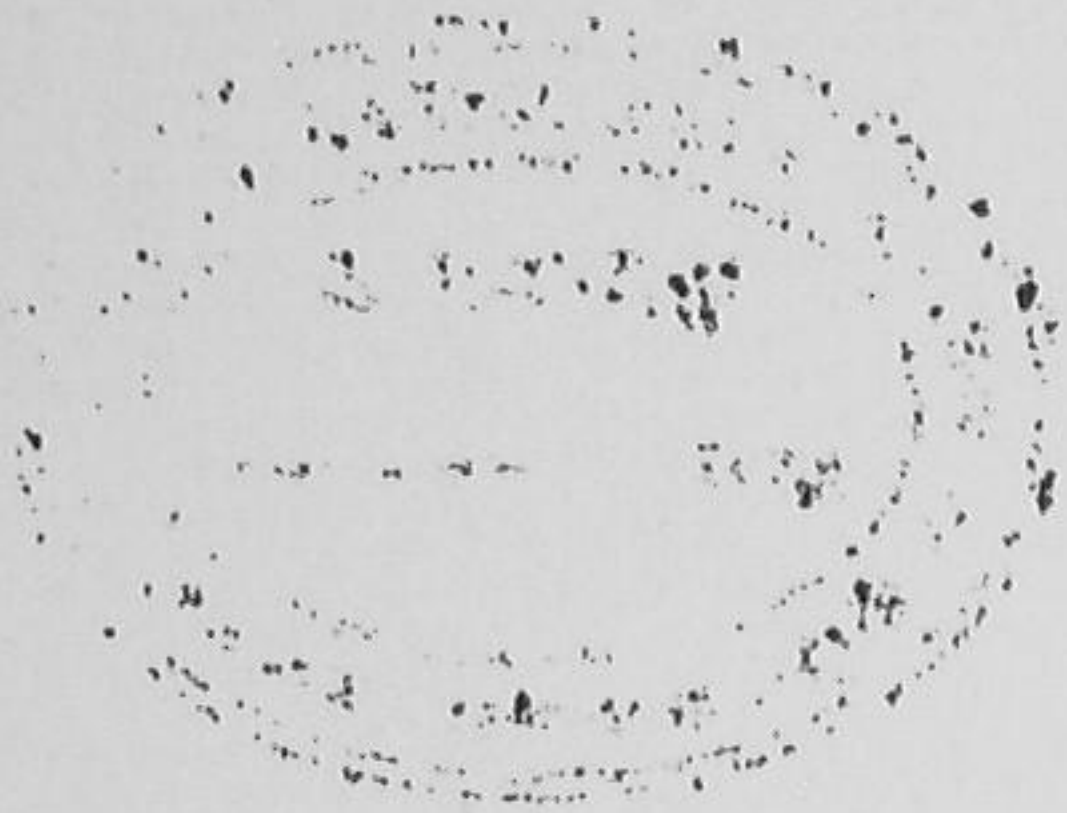
Scandinavian adult education

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SCANDINAVIAN ADULT EDUCATION

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PREFACE

Adult education activities in the different Scandinavian countries show many common aspects. The soil has been very much the same in the four countries, and experiences made in one country have been utilized by the neighbours.

When it was suggested, that Scandinavia's contribution in the adult education field should be presented to the international conference on adult education, organized by UNESCO in Elsinore, Denmark, in 1949, it was agreed to make the presentation in one single volume, which would give an opportunity to emphasize the characteristics of the different countries.

That book is herewith presented in its second edition. Alterations and additions have been few, and have mainly aimed at bringing statistics up to date.

Stockholm, March 1952. *Ragnar Lund.*

ADULT EDUCATION IN DENMARK

by *Johannes Novrup.*

The Danish term fri folkeoplysning does not correspond exactly to the Anglo-American conception of adult education, which, as a rule, only embraces persons in age classes over 18 years. The term also includes young people between the ages of 14 and 18, in so far as the teaching given does not prepare pupils for an examination but aims at general enlightenment. The word fri implies not only that the pupils seek instruction of their own free will, but also that it is free of examinations and other tests, and that, as a rule, the teachers are very freely-situated as regards supervision from the State or from local authorities. The word folkeoplysning reverberates the great democratic people's movements of the nineteenth century and Grundtvig's special use of the word "oplysning". This word corresponds closely to the English word enligthenment. But in the Danish word there is something even more suggestive of enligthenment and the shedding of light. When Danes hear it they involuntarily recall lines from Grundtvig's poetry, for instance "oplysning shall be our delight, though it concern but a rush. But first and last through the mother tongue, oplysning about LIFE."

