutions in Tanzania. Most consistently this policy has been adopted in the FDCs. In FDCs practical work is not something that has been added to the course programme, it is the most important part. Practical work has been given more than half the time at the schools, and not only for the sake of training. It is designed to contribute substantially to the current costs of the schools.

Every college is run by a local board with representatives from government bodies, villages, and associations such as party branches. The intention is that this board will serve as a link between the FDC and the surrounding villages. From the collected knowledge and experience among its members the board will be able to advise the leaders of the FDC on the most urgent needs of the villagers so that the course programme is geared to meet these needs. It will also ensure a proper use of the ex-students in the villages. When the FDC programme is fully rooted the colleges will hopefully serve as cultural centres for the surrounding areas with the local board serving as a clearing house for needs and ideas.

The FDCs may develop into political and cultural "power stations" in the community. This is the case of many FHSs in the Nordic countries.

A medium size Swedish FHS can serve as an example. This particular school has short courses for local politicians, teachers at day care centres, and study circle leaders. It encourages local folk music, songs, and dances. Film shows are arranged. It is natural to place discussions there on various topics, where the school kitchen provides a soup and political parties are responsible for the arrangements. When problems with unemployment arose some years ago a series of lectures and discussions was given, combined with a study circle where students from the school and villagers sat together. When trade unions in the region need facilities for conferences they turn to the school.

Students in the art stream have exibitions in neighbouring villages and towns, the stream for national culture perfoms in schools and institutions, the stream for Finnish immigrants acts as a centre for preserving the Finnish culture etc.

The school every year arranges concerts, lectures etc. financially supported by the local authorities and open to the public. People in the area have learnt that lots of things happen at the school and organisations and institutions know that the school is open for their activities.

The pedagogy of the FDCs is supposed to be different from that of the formal school system. The absence of a final examination and graded certificates gives room for teaching methods more suitable to adults, such as discussions and various kinds of group work. In some FDCs there are attempts to introduce a student influence on the running of the school so as to make it more democratic. Committees are set up to handle specific matters. This is not unique to the FDCs. Much remains to be done in this field. This is stressed during the teacher training and the potentials for a practical training in democracy are no doubt there.

Almost all FDCs are boarding schools. If properly used the boarding facilities could be an educational asset. Common work for the benefit of the school, save time activities, togetherness, shared responsibility for the daily life at the campus, all these are parts of the

social life in the school. This is active social training which can inspire students to social, cultural, and political activities in their home villages.

Problems

It is not to be expected that such a large undertaking as opening more than 50 colleges within a time span of five years could be fulfilled without problems. The Tanzanian authorities are aware of the difficulties. A comprehensive evaluation report (1981) and other documents have pointed at problem areas and shortcomings in the implementation of the FDC programme.

A striking problem has been the severe underutilization of the capacity of the schools. Far less than 50% of the capacity was used (1980), mainly due to lack of funds and other resources. Contributions from villages and self help work have been very scarce. According to the intentions the Ministry of National Education, the schools and the villages should each meet 1/3 of the running costs. This has not been possible and the result was underutilization of the capacity. This has, however, improved with a substantial increase in the governmental grants.

Only few colleges have managed to realize any substantial amount of money through self-reliance activities. The reasons for that are several. Apart from bad management, which has occurred, there is the absence of students during long periods, and in some cases poor conditions for farming and animal husbandry. In other colleges the equipment for wood work, metal work, and sewing have been lacking and therefore no income from such activities has been obtained.

The FDC where I was engaged in teacher training gives an example of good results from self-reliance activities. Selling vegetables, eggs, and broilers to institutions in the city gave a good profit. The girls in the home economics group started a cafeteria which was constructed by students in the carpentry stream. There the girls sold products from their own work: tea, coffee, juice, and snacks such as chapati, cake and eggs.

A group of village craftsmen were sent to the college for training in

House building before the facilities for such a course were at hand. But the carpentry teacher was flexible and clever enough to utilize the situation for training puposes. The trainees were set to make the bricks, to draw the outline of the workshop, and to do the actual construction work. Learning by doing!

