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Notes

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

### 1.4. Society and the process of change.

Society is a system of resource utilization. Nature and information are the resources in circulation. Society may be conceived as a set of rules, the culture being the rules; the structures determining their relations. The structures of society are the organizational patterns of economic life and power distribution, the culture cognitions and actions learned through information.

Culture and structure are two aspects of the same social manifestation. Changes in one alter the other and determine the dynamics of change. Confinement or flexibility within the structures determine the conditions of circulation, thereby directing the rate of cultural change.

Decline and restoration are contradicting tendencies maintaining the balance of life. Growth and destruction are forces in the process of nature and cause continual change. Conditions of life are determined through the dynamics of the struggle between the being and the becoming, the established and the progressive.

Society is the Collective of individuals. Social change is directed through predominance in the struggle for power. To influence our conditions of life we must know and act upon the Collective of which we are part.

### 1.2. Socialization and education as a dynamic process.

Through socialization we share the rules of living. Socialization is the task of education. Perpetuation of its structures is the policy of being. Schools are formal institutions shaped by the Collective as established. Individuals are trained to reproduce the existing. Non-formal education was fostered in negation to be a vital factor contributing to change. A gradual inclusion in the Established system has reduced its generative force of cultural opposition.

Education as a system develop on the conditions given by the historical context within which it takes place. As an open process the educational organization reflect the dynamics of political and economic change. Being the less institutionalized part of the total system, alterations in non-formal education seems a sensitive indication of the dynamics of change. Describing the system as a static situation would therefore hardly reveal a picture as complete.

In presenting Adult Education in the non-formal systems of Norway and Sweden, we will consequently look at a brief historical perspective, discuss its objectives before evaluating how they are realized in the system of today. We will also attempt a discussion of the effect of changes within the framework of the total social Limited by the brevity of this report, the description can only be incomplete - but hopefully not too simplified.

#### 2. A PERSPECTIVE

## 2.1. Exploration of the present situation.

Adult Education as found in the two countries roughly include three non-formal categories well established as separate sub-systems in Sweden while just being outlined through the reforms taking place in Norway these days.

SI Non-formal education Training for participation in cultural life.

S II Training to remedy insufficient schooling.

S III Non-formal schooling Non-formal schooling Vocational training as part of the Labor Market policy.

A common component of all sub-systems is the historical and relative freedom to participate and deliver exam. The voluntary aspect is predominant in S I, which mainly provides education for informal status. Participation in S II and S III may indirectly be required, depending on the job-situation desired by the individual or the factory where the person is employed - thereby influencing formal status. None of the categories mentioned, however, include a required graduation procedure as of today. I have therefore classified the sub-systems as above, qualifying all to be included in non-formal education which consequently becomes a quite comprehensive system. as we shall see.

Despite a structural similarity of society-at-large, a history of mutual inspiration and the resemblance of the formal schooling systems, the organizations of Adult Education appear rather different in the two countries today. Management in Norway is still pluralis-Responsibilities overlap and parallel structures predominate. Cooperation networks are quite well established on the local level, whereas the rather uncoordinated nature of regional and central bodies are main reasons for the current restructuring. The Swedish system, on the other hand, is subtly centralized, lucid, ideologically balanced, specialized and vertical. The decisionmaking process is dominated by State authorities. The tasks of the individual institutions being quite clearly defined and limited, increased local interaction has become a preoccupation in the present process of change.

Delving briefly into the background from which this situation has evolved, we remember the impact of the different political position of the two countries during the World War II and its subsequent effects on development in economic life. Where the Norwegian system

experienced a major set-back requiring decades of reconstruction. Sweden has been able to develop rapidly in economic prosperity and political stability towards a highly industrialized "welfare-society".

Vigilance and periodic growth has marked the educational system in Norway since the early beginnings in the 1800's, whereas systematic change through more frequent reforms has shaped the well arranged Swedish system.

## 2.2. An excursion into the historical origins.

Space only allows brief glimpses into the evolution of a highly The most important features seem to be its sources diverse system. of origin, the gradual formation of a vertical bureaucracy upon the spontaneously formed and "flat" organizations, paralleling integration and an upwards transfer of influence and power. It is also interesting to note the interactive pattern of change connecting nonformal education, schooling and the social system at large. table below should allow some comparative considerations before we proceed to a brief discussion.

1827:Compulsory elementary school

1830: The farmers' movement

1848: The presocialist movement

1851: The Ass. to promote Enlightenment

1859: The Norw. temperance society

1864:The first Folk high school Students' Ass. of Free education

of useful knowledge

1819: The first temperance society

1833: The society for disemination

1866: The Franchise Reform

1868:The first Folk highschool

1872:Gov'tgrants to Folk highschools

1875: The county schools established Conditional grants to Folk h.sch.

1884:The Franchise Reform Morkers' Academies

4887: The society for promotion of

science

1896: Horwegian Youth society High school reform

1898:Grants to workers'academies

1899: Mational Labor org.

1880 Workers institutes and lectures The Farmers' movement

1885: Public grants to Workers' inst.

1889: Democratic socialist party

1890 1892: Workers'libraries

1893:University summer courses

1895:IOGT evening schools

1898: Lectures centres conn. to Workers institutes.

47 1902: First study circle (TOAT) 1902: Library Act, subjected to Govit control 1903: Popular Educational Ass. 1905: Nat. Ass. of Folk scadenies 1905: Mat. Ass. of Swedish farmers 1906: Crants to Folk highschools 1906: Language reform, Eministry F.b. Suffrage reform geois languages equalized. The labor movement Study circle support to build libraries 1910 1912: Workers' Rd. Ass. ABF, Ribrary Ast Gov't inspector of Polk Wighach 1911:IOGT Study Ass. established 1913:State film control State list of approved lecturers 1913: Social security Woman suffrage 1917: Swedish Rural Youth League 1919:8-hours working day 1919: 8-hr. working day, woman suffrage TOUK academies conn. to State

1922:Study groups conn. to N. Youth

1923:Leadershiftr. absumed by ABM.

Grants for Workers'academ.withdr.

1923:Social security

First DemSocialist. Gov't
Incr. support of Libraries electy
1923:Leadershiftr. absumed by ABM.