The phrase oplysningen om livet, enlightenment on the life of man, or in one word livsoplysning, is a key-word to an understanding of the teaching the Danish folk high-school has desired and still desires to give.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Many foreigners have heard about the folk high-schools and often identify them with Danish adult education as a whole. This is by no means right. As will be seen from this booklet, the Danish people have created a number of free educational institutions both for very young and for older persons.

But it is quite correct that the folk high-school, by reason of its age, its own peculiar character and influence, has occupied, and is still occupying, a foremost place in Danish adult education. Its fundamental idea is so valuable and its history so characteristic that the conception of Danish folk-character and Danish democracy of both its opponents and adherents has been influenced by it.

If Danish folk character, as is commonly supposed, is very clearly reflected in the folk high-school, this must be ascribed to the fact that the rank and file of the Danish people, chiefly the peasants, but in the twentieth century sections of the town workers too, have greatly helped to established it; and that Danish *democracy* is reflected in the history of folk high-schools is due to the circumstance that they appeared simultaneously with democratic government and immediately placed themselves at the service of this form of government. In Grundtvig's view they would make democratic government possible. If new schools were not established to give free electors a sense of their new tasks and responsibility, democratic government would more likely lead to the people's ruin than to their happiness. That was roughly Grundtvig's view in the eighteen-thirties and 'forties.

To-day, Danish free adult education takes two main forms: evening schools and folk high-schools. The evening schools date back to 1814. Grundtvig advanced his folk high-school ideas in the eighteen-thirties, and the first folk high-school, Rødding, was opened in 1844. However different these two kinds of adult education may be they have, however, points of contact in contemporary history. To get these educational activities in the proper perspective it will be necessary to sketch the principal lines of historical development.

In Antiquity and through the first centuries of the Middle Ages up to about 1250, Denmark was, practically speaking, peopled with peasants. There were big farmers, families and descendants of chiefs, but no aristocracy proper and scarcely any real middle class. The peasants lived in villages and were freeholders. They met in their

local parliament where all adult freemen had the right, originally even the duty to attend. Here laws and sentences were passed after free expression of opinion. As time went on the time-honoured rules and conceptions took fixed, and often proverb-like forms. The king was entitled to attend this parliament, but had no independent authority there. The famous law of 1241, Valdemar Sejr's Jutland Law — which together with the laws of other parts of the country was in force until superseded by the general legislation of the absolute monarchy in 1683 — but which persisted to some extent in South Jutland right up to 1900 — opens with a preface, the classical text of which is now found hanging in practically every Danish school. This law was based on ancient peasant traditions, but is itself evidence of the growth of royal power, for in contrast to other contemporary laws it appears in the name of the king. The preface begins as follows: "By law the country shall be built up. But would every man but be content with what is his and let men enjoy equal right, there would be no need of law. But no law is as worthy of respect as the truth; where truth is in doubt law must find out what justice is. Were there no law in countries, he would have most who could acquire most; therefore laws must be made in the interest of all." — — — and later "Law shall be honest, just, cheap, according to the customs of the country, suitable, appropriate and clear (so that all men may know and understand what law says) and not be made or written in special favour of any man, but in the interests of all men living in the country. Nor shall any man judge against the law given by the king and agreed to by the people; but according to that law the country shall be judged and governed. Neither may law which is made by the king and accepted by all the country be repealed or altered by him without the expressed will of the country, for thereby he would evidently act against God". This text enables one to penetrate deep into ancient northern traditions of liberty and self-government.

In the following centuries, like everywhere else in Europe, the peasantry deteriorated, and though in Denmark this class never sank

to absolute serfdom, it nevertheless became a despised, poor and unfree people whose old traditions of freedom were almost forgotten both among themselves and in the Danish community. But even in the deepest decadence after 1733, when in order to secure labour for the estate-owner and soldiers for the king, compulsory residence on the lord's domain was imposed from the age of 4 to 36, an independent democratic tradition was maintained in each village, the villagers meeting at rallies and making laws and regulations governing the affairs of the small village community, especially those pertaining to communal tillage.