My own contribution restricted itself to participation in planning and support for the various projects - and to two unsuccessful suggestions. I was not able to have the academic teachers see how important it was that all teachers work together with the students in the practical work. Most of them preferred to stay in their offices.

I also failed when I suggested that we use the results from self-reliance schemes as the base for the bookkeeping course. The teacher preferred to use the preprepared materials from the ministry which were no doubt well prepared. But I still think that the figures from the practical work would have given a tie to real life, more valuable than ever so well arranged fantasy figures.

The contacts between the schools and the villages have not been satisfactory. The schools have not fully identified the needs and the problems of the villagers before planning the training programme. The teachers have visited the villages very seldom in order to study their problems, to give advice to village leaders or to assist former students. After severe criticism was expressed by the evaluation team, the Ministry has allocated additional funds to give possibilities for the teachers to keep in contact with surrounding villages.

Although the main target group for the FDCs is the newly literates,only a few per cent of the students belonged to that group. Both village leaders and FDC teachers were of the opinion that a majority of the FDC students should be Std. VII leavers. There seems to be a gap between the original intentions and the approved curriculum for the FDCs which demands a higher level of education than just ability to read and write. But with a more complete utilization of the schools a wide range of shorter courses can easily be offered with lower demands on formal school training.

The problems mentioned above - and others - are not inherent in the

FDC programme. They are caused by lack of experience, shortage of funds, fully trained teachers, and also ambitions to start many schools in a very short time.

Folk Development Colleges in Tanzania - Folk High Schools in the Nordic Countries.

The Tanzanian FDC policy is an amalgamation of ideas from Tanzania's policy on education, village development, people's participation, and ideas from the Nordic countries originating in their farming society of the 19th century. There are differences but also obvious similarities in performance of the Tanzanian and the Nordic schools.

Tanzanian principals and teachers who have visited and studied Swedish FHSs have commented upon the teacher/student relations. They have found that the traditional teacher role as a lecturer to some extent has given room for that of a guide in the studies. They noticed a high degree of participation in discussions and independence in group studies and library work. In many ways they found FHS teachers and students to be equals. The democratic influence on the running of the school from the students visavi teachers and the principal, and from the teachers visavi the leadership of the school was notable. These observations have been discussed very positively by Tanzanian FDC people and regarded as goals to work towards. The leadership in the FDCs is described as more authoritarian and hierarchial. There is, however, an awareness that a pattern of authority and hierarchy is part of the tradition and can not be changed overnight.

While there is a total absence of central curricula in Swedish FHS the Tanzanian Ministry of National Education has established some subjects to be studied in all long FDC courses. The almost complete freedom for the local school boards in Sweden and in practice the principals and the staff to decide upon the content of the courses has not been considered possible in Tanzania. But for short courses the restrictions are few and if the leaders of the FDCs use the adequate tools for letting training needs of the surrounding areas steer the course programmes the FDCs may steadily come closer to the set goals of being instruments for the development of the villages.

But this calls for a proper use of a certain part of the system of

governing the schools. The structure is there: local boards for all schools. But the evaluation team doubts whether the board members have a real influence over the running of the schools. At least up to 1982 there were also far too few contacts between FDC teachers and the surrounding areas. One obvious reason for this was the shortage of funds and means of transport. More dubious is the question how keen the teachers are to take the trouble to travel on bad roads to the villages in the region. With increased economic grants from the Ministry these problems have hopefully been solved by now.

The Swedish FHSs have very close connections with various kinds of folk movements. Many FHSs are owned by such movements, all run many short courses in collaboration with adult education associations and other organizations. This pattern can not be transferred to Tanzania for the simple reason that the well-established Swedish system of organizations has no equivalents in Tanzania. There are organizations - e.g. within the churches - which have educational institutions with similarities to the FDCs. So far it has not been possible to find means by which those schools could be at the same time independent and connected to the FDC system. There have been a few discussions but institutions outside FDC have not been willing to accept the uniform FDC set-up. And the Ministry has not allowed other schools to join the FDC family without following the centrally determined curriculum.