1924:Swedish State Broadcast
1923.Social security 1929: Scout Td.Ass 1930: Swedish mural Ed.Ass. 1930: Swedish mural Ed.Ass. Workers' Ed.Ass. formed 1933: University studies Ass. 1933:Norwegian State Broadcast 1934: Social Eccurity, unempl. 1935: Ed. Ass. of Professional Workers 11934: Council of popular education and 1935: Library Act; Ttate support of study circles and evening schools 1936: Coordinating Com. of Study Ass. Study gr. conn. to professional Women Ass. Students free educat. 1938: Social security
The first vocational schools 1939: The first State school (TII) 1940: The neople's university Tilitary ed.activities The educational experiments init. 1946: Voluntary council of Ad. Ed. 1948:Correspondence school Act. Travel-1947:Grants to adult education (ST) ling Theatre, travell.movies. Libraries-On-wheel years comprehensive basic schooling 1949: Folk highschool Act. The educational exp. initiated SIII established 1957:SIII initiated 1958: "Diploma" in Folk highschools Branches of Folk highsch. est. 1960 1963:Adult Education let 1964:Vocational+academ.sch.equalised 1965: Sect. of Ad. Ed in Ministry of Ed. decentr.of University courses (II) :Proposition of Adult Ed. equal 1966: Comprehensive high school footing with basis schooling Formal regulations of contr. HIII 1967: SITE stablished by law 1969: Governal Ed. as part of HIII 1969: 9 years comprehensive basic sch. 1970 971:Entr.restr on STT

### 2.3. System I - a barometer of social change?

The popular movements. Development in the 1800's was obviously marked by the different political status of the two countries, Norway being the colony of Sweden. Political consciousness developed during the early decades among the Norwegian masses uniting in a cry for liberation and cultural emancipation. The Swedish popular movements only gained strength toward the end of the century as a consequence of the political polarization instigated by the controversy between protectionists and free-traders.

The movements were strong forces pushing toward constitutional change from absolute monarchy to democracy and common suffrage. In the process they greatly contributed to shape the political parties created through the struggle.

Forming the broad base of the emerging Leftist party, Norwegian farmers associated to keep their long standing political freedom, traditional culture and language. Joining to fight impoverishment and also industrial exploitation, presocialists initiated the Labor Union development. Concommittantly in both countries, religious revivalists and temperance adherents built strong associations to fight moral degradation.

Folk highschools and Lecture societies. The need for systematic studies and popular education had long been recognized, further stimulated as democratic rule was brought in. Emancipation from the confinement of formal schooling, orthodox religion and bourgeois culture inspired the creation of Folk highschools in the 60's. Students were recruited mainly from the countryside. Despite their dependency on private funds to cover operating costs, they grew rapidly in popularity and number. Through discussions, lectures and studies or national history and culture in the mother tongue, a number of progressive politicians were trained.

Recognizing the importance of these institutions in opposing the established structures, County schools were soon introduced by the State to take up competition. Fully supported they recruited students from the same age group. The liberal Folk highschools also fostered another "cousin", the Christian Youthschools, an orthodox religious version.

Resolutions qualifying the Folk highschools for grants were simultaneously passed - providing they were subjected to public control. A period of rapid decline followed. Unemployed teachers moved over to County schools. Their live methods brought inspiration to a stiffled system, the philosophy behind, however, being coopted through a formal curriculum.

Surviving only on State appropriations, the three institutions

slowly expanded and merged into the present Folk highschool system. Through gradual formalization they are presently regarded as potential alternatives to gymnas, the quest for a grading system being introduced in the 50's.

Lecture societies were initiated by university students branching off in two directions. One group started the Workers' academies, inspired by and operating through the labor unions. Initially receiving public grants to run evening courses and lectures, their information was judged to be "amusing rather than informative" and funding was withdrawn. A State list of approved lectureres (the forerunner of the Bureau of lectures now found in Sweden) was produced for exclusive use where grants were distributed. Funding was resumed and the activity of the Workers academies assimilated into a broader system, the Folk academies.

The new trends forced Establishment to take greater part in the funding and strengthening of elementary education in the middle 1800's, hoping to build resistance against the imposing ideas. Through popular pressure old Norse was included in the high school curriculum, history became increasingly important and the traditional Norwegian language was eventually recognized as a compulsory subject.

The early part of 1900's was marked by social and political unrest. The Union dissolved, strikes interrupted economic life, formal schooling expanded and the frequency of regulations within the non-formal system increased.

Protective legislation and the great unemployment after World War I left people with spare time to engage in studies in the 20's and 30's. Cultural traditions, vanishing through urbanization and fragmentation of the cross-generation family, industrialization and the availability of readymade goods, appeared on the educational marked to be picked up and included in the repertoir of the organizations which had formed above the movements.

The grants system expanded. Separate bodies for studies emerged and fused above the organizations (particularly a prominent feature in Sweden). Their interests corresponded with the objectives of the State when coordinating committees were formed and came to serve as intermediaries.

Democratic socialists gaining power, their general policy supported the comprehensive reforms of the educational systems in the 30's. Councils of Adult Education were established in the Ministries and the foundations of asmajor expansion of non-formal education created. Owing to the set back of the Norwegian system during the war, the plane were only realized in Sweden at the time, particularly instigated by education of the Armed forces.

The recent Norwegian proposals seem to be amalgamations of the Swedish acts of '48 and '63, principally granting adults and youngsters equal right to governmentally supported basic education.

### 2.4. Systems II and III - for the person or the production?

A less dramatic history has obviously formed SII. The second branch of the lecture societies mentioned above organized to distribute "formative and classical knowledge" to the masses, may be considered the first traces of remedial schooling. The Norwegian Act of 1860 also institutionalized an independent teacher hired by local school authorities to cater to educational needs as arising in the community.

Non-formal parallels to schooling grew slowly from the late 30's through initiatives of governmental authorities as well as study associations. State schools and correspondence courses adopted curricula and objectives of formal schooling, particularly at the high school level, a complete exam in all subjects initially being required for graduation. The introduction of recurrent studies for "partial graduation" stimulated attendance.

The legal institutionalization of SII is closely connected to the expansion of compulsory schooling, in terms of length, the subjects included as well as the clientele. Sufficient basic education being a prerequisite to compete at the labor market, it is a State imperative to create needed educational opportunities to maintain formal equality. and bridge the gap. SII was established in Sweden in 1967, while a quite similar system is presently suggested in Norway.

System III in its present form is a manifestation of industrialization and increased State investment in and regulation of production. The early forerunners were the vocational Sunday schools arranged in the early 1800's. As the independent crafts vanished into the industries, apprenticeships disappeared into schools. Additional lifelong learning occurred through on-the-spot training. Institutionalization has particularly picked up speed since the 40's.

Active governmental participation in SIII was established in both countries in the late 50's to turn the downwards trends in economic life. State interventions initially aimed to maintain a stable rate of employment through general reactions required by structural changes in the production system at large and seasonal variations. Spesific actions to stimulate productivity in individual branches were left to private initiatives.

As state control of production increase, governmental and private interests gradually correspond, and selective actions are adopted by the State as well, sporadic efforts of private industries being insufficient to regulate a rapidly changing labor market. Where Norway is

now foreseing prosperity and consequently in urgent need to establish an efficient SIII, this has for long been a vital link in the Swedish vocational training system. Expansion and ramification have created a diverse enterprise, now also including general education since the economic decline in the late 60's.