One of these village laws, passed in 1624 by the peasants of the village of Kvarmløse, is prefaced with a few words that faintly remind one of the words that introduced the Jutland Law of 1241: "Good custom has it that one must improve places and villages and by force preserve, for where there is no law, there are no penalties, and where there is no punishment there is no obedience. So we, who reside in this village of Kvarmløse, observing that good custom and order are God's own convention and way, carrying with them great benefit and harmonious conditions for us and our successors, do assent to this ducument".

Through this local self-government, century-old traditions of liberty and independence undoubtedly survived the dark ages and thereby became a kind of bosom for the mothering of the new local self-government and the free legislative work of democracy that grew in the nineteenth century.

The above-mentioned common background of the evening school and the folk high-school is, then, the emancipation of the peasantry in the years immediately preceding the French Revolution (1781—88). Close collaboration between the royal house and a number of prominent civil servants and estate-owners led to a series of revolutionizing reforms, which marked the beginning of the break-up of the feudal tenure under which the peasants had hitherto been bound. Efforts were made to limit or abolish villeinage, communal tillage ceased, the peasants being enabled to acquire the ownership

of their farms. Many of them moved from the old closed village and started new farms out in the fields. The typical Danish landscape we see to-day, with farms and small-holdings scattered everywhere, originates from the radical decisions taken at that time. It was not without deep regret that many peasants left the secure and pleasant fellowship of the villages for places where, far from neighbours but on the soil that the change had yielded them, they were to secure for themselves an independent livelihood.

The men whose efforts had resulted in these important laws were very desirous of crowning their work with a radical educational reform. Even in 1740 an attempt had been made to introduce schooling for all children, but it was not until the Act of 1814 that the *duty of providing education* for all children between the ages of 7 and 14 was imposed by law.*) It should be noted that the Act did not require the sending of children to a school, for parents were allowed to teach their children themselves. This law was permeated with the educational spirit of the eighteenth century. The desire to educate the common people so that they might become good citizens is clearly evident, finding its strongest expression in a clause to the effect that teachers should keep in touch with children after they had reached the age of confirmation (14 or 15), not only to keep up their knowledge . . ., but to acquaint them with "the duties which their riper age and changed circumstances carry with them". This clause certainly did not play any great role in the first few decennaries, but it drove home the idea of free, further teaching. In the eighteen-twenties one hears of the founding of *evening schools* both in towns and country districts. In the case of one of the first folk high-schools a connection can be traced back to the evening-school work done in the country districts in the eighteen-twenties.

It was, however, the spread of democratic government in Europe that really speeded-up adult educational work. The July revolution in France in 1830 made a great impression in Denmark and —

*) A corresponding law was passed in Norway in 1827; in Sweden in 1842; and in England in 1870.

through pressure from Slesvig-Holstein — was responsible for the fact that in 1834 the absolute monarch, Frederik VI, introduced Provincial Advisory Councils, three in all, to which some peasants were admitted. For the first time for centuries the peasant found it possible to make his voice heard in public life; and although he was extremely reserved, his words attracted attention by virtue of their objectivity and (though a little narrow) reasonableness. Not long after, in 1841, the first step was taken to introduce new local government in the rural communities, and from the peasants themselves came a movement to improve upon the reforms of the seventeen-eighties. The beginning of the eighteen-forties saw a number of efforts to set up new kinds of continuation schools in the country districts. It was the peasants themselves or people closely associated with them that took the initiative. They realized that if peasants were to raise themselves, further education was necessary. Sometimes the words "higher education for peasants" were used in connection with such efforts, and shortly after the advent of democratic government in 1848 a proposal was brought before Parliament urging the founding of such schools — one in each county — for the most alert and gifted children of the peasantry. This move, however, came to nothing; but endeavours were made, both in the eighteen-forties and eighteen-fifties, to provide modest remuneration for village teachers who, in compliance with the law of 1814, dutifully gave young persons further instruction.

Generally speaking, the whole of this movement was of a social character. The peasant population was in the ascendant, and prominent politicians, civil servants and writers were eager to draw the peasantry, the backbone of the people, into community life as a whole. The enlightenment aimed at was inspired by the dominant spirit of practicality and reasonableness of the eighteenth century.