This is perhaps the most distinct difference between FDCs in Tanzania and FHSs in Sweden. In Sweden FHSs are permitted to draw up their own specific course programme within very wide and flexible borders. In Tanzania there are few folk movements beside the political party and hence little pressure for more variation within the FDC system. The attitude towards certificates is interesting. The early FHSs in Sweden had no graded certificates. But when studies in FHSs were accepted as a basis for further studies the normal, ungraded certificate was not sufficient. After a period when FHSs copied the certificates issued by the formal school system, the Swedish FHSs now have a system of using certificates summarizing the teachers' judgement of the students' ability to pursue further studies. The Tanzanian FDCs on the other hand have a clear stand: no graded certificates. But the FDC certificates are no passport to higher studies. So the two systems can hardly be compared.

The Swedish FHSs are predominantly theoretical . The so called practical

streams teach handicrafts, arts, music, theatre and similar subjects but very few have practical work in the Tanzanian sense. Many persons working with FHSs feel that the Swedish schools have lost something essential when the former practical work (which was by that time financially necessary) diminished and almost disappeared. A couple of schools have started practical training based on a self-help ideology. And the Tanzanian model is looked upon with sympathy and interest. Swedish FHSs might in the near future learn from Tanzania.

Although there are several clear differences between Tanzanian Folk Development Colleges and Swedish Folk High Schools, derived from different political systems and economic resources, different historical traditions and links to the surrounding community, there are also common basic views in many fundamental questions. They both have a broad view on education as a means of developing the whole personality.

They both stress the importance of people's participation in economic, cultural, political and social life of the community. They want to give their students tools to identify their problems and act upon them in an intelligent way. They both regard as their main target group people who have been underprivileged in formal schooling, although both enrol many students with comparatively good education. Their most important task is to serve the close neighbourhood. They all use democracy in the school community as a method of working and as a practice to train for future development work in the society.

Tanzanian FDC principals and teachers who had returned from a study trip to Sweden reported some particular observations from Swedish FHSs to their colleagues.

They had noticed that the teaching going on in those FHSs depended much less on lecturing and much more on discussing than they were used to. In this connection they had also observed that the Swedish FHS students searched for knowledge more actively from library books and other sources and that they were ready to take on a great deal of responsibility for their own studies.

When this report was discussed there was a general agreement that nothing but old habits prevented the Tanzanian FDC's from using the same methods

On the contrary: the traditional Tanzanian way of reaching consent is through discussion. And Tanzanian FDC students are quite able to learn through discussion and active searching if only they are given the opportunities and the necessary training for it.

Another striking observation reported was that the Swedish teachers and students worked together in such a relaxed relationship. Even in the intervals and in their spare time they would behave towards each other more like old friends than like teachers-students. One Tanzanian principal found it remarkable that a student asked a teacher for a cigarette. Would it be desirable to try to transplant that atmosphere to the Tanzanian situation - and would it be possible? According to the Tanzanian principals it would be desirable in the long run and it would also be possible, but only in a long time perspective. New attitudes must be introduced very carefully and slowly and in many fields before a hierarchical system may change. It would not be easy and it could never be done abruptly but the principals agreed that they would not be against it.

To simplify the comparison one can say that the Tanzanian FDCs have more in common with the Swedish FHSs of the 19th century than with the schools of to-day. Quite naturally the FHSs have developed with a changing society with bigger economic resources and new demands on its citizens.

There is in some developing countries a growing interest in the Nordic Folk High School idea. The Tanzanian experiment with FDCs has given evidence that the original ideas can be adapted to new conditions and serve as an ideological basis for new educational institutions in quite other parts of the world.