### 2.5. Other institutions

The Broadcast, film and performing arts are increasingly incorporated as links in the non-formal system, libraries, schools and study organizations maintaining the direct links with the learners. Public libraries were first established in the spirit of Enlightenment in the late 1700's. They are now considered potential multipurpose cultural centers. The Broadcast is nationalized in both countries despite considerable private interests. A separate educational unit is connected to their programs. Swedish film industry is on private hands, whereas the Norwegian is state controlled. It is interesting to note their different development. The fall and rise of theatres depend on public grants and seems connected to their value orientation. Why, by the way, have authors always had such bad economic conditions?

#### 3. OBJECTIVES

3.1. Objectives as reflections of social change.

Objectives may be regarded as "dependent conceptualizations" arising as functions of 1) the current situation in the process of development in which the objectives are formulated and 2) particular services expected to be reformed by a given system within the social structure. Contrary to common usage, the concept may be decomposed to include 1) premises: the conditions prevailing in a social system, 2) means: The repertoire of acceptable problemsolving methods available within this social context, and 3) ends: The ideological fortification or structural improvements desired as compared to the present situation.

Some educational objectives are predetermined by the political and economic establishment of the social systems and are, as such, rarely explicitly stated. A complete summary of educational objectives is rarely presented. Operating partly as assumptions general objectives of the educational system in highly industrialized, capitalistic countries ruled by democratic socialists may resemble:

1. Governmental regulation of production

Means
Raise average level of education to maintain a stable rate of employment and provide social services.

- Mnds - Welfore

2. Intensive production and fusions ir economic life

Produce a flexible and specialized stock of manpower to stimulate labor intensity and a continuous flow of capital.

Productivity

3. Formal democracy Make education available for all regardless of social, geographic and individual differences.

4. Verticalization Cover up the contradictions be- Social stabilimarginalization tween the rationales of democracy and capitalism.

As the major task of schooling is to do vertical sorting for production, the last objective (4) is referred to non-formal education. In this sense the non-formal system functions as a complementary to formal schooling. The "narrower" the formal system, the more diversity is presumably desired in the non-formal system, in terms of population groups to be assimilated and subject matter to be covered to secure the survival of Establishment. Regarded in this manner, non-formal education is to schooling what treatment institutions are to a capitalistic structure. Within the general framework, objectives vary according to the function of the particular sub-systems. Holding together the three main objectives of education mentioned in NOU 1972:41 and the three categories of non-formal education, their particular complementary function as compared to schooling may be: SI - Personal growth, SII - Equality, SIII - Efficiency.

Priefly reviewed, some current objectives of non-formal Adult education in Sweden and Norway are:

Premises: Means: Ends:
Population: 8 10 100 Consolidate and expand existing Reduce public Part.in Adult system, reduce operational cost expenses in the education: inc. efficiency and loc. interapp. 2.500.000 dependency.

Declining rate Increase education horizontally Profitability.

of employment, and improve delivery in a system Efficient vertical intensified com- of recurrent education. distribution petition and mobile capital

Overproduction Create tertiary position and Storage of academic expand system vertically.

manpower

Political frag- Investigate the total input/out- Ideological mentation \_\_\_\_\_ put\_system and create a \_\_\_\_\_ balance

Centralization, Give educational priorities to Formal equality marginalization handicapped, older, undereducated, and education through media.

Sparetime Incr. institutionalized learning Welfare, social problems opportunities. control

Population 3.900.000

Part. in Adult

education:app. 430.000

Prosperity, in- Create flexible system for recur- Productivity vestment in oil rent vocational education and Equality industry, pressure language training of imported

on the labor mar- labor

ket•

Reform and expand Increase opportunities for reme-Reduce schooling tot. ed. system. dial ed. at all levels. cost.

Political polari-Extend comprehensive system of Ideological control.

TEST

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On an individual level, some of the objectives formulated centrally are to increase "inner directedness", realize individual potential, improve ability to think critically and participate actively, develop self-reliance. As of the objectives of the individual approaching the system, there is no mention.

#### 4. MANAGEMENT

### 4.1. Administrations - parallels or pyramids?

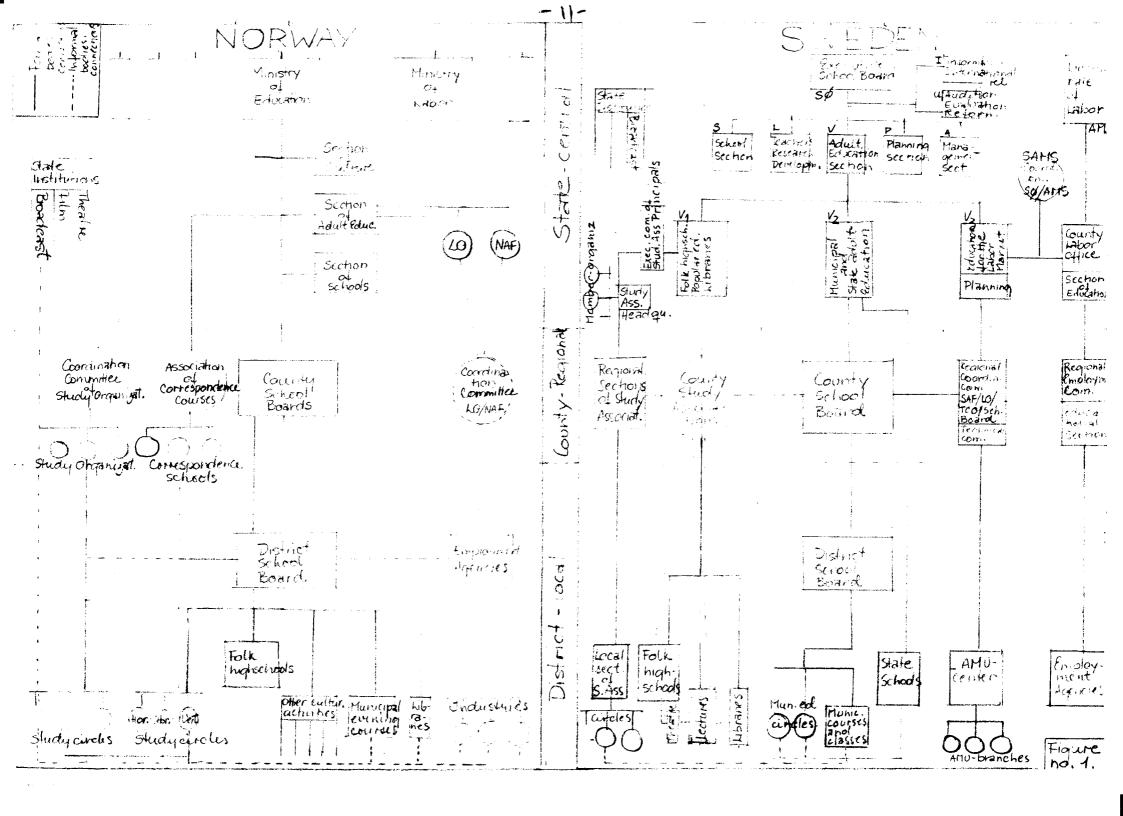
Sweden: A predominant feature is the tricotomy developed within a pyramidal structure headed by the Executive School Board (TC). SØ is a three level executive body performing the functions of a directorate and thereby not subjected to direct political control. Characteristically, the sections are established according to specialized functions performed within the total educational context (see Fig. 1), their main responsibilities being: 1) Administration, planning and management, 2) Information and guidance and 3) Development, evaluation and reform. Mumerous committees, project groups and councils are established to secure cross-sectional communication and efficiency.