How this development might have proceeded no one knows definitely, but it seems likely that Denmark, even without Grundtvig, would have set up boarding schools for the young sons of the peasantry, where the purpose would have been to afford them

general education besides giving some instruction in vocational and local-political matters.

This movement was, however, if not interrupted, so greatly modified by the strong currents emanating from the man whose name has already been mentioned, Nikolaj Frederik Severin Grundtvig, that it gradually lost its own peculiar stamp and took on some of the features of the educational movements led by Grundtvig and his disciples. With the appearance of Grundtvig the question of new adult education was raised to a higher plane.

N. F. S. GRUNDTVIG'S LIFE AND IDEAS

Grundtvig was born in 1783 and died in his 90th year. All his long life he worked untiringly as a poet and author, as a minister of religion and as an educator of the people. As a figure he may be compared with Luther, and the comparison is also justified by the fact that in his fundamental ideas the embryo of a new Protestant reformation is to be found.

A detailed picture of Grundtvig's life-work and the substance of his ideas cannot be given here; let it suffice to sketch the main lines.

In his first years as an undergraduate he was if anything influenced by eighteenth-century rationalism; but contact with German and Danish romanticism coupled with deep personal experiences meant a decisive turning in his life. Through his cousin, Henrik Steffens, the philosopher of Dano-Germanic romanticism, he derived in 1803 fresh light upon the history of humanity, and imagination and poetry now became chief forces of his life. Steffen's enthusiastic talk convinced him that the invisible world, the world of the spirit, was the real world, and that the "living word", the expression and raiment of the spirit, possessed creative power. In 1810 his life was marked by a keen revival of Christian conceptions, and, in the years immediately following, Grundtvig was little short of being a Chri-

stian propagandist. Gradually his thoughts matured and he arrived at independent points of view, and after several visits to England about 1830 he became the spokesman for radical freedom within the church, the school and the nation. In the last thirty or forty years of his life Grundtvig became a central figure in Danish public life. He entered Parliament in 1848, and as an M. P. was an outstanding fighter for freedom. An instance of this was when, in 1866, at the age of eighty-three, he vigorously opposed a reactionary amendment to the Constitutional Law of 1849.

His peculiar conception of Christianity meant a challenge to Lutheran orthodoxy, according to which Christianity relies on *the Bible*. After 1810 Grundtvig had himself been an orthodox believer in the Bible; but in the course of time he realized that the Bible could never yield security, and about the year 1825 it occurred to him that Christianity must have existed *before* the Bible, among the disciples and in the living church. Christianity was not a doctrine but a religious community. True Christianity is to be found in the permanent traditions of the Church. "That which has provably been Christianity from the beginning is and will remain Christianity not only till the end of the world, but for all eternity", he maintained. Therefore Christianity did not, as in the case of Catholicism, stand or fall with the priesthood, or, as in the case of Protestantism, with the Holy Word. Both Office and the Word were something diverted in relation to the living church, which seems always to have rallied round Baptism and the Eucharist. Thus, according to Grundtvig, we meet in the sacraments an unbroken tradition that goes right back to Jesus Christ himself. The words used at the inauguration of the sacraments were "words from the mouth of the Lord" and the believer to-day, just as nearly two thousand years ago, stands face to face with Jesus Christ himself through his living word.

In the light of this conception Grundtvig found that Christianity to him was becoming transformed from a doctrine or knowledge into a living reality enduring through history up to the present time.

With its Creed, its Baptism and its Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the Church was a wondrous historical fact where the living Christ through his word was himself present. In the confession of the Church Grundtvig thus found all that he had been unable to find in any book. The Creed, the words of the Eucharist and the Lord's Prayer were "the Lord's own words transmitted to generation after generation throughout the ages". From this conception of Christianity, where the living tradition of the Church is placed above knowledge (theology) many threads lead to the folk high-school of which he was soon to speak and in which "the living word", not theories and the study of books, was to be the midpoint.

Here it will be necessary to speak of Grundtvig's conception of the "menneskelige" and "folkelige". Only then will the substance of Grundtvig's folk high-school ideas be completely understood.