The basic ideas of the Nordic folk high school have been possible to transplant into a very different environment. This is not to say that a modern folk high school in Sweden could be rebuilt in a developing country say Tanzania. The technical standards differ, and so do traditions, the students educational backgrounds, the political climate, the economic resources etc. The realization of the ideas must adjust to the circumstances . And the profoundly typical folk high school ideas can definitely not be transferred to surroundings characterized by political oppression. There must be an open society, where freedom, criticism, and independence are accepted and where it is possible to

fertilize the political life at local and national levels with free and open thinking and discussion. That is a reason why folk high schools are impossible in many countries.

FOLK DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION AND THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

A case by Folke Albinson

In this paper I wish to give examples showing how experience from Swedish folk development education can be of use in a developing country situation. These examples are taken from several years' work in the development of cooperative education in Zambia. During the period 1980-1982 I was attached to the new state school for cooperative education (Cooperative College). My tasks were partly the responsibility for the management of the school together with a Zambian counterpart and partly the responsibility for and the direction of the pedagogical work at the college and in the provinces.

Cooperative education in Zambia

Education related to cooperative activities has taken place in Zambia since the 1950's. However this education took place for a long time on a modest scale, under difficult conditions and without access to permanent premises. The new state college, which was built with the aid of Swedish funds allocated by the Swedish Cooperative Movement and SIDA for cooperative development in Zambia, meant therefore, considerably improved conditions for the educational activities. All cooperative education activities within the country are now directed and coordinated from the College. In 1982 such activities were provided for 56 000 participants (residential courses, itinerant courses, correspondence courses and study groups). The College can accomodate 90 boarders. This capacity is utilised to arrange three parallel series of courses, conferences and seminars with a throughput of 1 000 to 1 500 participants annually. In addition the College is responsible for correspondence course activities, the production of one cooperative information radio programme per week, the production of study material, and the direction and coordination of study group activities. In various ways the college also assists the regional education units with three to five study instructors who are located in each of the nine provinces and who arrange cooperative courses and information activities on both local and regional levels. One important resource in the work of the College is the library which has at present 2 000 volumes but aims to add approx. 1 000 volumes annually during the next few years. It will, in this way, become a very important information base for cooperative questions in Central Africa. Another important resource is the printing shop which allows the College to be self-suffic-

ient where the production of study material, correspondence courses, magazines and so on is concerned. The total staff is approximately 100 employees.

In summary it can be fairly said that the character of the College is a cross between Vår Gård, Sånga-Säby and Brevskolan (Swedish residential and correspondence schools providing education in cooperative questions, leadership training and general education among other things) and a medium size folk high school with strong links to folk movements. Consequently the main task of the school can be indicated: to train leaders, employees and members within the framework of a broad folk movement. Another important factor to note is that the production of study material of different types is a very important task and that there is scope to test ideas and experience from Swedish folk high schools and other folk development education work. In the following I shall give several examples of this.

Democracy and leadership

Fairly soon after my arrival it was necessary for me to make a decision In a question of principle which was not just central for work at the College but was also charged with contradictory values. It concerned forms of work and style of management . The Zambian administration has a very authoritarian stamp. It is also built up strictly hierarchically. Everybody knows his place. The boss decides. The participation of the employee in information questions and the decision making process is by no means a matter of course. The question was whether this tradition should be introduced into the work at the new College, which would naturally have been the easiest solution, or whether we should strive to attain something which was more in harmony with democratic ideas on the right to information, the opportunity to influence one's own working situation, participation in decision making and so on.

There were a number of reasons which weighed in favour of the latter solution. One was that it was in accordance with basic cooperative principles and it could obviously be maintained that these should form the basis fo the leadership and forms of work which were practised at the national college for the education of cooperative leaders and employees. In other words we should live as we teach. Another reason was that the school was new, built with Swedish development assistance

funds, and run, amongst others, by a handful of Swedes. There was therefore a tendency to regard the College chiefly as a Swedish affair, a tendency which was important to counteract since the Swedish presence would only be maintained during the building-up phase. It was also important that Zambian personnel on all levels did not just know about the College and its activities but were also strongly engaged in its work and felt a personal responsibility for its activities. For me as a temporary worker during the first few years of the College the development of such attitudes towards work would be the best guarantee that the College, in the long term, would develop into what it was meant to be.