Duties to be performed on the regional level today are:

1) Distribution of centrally granted funds, 2) Collection of reports to substantiate appropriations and 3) Coordinate local activities. This is carried out through the County Educational Association, voluntarily established and connected to the County School Beards and the Employment Office.

Current Swedish policy is characterized by "centralized decentralization". 11 SIII is already highly regulated. A regional consolidation of the SI and SII seems to mark the current process of change, Polk-highschools and State Schools being singled out as integrators of a network within their own systems. Combined studies, (for instance topic courses + study circles, media courses + laboratory training in libraries) tie the institutions together in mutual dependency and control. An "osmosis" between the three systems is simultanously taking place; a larger number of priority circles are assimilated in the apportunities offered by the Study Associations. General non-formal schooling (SII) is included in the SIII, while vocational training is performed by SII.

With added responsibilities currently assumed by the State in the field of cultural education, the pressure on public funds will increase substantially, making increased efficiency a focal point of concern. Fusions of Study Associations, assimilation of new functions within existing institutions, attempts to attempts indirect methods of education, multiplication of daytime courses



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	System I (SI)	System II (SII)	System III (SIII)	Definition of terms
Objec- tives	And and a Company of the Company of	Remedial schooling Equality	Vocational training Productivity	Study of of a pred Horizont. Vertical Priority with reduced to university to university Courses. Classes: Classes: Curriculu
Insti- tutions	Study Associations Folk highschools Lectures, media, Corr.s., Derf. arts	Admounits connected to jun, high schools State and county schools Correschools, Media	Training centers (AMU) Vocational schools Private industries Employment agencies	The following th
ut Learning situation	Horizontal circles (N) Vertical circles Courses Circle studies + courses	Vertical circles Courses Classes (S) Circle stud. + classes	On-the-spot training Courses Ed.tech.Programs (S)	ples: A groustermined to stermined to circle: Gircle: Gircles: Gir
Information	Popular and general ed. Organizational training Remedial ed. (mainly non-vocational) Hobby courses General theoretical Iearning	Remedial schooling	General and specific training to maintain a stable employment rate	pic or procle led oncerns incle 100% incles estudies cotudies cotu
Learners	Voluntary - all categories group size: 5-20	N: Volunthandicapped C: Restricted - marginal groups group size: 12-35	H:Voluntary and selected S:Selected - marginals, unemployed Spontaneously	for collem. Atterng with formal formal educate and a training lished a training lished a training lished a to stude the aby color.
Thowledge Input appro	S:Executive Com. of study Ass. principals Central authorities N:Coord.Com. of Stud.Org. Pistrict School Board Central authorities	Curricula: Centrally S:Directorate of Schools N:Ministry of Education	S: Directorate of Labor and Executive School Board N: County Employm. Agencies Ministry of Education Private industries	tive, synce red formally proints in the contract of the contra
ntal	Ind.level: - Syst.1: 75% teacher wages + Teaching aids, 90% central-operating cost. F.high: 100% teacher wages	Ind.level: - S: system level: teacher wages, facilities, coun- selling N:Not formally estab. lished	S:Ind:Full coverage of tuition, stud.loans, security, travel, child-care Syst: Full coverage of AMU	ystematic studie puire foes. Ly appointed leader leader math. English, math. ial education cipic correspondince not included on the basis of a
0.0 <b>00</b> 00000000000000000000000000000000	N:Ind.1.:50% per capita  Cyst.1.: 50% teacher  wages, 15-30% operating cost.  7.high:100% teacher wages	N:Ind.l.: Courses:full cover. Form.courses: refund when completed yet.l.: as regular seriools	N:Ind.: support from soc security:tuition, trave child care. [yst: General: 100, [recific: priv.industr	tly social socia

within the non-formal system and a revision of the "loans and grants for studies" -system are suggestions voiced in current debates.

Norway: The Norwegian system of adult education may be seen as an embryotic version of the system described above, as yet mainly consisting of SI. Prosperity and more intensive production has moved the development of SII and SIII in the foreground, the main part of the 50% budget increase for the non-formal system being granted for this purpose. 12

The current management pattern typically consists of a number of parallel administrations with little formal coordination. Various Ministries (subjected to direct political control) manage separate sub-systems according to the particular educational activity they supervise. Relative autonomy and informal integration on the local level is also characteristic of the present situation.

SII and SIII still being the formative stage, the demarcation lines distinguishing non-formal education and non-formal schooling are still blurred. As of today, remedial schooling is carried out through evening courses voluntarily established by schools, correspondence courses and SI. Similarly, vocational training is partly carried out in connection with vocational schools, but primarily by the private institutions, and through on-the-spot training.

About 100 organizations arrange non-formal education, a smaller number in the form of officially approved circles. Only a few have fused to form separate study associations above the organizations. Some are connected through the Coordination Committee which functions as their negotiator to the Ministry. The rest competes with a variety of other activities for support from local lump appropriations. Independent horizontal circles occupy a large part of the market, often based on literature from the correspondence schools

This pattern is likely to change drastically in the near future if the Bill of 1972 is accepted by the Parliament. Hoping to create a "simple, non-bureaucratic, streamlined, self-controlled, open and efficient" system and expecting noticeable growth, the NOU 1972:41 suggest a structure for the educational system at large topped by three Directorated, Adult Education, Schooling and Higher Education.

Presently, schools are managed from a national, regional and district level, depending on their function; similarly the organizations depending on their size. Adopting this pattern, the three systems below the Directorate of Adult Education are designed to branch off from the Directorate, County- and District School Boards

as governmental coordination centers. Compared to the Swedish system, this forms a pattern more decentralized vertically and more centralized horizontally.