Lutheran as well as Calvinistic Protestantism has proclaimed the absolute sinfulness of mankind. There was nothing good in human beings. Grundtvig violently reacted against this conception, just as Georg Fox did. Grundtvig was certainly not a "humanist". He, too, shared the view that man had fallen and could be saved only by the grace of God. But man was made in God's own image and the image of God was not obliterated. Man was neither a beast nor a devil. Man was both "dust" and "spirit", or, to use Grundtvig's own curious words, "man is not an ape, destined first to imitate other animals and then himself until the end of the world, but he is a matchless, wonderful creature in whom divine power will proclaim, develop and manifest itself through a thousand generations, as a divine experiment revealing how spirit and dust can impregnate each other and be glorified in united divine consciousness."

On innumerable occasions — in magnificent poems or prose — Grundtvig returned to the wondrousness of being a human being. And most wonderful of all is the fact that man has received the gift of the *WORD*. And so, as he puts it in one of his best-known poems, man is able "to speak and sing with the gods". Like lightning

the invisible word can permeate human beings and unite them in fellowship. And he ends his poem by urging mankind to appreciate that it is "*godlike* to speak with the human tongue".

The way to Christianity, then, is not through a denial of what is human, but through an unfoldment of it. Through enlightenment human qualities shall be enlivened, made clear and unfolded. Human life is reflected in history and literature, so these are inexhaustible sources of "enlightenment on life". In literature we find the profound yearning of mankind for beauty and love; here life is reflected in all its wonder and degradation. "Enlightenment on life" must quicken an appreciation of what a human being really is, and depict life as a struggle between life and death, between good and evil; and it was Grundtvig's unshakable belief that a man, through such enlightenment, would be led to acknowledging that he cannot save himself, but that the only way to salvation is through Jesus Christ. It is easy to understand that in this matter many people have been unable to follow Grundtvig; but it is equally easy to see that with such a conviction a way to new views on the school and enlightenment was opened up. Schools should not preach Christianity, but reveal and unfold that which is human, for this was a prerequisite condition for Christianity becoming a personal reality. "The human being first — then the Christian", as Grundtvig puts it in a famous verse. And elsewhere in his writings we find this, "If nothing were left of the image of God in man, how could God's Word take root in us? That which is human is the soil needed for the germination of the seed".

But yet another of Grundtvig's ideas must be mentioned in order to elucidate his conception. As might be expected from nineteenth-century thought and from a contemporary of Søren Kierkegaard, Grundtvig did not think of that which is human in terms of the individual. Man does not exist as an isolated individual, but always — and only — as a part of a people, of a nation. In Palestine man existed only as a part of the Jewish people. In Denmark he is inextricably bound to the Danish people, to a Danish way of life,

a Danish Folkelighed. Therefore, just as the human side of life (det menneskelige) is a prerequisite for true Christianity, so is the national life (det folkelige). Hitherto Christianity has suppressed and destroyed the national life of peoples, but the truth is that Christianity and national life are interdependent. The national spirit (Folkeligheden) existed before Christianity came, and Christianity ought to come not as an intruder, but as a friendly guest.

Thus according to Grundtvig Christianity will find its way through det menneskelige and through det folkelige. Consequently Grundtvig — in great contrast to the main traditions of the Protestant churches — was enabled with intense passion to take up the cudgels for a new kind of enlightenment for the people, because he himself was able to perceive in it a connection with that which meant everything to him, — that which was Christian. And so Grundtvig, in the midst of his radical attack on eighteenth-century rationalistic Christianity, was also able to offer collaboration within the domain of education both with people who did not share his religious beliefs and with those who were non-believers.

We have seen that, according to Grundtvig's conception, the invisible *word* is the deepest characteristic for "what is human" (det menneskelige), and "the word" means the *mother tongue*. In the new school that he had in mind, the mother tongue, its care and attention, was to play a decisive role. The people's experience of a thousand years has settled in the mother tongue, and through it the Word of God will find its way to the people; and as the spoken word is the clearest expression of God's image in us, there is in the mother tongue an echo of God's Word. No wonder that Grundtvig, inspired by such ideas, was able to write songs in praise of the mother tongue and his native country the like of which are difficult to find in world literature. Love of the mother tongue and the native land was, indeed, inextricably linked together with the coherence existing between things human, national and divine, which is the secret of Grundtvig's life-work. Of the mother tongue he says in one of his most famous songs:

Mother tongue is as rosy wreaths
with big and small entwining.
Only here tribal spirit breathes,
The pulse of the people throbbing.