Further good reasons could be added and one could therefore say that the choice was obvious. And so it was for my part. The problem was that I was relatively alone in seeing things this way, in any case where the practical consequences were concerned. Most troublesome was perhaps that many seemed to be unconscious of the fact that there was a problem.

What was most natural and obvious for me in this situation was to start up talks and discussions, formal and informal, about these questions. In this way a process was started which gradually, and seen from the point of view of the impatient, somewhat slowly led to forms of work, outlooks and attitudes which, to a large extent, felt satisfactory from my starting point. I was glad that visitors with experience of Scandinavian folk high schools could often recognise the system which we eventually reached with a number of platforms and channels for the exchange of mutual information, discussions and decision making.

This is not to say that anything was an exact copy from the Nordic folk high school world. One thing we devoted a great amount of work to and which, in my opinion, is only used to a very modest extent in folk high schools, was to work out detailed function or job descriptions for all employees. These helped us to avoid many misunderstandings with which we had problems in the beginning, at the same time as effectiveness and a feeling of responsibility for one's own duties was obviously encouraged. The reason why the job descriptions became so important in this context was, among other things, the comparatively large number of employees, approx. 100; that the majority of these had very little experience of working in such a complicated organisation; that the school, in spite of everything, was for many; and that many had to take on responsib-

ilities of which they had little or no earlier experience.

Teaching methods

The idea about the necessity of a connection between a school's ideology and purpose on the one hand and its way of working and functioning on the other proved to be just as important to discuss where teaching methods and the attitude of teachers towards their pupils and their work were concerned. This was also an area which had a strong stamp of hierachical order and sets of values about people and work. This point of view is close to that which Freire has called "the banking system" - the teacher is the person who knows whilst the student is, by definition, the person who does not know and therefore cannot contribute anything in the teaching situation. Teaching methods and teacher-student relationships are worked out accordingly. The teacher should, in all his wisdom, not concern himself with anything else than thinking over, in his study, those truths he shall pass on to the students, and then, in the classroom, meet the students several times a week to pass on these truths and possibly answer a few questions at the end of the lesson. To take part in practical work, sporting activities and similar activities together is alien to this approach.

Even if I have given a somewhat simplified and caricatured picture of the predominant attitude in these questions, it was nevertheless the case that the old folk development educationalist within me reacted strongly and it became necessary to come to grips with the question in one way or another. I thought that the situation presented a direct challenge, especially considering that the school had taken on the responsibility for the education of the country's cooperative leadership at all levels. And there are certainly principles for cooperative activities which can be discussed in an interesting manner, but what cooperation is all about is cooperation in practical work where each person contributes his ability and experience. This point of view must therefore also be the starting point for and leave its stamp on the pedagogical work.

Also in this case the natural starting point was to initiate discussions about the question and in this way attempt to create

a consciousness about its importance. What happened after this was, amongst other things, a two-week seminar led by an African pedagogue attached to the International Cooperative Alliance's regional office in Tanzania. He managed to bring alive in an excellent way the matters mentioned above. He got all our teachers to realize how attitudes towards people, ideologies, and pedagogical forms of work are interrelated, and he did this in such a way as to inspire feverish activity in producing case studies, role plays, group tasks and so on at the College. That which perhaps pleased me most was that I felt I could observe a certain change in the teachers' attitudes towards their students. This expressed itself in increased care taken in the arrangements for study trips and journeys home made by the students and for their spare time activities. The teachers began to see teaching in a larger social context.

It can be of interest to note that I myself did very little to accomplish this change. I initiated a process but other carried it out. It is this approach that I believe should be practised more in the development assistance context. The success of attempts to influence attitudes is often much greater if a suitable local person can be found for the task.