As bodies for integration and development within the individual system the committee suggests a fusion of the coordination Committee and Association of Folk academies to form the "Norwegian Association of Study Activity" for SI. The labor organisation 10 (Labor Union) and MAF (Employers Association) are encouraged to formalize their coordination committee to perform similar services. An Institute for Adult Education is planned to care for research, training and guidance for SI, while the State Institute of Technology will fill the same functions in SIII.

actually performs more efficiently than the old one. Considering the fact that public funds are only a sum of private means - does this actually decrease total cost per learner? Will it help to create "equality within a just society"? Does lucidity and balance increase the sensitivity to local needs? Will management efficiency correspond to educational efficiency so as to realize objectives of the sovernment and individual simultaneously?

### 4.2. Tystem I - Teparation or integration?

Mducation for "cultural participation or personal growth" mainly takes place in Folk Highschools, study circles, libraries, through the medic/correspondence courses or the performing arts. Institutionalized off-job activities is a far more prominent feature of Swedish everyday life. Considering the similarity in the two countries, dimensions and stages of development disregarded, this paper consentrates to examine the present situation in Sweden.

The 10 ltudy Associations 15 have shown a sizeable expansion during the last couple of decades, a trend which is expected to continue. Traditionally representing an alternative to formal schooling, they are now gradually assimilating functions which formal cohools are unable to pursue. Attempting to stimulate theoretical studies among the under-educated, the associations are regarded by the State as particularly important tools to raise the average level of education and level out the vertical distribution of the population. Reaching beyond, consentrating primarily on the normal population - which is the present Norwegian concern - the Swedes are struggling to reach groups at the educational margine: Handicapped, old people, foreign laborers, housewifes.

There Swedish authorities seem to have focused on the Associacions (and thereby vertical circles) Morwegian priority - and geography - has encouraged development of correspondence schools (and horizontal circles).

The 108 (86) Folk High Schools arrange two types of courses, a 34 (24) weeks winter course, generally offered at three levels, and briefer specialized topic courses (2 days - several weeks). During the 60's the winter courses increased in popularity. While they are still on the upwards go in Morway, the flow of applicants has stagnated in the 70's in Sweden. Meanwhile the topic courses receive a growing number of participants: from 13.000 in 1970 to 23.000 in 1972.

Underlining the policy currently permeating the Swedish system attempting to build recurrent and coordinated educational opportunities, the Polk High Schools are sought out as "adaptable, experienced and flexible" sources in close contact with the "target" group of potential learners. Future perspectives on an intergrated system of cultural activity promise closer collaboration between libraries, associations, lecturers and performing arts centered around the Folk High Schools. Cooperating with the teachers associations they are supposed to furnish organization and youth leaders for the new system.

Noticing the failure of the present policy to bridge the educational gap, particularly in decentralizing opportunities to sparsely populated areas, considerable confidence is placed in the development of courses for studies through the media, combined with books, laboratories, lectures or summer courses.

Recently, several study associations may compete on a local level. Attendance of some courses is consequently quite low in sparely populated areas although informal coordination does take place. Hoping to reduce cost, the State accountants have recommended that the "market" is shared systematically by the associations - which in fact implies that SI might be monopolized by individual organizations in low attendance areas. Indirect communication is seen as an alternative - of course considerably cheaper - but is this really a favorable trade to the learner, considering the ideological and social function of SI?

# 4.3. System II - equality or verticalization?

The Swedish proposition of 1967 and Norwegian Bill of 1972 require the establishment of units for adult education connected to the upper elementary schools. This indicated the priority given to remedial schooling at this level, as well as the concern to make financial support of SII a local responsibility. SII also offered education at the high school level.

Remedial education is primarily "served" in the form of study circles - which permits the collection of fees -, although the number of courses and classes is increasing. Where the formal involvement of the Morwegian school authorities is restricted to the arrange-

ment of exams for students who prepare themselves elsewhere, the Swedish government also sponsors intensive 5-weeks courses in State schools, to be combined with correspondence studies, self-education or SII circles. A more intensive cooperation between the different institutions is projected for the future, with particular preference attached to indirect studies in combinations. The State schools seem to be intended as the focal points in networks of regional activities, conf. Folk high schools.

SII grew rapidly during the initial phase, but has declined during the past couple of years. Contrary to intentions, SII tended to function as a supplementary training for students still in school, where the State sought to reach older and under-educated groups. Restrictions on attendance were consequently imposed in 1971.

Despite formulated objective of levelling out educational differences, the financial policy in SII has stimulated centralization tendencies. When reaching a sufficient size separate facilities may be erected. Vocational electives increase in number proportionately with the number of participants. Both factors contribute to reduce the variation in educational opportunities in sparsely populated areas - although students there may perhaps profit from participating in smaller groups?

Adopting the objectives and curricula of formal schooling and also operating with very large groups (max. 35), students are increasingly attracted by the more flexible circles arranged in SF. The rate of graduation is low, and the number of drop-outs considerable. Students tend to consentrate on the minimum requirements, courses in English, Swedish, mathematics and government. Intensive research is now promoted to develop more attractive "suits" for the curricula, particularly fit for adult students and related to their possibly different needs in relation to the labor market. Systematic efforts are initiated to attract people with "latent" educational needs. The source of the low attendance could not possibly be that people just do not went more schooling?

# 4.4. System III - personal choice or modular coordination?

With the explicit objective of stimulating productivity and promote decentralization, education as part of the Labor Market Policy is a vital link in the chain delivering a skilled and mobile attack of "buman capital" for investment in a rapidly changing production. Technologization and monopolization within an imperialistic attracture requires efficient coordination and replacability. From the machine modular solutions transfer to the workers and eventually their training.

The Morwegian system is still based on informal cooperation between the State and private industries. SII in Sweden is a highly centralized, flexible organisation based or continuous delivery.

The Directorate of Labor - AMS - is the intermediary between the industries and SØ (EY: School Board) through and advisory committee - SAMS. Production needs, dimensions, location, vocational orientation, intensity etc. are chanelled through the AMS authorities, transformed to courses by SØ and eventually served by the approximately 100 AMMI-branches. A selection of approximately 400 courses is presently available. The programs are revised annually - more frequently if need arises. Hoping to improve efficiency in the processing of new workers, research now focus on producing a battery of educational technology programs for use in a system of continous input/output to secure a close fit between the course and learner knowledge input. Technologization and monopolization within an imperialistic structure requires efficient coordination and replaceability. From the machines modular solutions transfer to the workers and eventually their training.

In Norway, State involvement in SIII has till now primarily aimed to reduce the impact of fluctuations in the employment rate, seasonal changes, fusions or close-downs. Current needs demand a better system for mobilize the "reserves", primarily house-wifes, train the underprivileged in the job-competition, school manpower for oil industries and the social services required in that connection.