Mother tongue is our dearest tone,
All alien speech sounds empty,
Heard or read it has might alone,
To strengthen the vigour scanty.

Bearing in mind the text of a well-known poem by Grundtvig one might close this explanatory introduction to Grundtvig's views on enlightenment for the people in this way: If the human being is not truly living — if he himself does not yearn for eternal life — angels will sing about it in vain. And if words such as "my native land" and "my people" are but idle sounds to him, then Christian preaching about a Kingdom of Heaven will be but empty words.

This conception of the people, the nation and the country could sometimes find expression in words that to the uninitiated might suggest dangerous nationalism. However, Grundtvig himself sharply dissociated himself from the nationalism of his day. What I call folkelighed he wrote, "is considerably different from the un-Christian and anti-Christian nationalism being preached in Germany and France". In harmony with Herder's conception of nations Grundtvig saw the world full of an infinitude of peoples, each with their own mother tongue and peculiar general spirit. These nations were not one another's enemies, but each a special expression of the human spirit's endeavour to strive on towards a solution of the mystery of life.

In finding, as Grundtvig did, that what is deepest in mankind resides in the mother tongue and in national life, it was almost inevitable that he turned against the Protestant Latin School, whose foundations were not in the people's own life and whose language was not the mother tongue. With stern words he opposed this

"school for death", where instead of receiving light and clear understanding about life and love of country and humanity, the pupils were fed on Latin grammar, where they were isolated from the daily life of the people, made strangers to their own age and nation, and were poisoned in an atmosphere of academic conceit and contempt for the nation which sustained them and which they ought to serve!

In vigorous terms Grundtvig proclaimed ideas, revolutionary at that time, about a school that would rise from the life of the people and whose sole task should be to act as its interpreter and inspirer. Against the concept of an academic culture he advanced the idea of a folkelig culture. Folkelig education, or, as he also called it, education and efficiency for life, must come from a new school where "our native country's natural and historical qualities, expressed in real life and in the demands of the present time" become the mid-point. Such a school, he added, must emerge from learning and maintain vital connection with it, but at the same time it must be *independent*. Here real life and the present must assert their rights. Such new education by which the people would get in touch with science and, conversely, science with the people, would, he maintained, be an equal source of enrichment to both, and in a time when democratic government was triumphing, something like that was absolutely necessary.

It was along these lines that Grundtvig wrote in 1832, and he added these emphatic words: "If schools are not reformed, so that from being a grave they become a place where life can grow and mature, all I can see is that revolutionary death struggles will sweep the new democratic world and wipe out both the learned and the unlearned."

As mentioned earlier the Provincial Advisory Councils were introduced in 1834 as a first step in the direction of democratic government. In his first folk high-school pamphlet written in 1836, Grundtvig expressed the opinion that in setting-up the councils a page in the history of Denmark had been turned. He added that

"education for the common people must necessarily go hand in hand with the councils, and it must not be given in a boy's school, but in a school for adults, and it must aim at giving its pupils the training and enlightenment that is desirable both among members of the councils and their electors". Here the whole teaching ought to centre round "the King, the nation, the native country and the mother tongue.", not in order to encourage book-worms or to prepare for an examination, but simply to rouse and nourish love of country and to strengthen and enrich the mother tongue". The teachers must be persons who are inspired by the spirit of the people. Poets and authors must not be lacking at such schools, where they will find an opportunity of "doing good for their living".

These educational ideas occupied Grundtvig increasingly in the years that followed. Urged by a presentiment of the year of the revolution, 1848, he pressed on with the task of building a school where contact between the King and the nation might be strengthened, and where higher and lower classes of society might get on speaking terms. He wrote, "The sign of the times and the events of the day show all too clearly that without such natural, gentle and salutary enlightenment, which has been shamefully neglected everywhere, the hour will strike in all countries when the masses of the people who have been treated unnaturally and debased to the life of cattle, will and must, sooner or later, rise like wild beasts and rend asunder all that is human." The new school, the folk high-school, was to save us from revolution and make the transition from absolute monarchy to democratic government as gentle and real as possible!