"A living school"

A really good folk high school must be "a living school". By this is meant, of course, slightly different things, but nonetheless it is always the central characteristic of a good school. In my vision of the College in Zambia was also the conception of "the living school". On this subject we also held discussions and I would like to claim that these discussions led to life and work at the school being influenced in at least two important respects. The starting point in both cases was the question of how we should protect activities against the gradual petrifaction and conservation which sadly characterise far too many institutions of education in the world. One of the principles we thus agreed on was not to give all course activities at the school a uniform and standardised design. It is true that we devoted a great amount of time and work in devising fairly detailed syllabuses for the different types of courses it was the College's task to arrange for different target groups, e. g. board members,

society managers, bookkeepers etc. But, in addition to revising these syllabuses annually, we kept approximately one third of the College's capacity open for activities which were not tied to a syllabus. These comprised seminars, conferences, workshops and so on which were connected to topical problems and questions. This arrangement was a sort of guarantee that the College would become a centre for meetings and discussions on central cooperative affairs. Such a forum had not existed earlier. At the same time these arrangements gave the people at the College valuable impulses and brought them into contact with topical affairs.

If the first principle was thus to place the College as an institution in a living relationship with the world around it, the purpose of the other principle was to confront the teachers with reality. In practice this meant as a rule that a quarter of the teachers' work at the College should comprise field work. A teacher therefore had both the right and the obligation to use approximately a quarter of his time to plan and implement a project which placed him in direct contact with everyday realities of cooperative life with its problems and worries as well as of course its happier sides. Hitherto two main types of projects have been carried out. The first is follow-up and evaluation of courses already carried out by interviewing former course participants and their employers at various working places. The other has comprised analysis of training needs and discussions with, for instance, representatives of cooperative unions about suitable course planning to meet these needs.

Whatever the field work has consisted of, most important of all was that the teacher was forced to leave the shelter of the College for a while and to be confronted with conditions and problems at actual working places - examples of the everyday reality of course participants. This has led to the acquisition of experience and insight which have been very meaningful in the aspiration to make teaching at the College relevant in relation to Zambian conditions and problems. In addition the teachers' ability to deal with important cooperative questions in their teaching has increased considerably. Their ability to carry on a dialogue with course participants has also increased and they are able to give due respect to the experience and points of view of the participants.

Comments - by Folke Albinson

I have given some examples of how experience from Swedish folk development education has been used in the work of building up the cooperative education in Zambia. Since what I have presented, at least in the short term perspective, mostly appears to have led to positive results, it can be of interest to point out some circumstances which have contributed to this state of affairs. We had great freedom and independence in our work and did not need to fight against inhibiting directives from above or be weighed down by too much old practice and traditon. The popular movement context was also very important. In our work inspiration was provided by basic cooperative principles while at the same time it was possible to gain a hearing for the belief that teaching should be related to everyday life and functional in order that the cooperative movement would be best served. It should also be said that I did not get the opportunity to experience complete realisation of all my visions on how it should be. In my conception of "the living school" I also had the idea of the College being a cultural centre, where dance and music troupes would feel welcome to perform, where the walls would be more of less full of objects representing the fine, traditional handicrafts and where practising artists could arrange exhibitions. The cool response which these thoughts received led to very little being done in this area. Other examples could also be mentioned.

In summary I would like to see one lesson drawn from what I have related above. This is that, in a development assistance context, one should never assume that Swedish experience is a priori superior to other experience. Instead, in every situation, one should carefully weigh up the relevance and suitability of Swedish experience against other conceivable solutions. This standpoint shall be seen in contrast to the not totally unusual attitude in development country situations to work as resolutely as possible only for solutions which harmonise with Swedish points of reference and experience. It is not just that the latter standpoint smells of cultural imperialism and, in practice, is ineffective. It is also that if any one thing is alien to the basic principles of genuine folk development education work, it is just this standpoint.

FINAL REMARKS by Johan Norbeck

The cases all show the trivial fact that aid workers are very much influenced by their background experience, and they are often quick to believe that what they are used to do in their home country will also be useful in the other country. It is true, as Folke Albinson says in his Comment, that one should carefully weigh up the relevance and suitability of Swedish experience against other conceivable solutions. But how do you weigh it? Does not your positive personal experience of something weigh heavy against alternatives that you hear of from others or figure out yourself, but which you have not tried in practice.