The pressure on public funds require education at minimum cost. Utilization of programs which allow off-job studies are therefore given presedence.

The educational tasks of SIII may be grouped as follows:

- 1. General, reactive: "repair" actions to maintain stable employment and social stability, testing and counselling preparatory education as a basis for specialization, general education to facilitate promotion, retraining due to fusions, closedown or cutdown, training of unemployed or workers on the verge of loosing their jobs, social and vocational orientation to facilitate adaptation, language training of imported labor, training for smooth and democratic participation.
- 2. Specific, active: Stimulant actions to increase the profitability of individual sectors, updating, further specialization, retraining for adaptation to new technology, retraining for investment in undermaned industries, leadership training.

An intensive, structurally dependent and competitive production system demands a flexible and mobile stock of manpower. Recurrent specialization and subsequent orientation to facilitate frequent readaptation is required. In prosperity, reactivation of the reserves and off-job education is given priority (corr. schools, evening- or summer courses). In times of decline increasing unemployment is repaired through establishing day-time courses and expand general education.

The diversity of governmental sponsorships in SIII reflect State intervention in economic life. Technologization increases the necessity to expand the number of general reactions. With increasing investments and direct participation in the competition on the production system, the public enters larger parts of the spesific sphere.

General education was introduced in the Swedish SIII in 1969 currently offered by all AMU-branches. Preparatory courses rapidly grow in number. Inclusion of elementary education is argued to "strengthen individual resistance to the strain of the labor market". Whether this rapidly growing activity does stimulate productivity and further decentralization may be questioned. A progressive increase in tertiary vocations and urban population takes place in both countries. One would also imagine that collective funds are strained by so much education. Will social/vocational orientation stimulate personal choises and enable the individual to influence the production process? Or does such information serve to maintain illusions?

#### 5. FINANCES

### 5.1. Governmental grants - for homogeneity or diversity?

Governmental grants are generally accompanied by a philosophy: "Confidence should never replace control". Public grants are pre-requisites for the existence of study organizations. Consequently - the extension of learning aquired on State conditions increase as they expand. Through giving the organizations economic privileges to more spontaneously formed local activities, this tendency is encouraged and more informal activities pushed out of the market.

The Associations, School Boards and AMU-centers distribute grants, varying in size according to the sponsor, contents and forms of the knowledge input, and the teacher qualification. Funds were initially granted per participant (as they still are in Horway), but the distribution key is redefined to place operating cost of management centers, educator wages and teaching aids as the basic criteria for refund, (see table 1). Regular reports and progression, attendance, teachers, location, frequently are required to secure that minimum requirements are met.

All circles are partly financed through fees, varying in size depending on the sporsor. A small percentage of SI operating cost is also covered through the mother-organizations. SII management is covered through governmental authorities at various levels, SIII not only run entirely by the state; participants receive support through social security.

An important feature of Swedish policy is the reform of the students loans and grants system. Allowing support for briefer courses

and parttime studies, a module system for estimation of support is established, aiming to reach more people horizontally while reducing support vertically. As providers of families, adults are granted larger basic amounts than "common" students - not tax excempted. This policy stimulate movements from horisontal to vertical circles, from circles to courses etc., and the system is formalized. We may remark that governmental input does not always measure up to the intended growth: A consequence of the new reforms in Norway is a sizeable growth of the whole educational system. Schooling receive a minimal budget increase, while adult education gets 150% of the 1974 estimates.

When intensive expansion is desired or the market saturated, PR is required to stimulate the attraction to studies competing with other off-job alternatives. Regulation requires research, training of teachers and control. Growing bureaucracy demands more administration. Adding all expenses and dividing them by learners, measurement will answer our inquiry: Are total unit cost actually reduced? May this not just be a subtle rearrangement of collective funds?.

The heavy pressure on private and public funds may back the desire to fuse associations, reduce the number of local operations and increase interdependency at this level as well as the increased reliance on education through the mass-media. Changing from direct to indirect communication and creating study "monopolies" in sparsely populated areas may be desirable from a technical point of view - but does it incite efficient education?

#### 6. KNOWLEDGE INPUT

### 6.1. Education - from or upon the learners?

Information input of knowledge delivery system may be regarded as a process finalized only at the end of educator/learner (participant) communication. Knowledge input depends not only on the contents or information resources (textbooks or other teaching aids and contributions from the participants), but is regulated through the form or structure of the learning process (methods of presentation and framework of the learning situation). As mentioned above, confinement or flexibility within the structures determine the conditions of circulation, thereby directing the rate of change in the processing of information.

The more teaching aids program the learning situation, the less important participant contributions are likely to seem; preexisting input is modified through participants evaluations. The degree to which educational programs are based on actual needs and related to everyday life of the learners influence—the chance

of participant interaction and perpetuation of the learning process outside the educational situation.  $^{24}\,$ 

Research backs the production of teaching aids and defines the learning situation; teacher training influences communication. The variables constituting knowledge knowledge input are therefore preexisting information, participant contributions, research and the learning situation.

Considering that approval of the topic progression is a prerequisite for grants, it is of importance to note upon whose wishes and needs programs are established and what criteria are applied in evaluation.

Topics for studies in SI are mainly defined on the basis of tradition, by schools/associations or central decision. Supporting organizations and the participants may also suggest programs. Examining the list of topics, we find that the basic core tends to remain the same, a shift in attendance towards studies for formal competence being the major change. It seems that the major flexibility in redefining courses is found within the administration.

Plans for SII and SIII are centrally established, the former being adopted directly from formal schooling and rather resistant to input change, the latter continuously revised according to production needs and highly flexible.

Meeping in mind that non-formal education emerged through opposition - from individuals or groups perceiving learning needs' which were not part of the existing system, current literature is permeated by the assumption that central decisions will attend to local needs. Emerging from concerns to produce the needed input for a culturally and politically diverse system, ideological profiletions of each organization will be attempted to secure a close fit. To what extent will establishment in any face of evolution maintain contradictions which undermine its own existence?

If "curricula" are not accepted they are revised or abolished. The juxtaposed criterion is "objective, unbiased and comprehensive". Biased orientation (propaganda) is usually the label attached to information offencing the establishment. It is indeed difficult to see how organizations which per definition represent conflicting political, ideal views manage to be in harmony with the dominant ideology, yet fight for their own interests. "Objectivity" rather seems the safety valve of liberal society, ideological profilations suggesting another tool to balance contradicting tendencies.

A major task of the non-formal system is presumably to bridge the educational gap. Development shows the opposite tendency.

The education seems to seek more education, financial policy encourages attendance in areas with frequent participation, and attendance clusters around courses for competence. Consequently the system seems designed to exclude the groups it is designed to reach. This may be a wicked circle: As the educated modify courses through their interaction, the middle class "aura" is strengthened and courses seem decreasingly tempting to the "target" group.