Grundtvig fully realized from the beginning that democracy would lead to party divisions, and here he saw a danger of national followship being broken up and civil war resulting. This, too, he believed that his school could counteract, for here young people of all sections of the community would be concerned with the affairs of the nation as a whole, and experience fellowship that would

extend beyond political opinions and parties. So in 1843 Grundtvig appealed to the *King* to established the folk high-school, for such a school ought to be above parties, and if the King did not do it the parties would try. The school should prevent the formation of parties leading to a dividing-up of the nation. It should make democratic government possible.

In the years preceding 1848 Grundtvig strongly emphasized training for citizenship, indeed so strongly at times that it seemed as if the folk high-school was to afford direct preparation for participation in public affairs. In the eighteen-fifties and 'sixties the idea of a human and national revival was again stressed by such words as these: "To rouse and nourish and enlighten the human life that we dare, and must, take for granted in Danish youth — this is the sole purpose of the folk high-school"; or these: "Reveal to the human being what he is, one created in God's image, with spirit and feeling."

Grundtvig hoped that the King would establish the new school, and when the King died in 1848, a resolution favouring the plan was accepted; but when a few months later democratic government was introduced the matter was, paradoxically enough, allowed to rest. Grundtvig, however, never gave up the hope of seeing a royal folk high-school, in spite of the fact that the folk high-school movement was flourishing when he died in 1872.

The three first folk high-schools.

Rødding.

As early as 1844 a folk high-school was started in the village of Rødding, South Jutland. The general opinion of folk high-school people to-day is that it was fortunate that the folk high-school idea was not carried into effect by the State, but by the people themselves.

Behind the founding of this folk high-school was a revival of

national feeling in Slesvig. For a long time progressive Germanization had been going on in Slesvig.

Danish kings were largely responsible for this. As late as March 1844 a royal decree declared that German was to be the official language at the Slesvigian Diet. Only those people who were unable to speak German were allowed to speak Danish. So for the purpose of supporting Danish culture in Slesvig the folk high-school was opened at Rødding on November 7th. 1844. There were 20 pupils from the farming community whose ages were from 16 to 27.

In the principal's great inauguration speech, which even to-day is read with interest, the anxiety that lay behind the founding of this school — anxiety lest Denmark should go to ruin — is plainly discernible. For centuries, the speech says, Denmark had again and again been deprived of large areas of land. More than one-fourth — the Southern part of the Scandinavian peninsula — was lost to Sweden in the 17th century; under the terms of the peace of 1814 union between Denmark and Norway ceased (which also caused a sense of loss); and since 1800 a Germanization of Slesvig had made great progress. A prominent Danish philologist had recently given warning of the total disbandment and ruin of the Danish language.

Imbued with such thoughts the principal delivered his fiery speech to the first twenty folk high-school pupils. What Denmark once had been it should again become! The greatness of the Valdemar period round about 1200 was conjured from the grave. Then the peasantry had been capable and respected. They attended Parliament and attended to both their own and the nation's affairs. Fortunately, the peasant had again appeared as the backbone of the nation; but if he was to play his full role he must be enlivened and enlightened. "We will found a school, a folk high-school for the peasant and the citizen", and he continued with a thought that claims interest this very day: "No one is to be trained here for a future profession or be given knowledge that will enable him to secure a livelihood. It is assumed that the young desire to be, and will remain, peasants and citizens, and all we want to do is to teach them what is necessary

if they are to behave as independent and mature members of the community." But the enlightenment they were to receive should be urged by love of country, its language and its history, and through it they themselves should be filled with love for their nation and country. Only in this manner would knowledge and enlightenment be of value to them.

This first folk high-school also rejected the thought of any narrow political purpose in its work. "To introduce young people who are still unenlightened to politics, to fill their heads with political ideas, would be to destroy the school at its very foundations; it would be madness both from an educational and political point of view". No, it is the impending ruin of the realm that must be counteracted. If such a thing is political, well, then the school is truly political.

It might have been feared that with such an attitude the school would become a fanatical, nationalistic institution. That did not happen. "To love one's own country", the speech continued, "is not the same as hating one's enemies. The German people are a great and glorious nation and it is very closely related racially to Scandinavia". Although the German language and literature had in some respects been injurious to us, "no nation is more spiritually and intellectually indebted to the Germans that we Danes are". It was also emphasized that it was "a great error to believe that German influences bear responsibility for the fact that our mother tongue is being supplanted". Let us be just and turn our wrath and reproaches upon ourselves". The school had been founded to "advance our cause along the longer and quieter, but safer and surer road of enlightenment and improvement".