This has been said here, not to encourage giving in to temptations of overestimating experience from our background countries, but as a warning, so that we become acutely aware of these temptations. We, who are going to work in order to assist another country must be aware of this. We must understand that all our professed hatred of cultural imperialism and all our knowledge of and respect for other cultures is not enough protection against ourselves falling into the trap of practising cultural imperialism. We are making it far too easy for us if we believe so. We must be aware that our personal conviction and the things we are used to fight for in our lives back home constitute a very strong force which will always influence our work much more than we initially expect. People engaged in Folk Development Education in particular are often strong idealists and easily run the risk of working more according to certain convictions than according to certain conclusions drawn on the basis of careful analysis. Because of this we must always make a deeper analysis of the new reality we have to work with than we first felt necessary. We must make a stronger effort at getting hold of alternative ways of solving the problems we are faced with and we must listen to other people's views of what alternatives to choose, above all people from the country.

It is also important that we present several alternatives in the same manner to our counterparts so that they do not choose one solution just because they know it is from our background country or because they can feel that we would be so happy if they would choose it. It is part of the culture of peoples from many developing countries to try hard to please their guests and this fact has many times deluded those same guests into being flattered and so becoming blind to certain realities.

At the same time there is also a strength in Conviction and its companion, Enthusiasm. Let not our fear of cultural imperialism drive us into another booby-trap. If through analysis and careful deliberation we and our counterparts have come to the conclusion that some particular experience or solution that we have brought with us from home really is the best alternative in a given situation, we should not be afraid to use it. We should not then be ashamed of the fact that we are in the process of importing a part of our own culture. On the contrary we should use it to its fullest potential and be enthusiastic about it.

Usually, though, importing something of this nature from another culture does not mean that you can buy it wholesale. We should be careful to make the necessary adaptations to the local culture and society.

I think these cases, as so many other experiences like them, also show that the Swedish Folk Development Education experience fits in well with many development efforts in countries in the Third World. It often seems to fill a gap which people in those countries feel very acutely.

This is not strange. After all, this type of education was created under circumstances similar to those existing in Third World countries today. Swedes at the end of the 19th century did not know of any other education but the formal elitist school. They also needed an education democratic in its outlook, an education which could give the motivation and mobilize the mass of people for development, rather than give formal qualifications for the few, an education which would liberate man rather than enslave him. A Folk Development Educator will feel an intense and spontaneous rapport with President Nyerere of Tanzania, who more eloquently than any other statesman has formulated what is lacking in the old education and what kind of new education is needed:

> "First, the most central thing about the education we are at present providing is that it is basically an elitist education designed to meet the interests and needs of a very small proportion of those who enter the school system." x)

The Folk Development Education for a contrast was created for the many right from the start. It was and still is designed to meet the interest and needs of the broad mass of ordinary people and there are no entrance

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x) Quotation from Julius Nyerere's speech: Education for Self-reliance.

qualifications, which would keep any less qualified people out.

> "Our present system encourages school pupils in the idea that all knowledge which is worthwhile is acquired from books or from 'educated people'- meaning those who have been through a foreal education." x)

The pedagogy used in Folk Development Education is consciously geared to showing the variety of sources available for acquiring valuable knowledge and one of its cornerstone tenets is the importance of using the knowledge and experience that already exists among the participating students.

> "The education provided must therefore encourage the development in each citizen of three things; an enquiring mind; an ability to learn from what others do, and reject or adapt it to his own needs; and a basic confidence in his own position as a free and equal member of the society, who values others and is valued by them for what he does and not for what he obtains." x)

The FDE was created precisely to encourage the development of these things in the students. This was to be one of the great contrasts to the formal, classical school, which was then the only existing pattern of education. That school did not promote an enquiring mind and it did not encourage rejection or adaption of what it taught. The basic confidence it gave was the one of the superior, confident that he belonged to an elite with its particular privileges. For FDE there was not a question of conferring diplomas or grades. The main thing was what your newly-won knowledge could do in practice for you and your fellow men, not its recogition on a piece of paper.