Measures are taken to turn the trend. Marginal groups are sought out and encouraged to participate through systematic efforts. The loans and grants system attempts to stimulate horizontal expansion. Increased reliance is placed in mass-communication. Will such indirect methods, however, increase temptation of learners who do non like schooling?

Educators for SI were originally recruited on a voluntary basis, depending on the skill they could bring into the situation. As unemployment prospers in academic circles, the pressure is increasing to require formal training. The Folk Highschools are seen as institutions which may provide cultural teachers. SII and SIII offer opportunities for the already educated, a factor which may contribute to their expansion. . Formalizing teacher training is likely to increase the theoretical inclination - which is also strengthened through the required inclusion of a theoretical perspective on arts and crafts courses, which is another factor discouraging local artisons for instance to contribute with their skills.

Research serves two purposes: increase activity in the tertiary sector and provide tools for control. (Funding being reserved for the University level research, little is done below that level). The amount of research on adult education is very scarce, the Swedish system presently, however, now being subjected to a thorough research.

Openness or closure within the form determines the degree to which knowledge is reproduced or insight generated. Openness or flexibility encourages participant contribution, consequently promoting a closer relationship between everyday learning and the educational process. This may give the participants a common point of departure to promote interaction and chain effects emanating learning beyond the particular location.

Verticality or directness in educator/learner communication are factors which tend to close the learning situation. As we move to the right on the learning/education/schooling slope, we notice how these variables increase in number. On-the-spot training (SIII) and media training (SI) may form exceptions in the direction of openness and closure respectively.

#### 7. OUTPUTS

Evaluating the outputs of the system we have to return to the objectives formulated initially: To what extent does non-formal adult education further personal growth, self-reliance and active participation to stimulate the individual to influence the process of change? Does it contribute to promote productivity, stability, and reduce the educational gap in society? Furthermore - does the system still do justice to its origin through catering to the needs of forces opposing the establishment? Little is done as yet to answer these questions scientifically. Some possible answers have been touched above. Briefly summarizing, trends seem to indicate that some people grow at the expense of others, economically, educationally and - perhaps - personally. Rather than generaring equality, non-formal education seem to differentiate toward verticality and promote mobility. It seems to fulfill a function relative to schooling more as a complementary fortification of etablishment than a tool of contradictions propagating social change.

Leafing through the literature some questions come to my mind:
How, precisely, does efficient productivity relate to equality and
personal growth? Are they promoted through the same means? And,
do the men-in-the-street want the kind of activities they are offered
and have to pay for? Through examining the present process of
change and the context within which it takes place, some of the
inquiries may be answered.

# 7.1. Social change as a process of formalization.

Looking at the learning/education/schooling slope and comparing them to the characteristics of each system, we notice how additional restrictions are placed upon knowledge input while governmental appropriations increase as we move rightwards. The slope may therefore be regarded as a continuum of formalization, reflecting among other things:

- 1. governmental restrictions placed on the definitions of learning situations.
- ?. the amount of tertiary personal produced and hired to maintain the educational system.
- 3. collective expeditures per learning act.

Horizontal and vertical obligations tend to reduce the autonomy of an organization. To determine the degree of formality we have to measure the structural position of a system. Examining Fig. 1 and keeping in mind the number of formal ties to be established, we notice how vertical connections to top level are more frequent in Sweden. The degree of specialization within the system is another restrictive factor ro be measured. We remember how audition points to the desirability of creating "monopolies".

The further the structural distance from the individual to where objectives are formulated, the less the person may influence the decisionmaking process. Individuals may easily be reduced to the statistical numbers moved about with technical proficiency to where they belong in the social "column". Moreover, the stronger the power being formulation of objectives, the more the direction of development is determined. Formalization may be regarded as a measure of establishment need to maintain control and prevent political polarization.

Restrictions on knowledge input has a similar effect. As content is regulated, the knowledge input increase in similarity. When the form is restricted, resemblance in the learning process is promoted.

To measure the full impact of formalization we also must multiply our structural measures by participants as compared to population. Institutionalized activities program man. The more a person is programmed, the less time is left to reflect and evaluate the information gained to internalize knowledge and aquire real learning. Institutionalized learning tend to generate the idea that knowledge is something found in courses, while what emerges from daily experience belongs to another sphere. This - again - stimulate homogeneity, reduce reliance on personal experience and, furthermore - may it not present a barrier to interpersonal communication when vital parts of daily life are referred to the area of "inferior" information?

Whether formalization of learning stimulates social stability is ar empirical question. We may, however, ask why homogeneity is encouraged if human nature is pluralistic, as the rationales of democracy and capitalism unite to claim. Could it be that establishment works against its own purpose?

## 7.2. The dilemma of Establishment in Morway and Sweden

The basic policy of democratic socialists is to build a new society through gradual aquisition of the production system. Gaining power in the 30's the Norwegian Labor Party saw control of education as "an important, if not the most important" tool to reach the goal. Ctate control increasing, present policy rests on the pillars of imperialism and democracy to be realized through a bureaucracy inherited from the time of absolute monrachy. Directions in the process of change are defined not only through international policy but also through restrictions from a web of international relations.

Democracy is based on the idea that everyone is fit. Participation and equal share of power are fundamental rights. The democratic measure of human worth is relative - no fitness is better than any other fitness even if there is a greater supply. What man was given we should bread in the environment regardless of its nature.

Capitalism and bureaucracy rest on a common rationale assuming that citizens may be ranked in groups to fitness. Human worth is measured in absolute terms - what mangets by nature remains his destiny, regardless of the stimulance provided in society. The terms defining fitness is related to their needs in reproduction, strongly resembling the component measure by IQ.

The establishment in Norway and Sweden consequently struggle to create a policy combining the relative and absolute approach to education. Descended into schools this contradiction implies constructing a curriculum which sorts concurrently for a vertical and a horizontal structure ..... which produces elites while guaranteeing equality. Many solutions are invented to hide the dilemma. Some key words are differentiation, individualization and integration. Within established structures recurrent education may become another tool to create harmony upon a contradiction. Combined with sorting through IQs and normal distributions, another human right will be invented: To compete eternally .....

There is of course a limit to "freedom" - but should there not be a limit to control?