> "But man can only liberate himself or develop himself. He cannot be liberated or developed by another..." x)

This again emphasises the contrast to the traditional teacher-centered education with its warped way of disseminating knowledge, which often works towards keeping people enslaved instead of liberating them.

No wonder folk development educators who read these and similar things expressing some of the needs felt by Third World peoples are easily enthused at the idea of working for them. And it seems to me that the

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x) Quotations from Julius Nyerere's speech: Education for Self-reliance.

demand for a new approach to education and training along these lines is on the increase in the Third World in pace with the frustration created by the effects of the formal education system.

Certain conditions have to exist if folk development educators are to be successful in their work. I believe failures in this field of work often have to do with a lack of good communication. The authorities of the country in question must understand from the very beginning what Folk Development Education stands for and they must accept this and be truly interested in trying out such an approach. When I say understand "what it stands for" I mean that they must realize what are the final objectives of this kind of education. The authorities and the Folk Development Educator must agree on these objectives or else cooperation should not be started. The receiving country must know that an FDE worker will not accept to be made part of an educational system which works towards goals which are contrary to what he believes in. Unless, of course, his very task is to contribute to a change in that system and he is actively supported by the authorities to do so.

Active support is, indeed, necessary in whatever position the FDE worker is placed. Whether he will work with separate bodies of non-formal adult education or with parts of an existing formal education system the traditional education establishment will almost certainly be his formidable foe. That establishment will not understand and will not accept that the adult educators exist as a special cadre at all. Behind this is the question: why was it necessary to create a special adult education set-up when formal education already exists, an education that has centuries of experience and that knows what education really is? The old education establishment will look at the adult educators as upstarts and their existence as an insult.

Since the formal education system has such long traditions and is so well-known and well built up all over the country it will always have great advantages when it comes to claiming resources or influence. There is always the threat that it will try take over any education that is not under its control.

If the authorities really believe in the work of the Folk Development Educators and they seriously want to pursue this kind of Education then they must assist them actively and openly. Preferably the non-formal

adult education should be made an entity of its own and not be dependent on the formal system for administration, teacher recruitment or training of its cadres. In its position as a rather new field it must also be given rather free reins to try out its own development.

In the Introduction to this booklet we put a few questions:
Has non-formal adult education as it is practised in Sweden got any particular characteristics which distinguish it from the common practice of adult education in other countries?
Has it got something special to offer to developing countries?
Or are the Swedes just trying to practise some new form of neo-colonialism?

I would like to give my short answers to the first two questions:
The core ideology, the view of man and society and the approach to learning, of Swedish Folk Development Education is not at all unique. You find it in many parts of the world in educational movements of various denominations. Fortunately, we know very well that we are not alone in our fight for the ideals expounded in this booklet.

Something which is rather unique, though, is the very long tradition combined with a stable development, a very large proportion of the population taking part in the Folk Development activities and their great impact on the Swedish society. The birthdate for FDE in Sweden is hard to fix, but I may at least mention 1868 as the birth year of one of the most important and still functioning parts of it, the Folk High School. As for numbers of people taking part it is also difficult to give any exact figures. Let me just repeat that more than 1 million people go to one or more study circles every week out of the total population of 8 millions. The impact on the Swedish society is even harder to measure, but indirectly we can divine some of its quality through certain facts, such as the one that at one time, not very long ago, one third of all members of the Swedish parliament were former folk high school students.

This unusually long and large experience of FDE, with its trial of various forms for translating ideology into practical action, gives us a rather unique backing and a conviction that we are fighting for good and realistic and attainable goals. If anything that experience and conviction would be that special thing that we can offer to developing countries.

As for the last question above the reader will, hopefully, by now have formed his own opinion of what the answer may be.

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ISBN 91-586-7044-0

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