- \* In connection with the preparation of "Mearuring Non-formal Education by Johan Galtung and Veslemøy Wiese, Veslemøy Wiese interviewed members of the staff of Studieførbundet Vuxenskolan, Sweden, and representatives of the Section of Adult Education in the Ministry of Education in Norway. I would like to express gratitude to Olle Edelholm. Astrid Gran and Egil Holm for their valuable contributions.
- 1. The St.prp.nr.92 (1964-65) Adult Education is defined as follows: "Adult Education implies all education which is not part of the basic schooling.n According to this definition, Adult Education will include all general education and vocational training which adults seek to aquire upon having participated in working life for some time." Various documents discuss age as a distince criterion to define adult education, SFS 1963:463 establishing a minimum at the age of 14.
- 2. The document Galtung, J. and Wiese, V., "Measuring Non-formal Education", (Oslo 1974, p.3) establishes 4 levels of learning:
  Non-formal learning (O), non-formal education (1), non-formal schooling (2) and formal schooling (3), according to their degree of formalization or increasing institutionalization, (O) being the minimum and (3) the maximum level on the slope. The categories described in this paper correspond to levels (1) and (2).
- 3. I am referring here to the movement initiated by Marcus Thrane in 1848.
- 4. In 1972, the Riksdagen approved a bill (prop. 1972:84) indicating a future change in the status of Folk highscholls assuming that a symmal competency corresponding to the qualifications for gymnasgraduation in Swedish and English will be provided. The criteria of competency are now evaluated aiming to place the Folk highschools and the gymnas on an equal footing in this respect. This of course implies a considerable formalization of the Folk highschools. A non-formal grading system was introduced by the Folk Highschool Act of 1958. For further reference, see SOU 1974:62, "Studiestød åt vuxna" (Stockholm 1974, p. 90-91).
- 5. Ragnar Lund (ed;): "Scandinavian Adult Education", (Det danske forlag, Copenhagen 1949), p. 173.
- 6. Students in Norway and Sweden are now allowed to complete courses and deliver exams for graduation one by one over a period of time as they desire.
- 7. Compulsory schooling expanded from 7 to 9 years in Sweden (1950) and Norway (1969). Remedial training was initially offered through SI. One would imagine that the rapid techologization which has taken place during the later years has made storage in education increasingly important to maintain social stability. As urbanization and tertiarization increase (According to Aschehougs konversasjonsleksikon (Aschehoug & Co, Oslo 1973, volume p. 351) 77% of the Swedish population live in urban areas, 45% are employed in tertiary production, 11% in primary production. The percentages are somewhat smaller in Norway) competition on the labor market is intensified, making education to level out the educational gap all the more important. As vocational school and gymnas was combined to one comprehensive system, vocational electives have also entered SII. With the integration of handicapped, such training is demanded.

- 8. According to the SOU 1972:66, "New Cultural Policies", the function of libraries will cover three categories: Effectuation of media, Information centre, Cultural centre.
- 9. The Executive School Board , "Needs for Research and Development in Adult Education" (Stockholm 1974, p.2) summarizes some of the objectives of adult education: 1) Reduce the educational gap to promote increased equality and social justice. 2) Increase the critical understanding of and participation in cultural, social and political life among the citizens to further the democratic society. 3) Efficiently contribute to the efforts of promoting the rate of advancement in the Swedish economy through providing well educated manpower and contribute to maintain full employment.

  4) Meet the endividual d sires for expanded possibilities for study and education. Similar aims are formulated by Astrid Gran in her article in "Voksenopplæring i fremtiden", red. Åke Dalin (Universitetsforlaget, Oslo 1974, p. 15): 1) Democratic participation in economic life. 2) Equal right to common cultural privileges. 3) True ruel by the people. 4) Broader recruitment for the different positions in economic life. 5) Improved possibilities for the individual to achieve promotions and better wages.

  The objective of establishing a recurrent system of education is underlined in documents from both countries.
- 10. NOU 1972:41, pp. 11-12: "In most countries three integrated educational objectives may be singled out to be actualized through the different parts of the educational system: 1) Personal growth.
  2) Equality. 3) Efficiency.
- 11. Aschehougs konversasjonsleksikon, Vol. . p. 354
- 12. St.prp.no.1 (1974-75).
- 13. NOU 1972:41, np. 57-60.
- 14. A similar fusion took place in Sweden in the late 60's when the Coordinating Comittee for Study Associations fused with the Popular Educational Association to the New Coordination Committee of Study Associations, which, beyond the Study Ass. represent County Study Ass., Folk Highschools and the libraries.
- 15. According to the SFS 1963:463 §5, a Study Association is defined as follows: "A Study Association is an organization, formally regornized by the Executive School Board, whose primary function is to carry on study- and educational activities among adults on a national scale and which has an independent economic management."

  NOU 1972:41 applies a similar definition, including similar definitions for associations operating on the County and District levels—due to the smaller organizations developed in Norway. The associations are entitled to support from the State, County and District according to the region within which it operates.
- 16. It may be of interest to note that 51% of the Swedish Folk high-schools are run by counties or municipal authorities, while 195 of the Norwegian schools are run by counties. (SOU 1974:62, P. 87, and the article quoted in (9), p. 20.)
- 17. SOU 1974. p. 96.
- 18. The Executive School Board, 1974, p. 33.
- 19. AMU indicates Labor Market Education.

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- 20. SOU 1974:62, p. 109: The number of preparatory courses increased from 7% to 37% of the total AMU activity within the last five years.
- 21. Ibid. p. 21
- 22. While basing the labor market education on estimates of labor needed in the regions and recruiting learners from the same area, the NOU 1972:41, p. 17, still claims that the education provided should enable the participants to choose freely at the labor market. I would imagine that the choice is already quite restricted.
- 23. NOU 1972:41, p. 32: "According to democratic principles, the public is admitted control where money is invested". Continuing to quote "Nationen" 1934/185/3/1, they claim: "It should be a popular demand...that confidence should never replace control."
- 24. Conf. Galtung, J. and Wiese, V., 1974, pp. 12-14.
- 25. SFS 1963:463, §2: "The free and voluntary popular education should be designed to establish conditions for an objective and comprehensive presentation of the topics of study. Studies should be carried on in an athmosphere of tolerance and respect for those who think otherwise and so that independent thinking and forming of opinions is encouraged." NOU 1972:41, §17 has a similar formulation, replacing the term "objective" with "unbiased".

### For further references:

- 1. Edelholm, Olle: "Studieførbundens mål nu och i framtiden", (LTs Førlag, Stockholm 1974).
- 2. Swedish Ministry of Education: "Adult Education in Sweden", (Stockholm 1970).
- 3. SOU 1974:36: "Skolan, staten och kommunerna", (Stockholm 1974).
- 4. SOU 1971:87: "Reformer inom studiemedelssystemet", (Stockholm 1971).
- 5. Pihl, Bent and Kvam, Jørg Arthur: "Voksenopplæring, metode og teknikk", (Fabritius & Sønners Forlag, Oslo 1970).
- 6. Voksenopplæringsrådet: "Arbeidsdelingen i voksenopplæringen", (Universitetsforlaget. Oslo 1971).