The speaker concluded by pointing out that this school was of a quite new kind, — also in the sense that it had not been erected by the State. Until then, he said, everything in Denmark had come from the government, "it is sad, but true; until now the people themselves have not been capable of getting anything done. We have often heard that the Danes are a dying nation, that salvation would not come except through a revival and purging arising from

great external misfortunes". But, turning to the pupils and others present, he finally proclaimed his faith in a coming revival of the old spirit of the North, which would again appear with dignity and power, and the young would lead the way. The light already gleaming in the eyes of the young could not be extinguished. They were Thor's sons and would engage in the great battle between the Ases and the Giants.

The first principal, it has been seen, had great expectations. No wonder that in the daily work of the school he was soon obliged to tone down considerably. The peasantry around Rødding repelled him by their narrowness and coarseness, and the twenty pupils seemed to be far from brilliant. Shortly after the impressive inauguration of the school he wrote in a letter, "It is quite a study to speak so foolishly and childishly in order to make sure of being understood". When Christmas arrived he felt completely worn out and decided to leave the school at the end of the winter. He had suffered defeat. But after the Christmas vacation he found, however, that something had really happened to the young. They were glad to return to him. From now on he described in letters their great desire to read, their exemplary conduct and their affection for him. "They give the greatest attention, they swallow every word and are eager to write down everything. This was more than I had thought possible. They are terribly ignorant, but their minds are so good that several of them understand the most subtle shades of meanings and hints". In a letter he described his farewell words with the pupils. "All the pupils and I wept as though we had been whipped and we resembled old women rather than the pillars and defenders of Denmark; but this episode made me realize that I had not hammered away at their minds and hearts every day and every hour in vain; and when I told them outright that it was up to them to determine whether all that they had seen and heard was to be a dying nation's final death struggle or a reawakening to new life, I perceived courage in despair shining from their eyes".

It was originally intended that the school term should last 1½

years, but it soon proved impossible to gather pupils in summer. However, the following winter the school was filled to capacity by 42 young men. Besides receiving instruction in the Danish language and literature, Danish history and world history, the students were busy occupied with amateur theatricals, producing a humorous paper and such like. The new principal, Professor Christian Flor from the university of Kiel, the real founder of the school, wrote the following at the end of the second year:

"There was no end-of-term examination. The most important feature in the teaching at our folk high-school is not the positive knowledge and acomplishments we try to give the pupils, but rather the entire mental and spiritual life that is quickened and nurtured in them; their intelligence is sharpened, their judgment matured, their hearts opened and enobled; they become alive to a sense of order and develop a taste for beauty and a life that is in good taste. The desire to be occupied supplants the usual habits of sluggishness; their minds and consequently their whole being become more open and frank, their feelings of comradeship and love for their native land are roused, nourished and strengthened. All this cannot very well be revealed by a public examination."

Apart from the somewhat antiquated manner of expression, these words are also true of the twentieth-century high-school. The folk high-schools utterly reject all examinations and desire to give their pupils instruction that expresses both the needs of the pupils and the teacher's ability and wishes.

During the war of 1848—50 the school at Rødding had to close down, but it was reopened in the winter of 1850/51 with Sofus Høgsbro, the well-known liberal politician, as principal. Meanwhile democratic government had been introduced. In stating his programme Høgsbro hailed the arrival of freedom. Previously governmental powers had been in the hands of civil servants. The individual citizen and peasant might, and in some cases was expected to, remain indifferent to the acts of the government. — — — "Now, however, the people are called upon to express their will — so they

are no longer free from responsibility". In Høgsbro's opinion the high-school should aim at a people's and not a religious revival. The pupils should be helped to understand their own era. Consequently the teaching laid great stress on modern history and sociology. In 1853 Høgsbro wrote the following words which are very characteristic of him and which were extremely applicable to the period of German occupation which came to the country about 100 years later. "The folk high-school shall not foster blind fanatics, but enlightened, conscientious citizens. It shall give the pupils as true a picture of actual conditions as possible; it shall draw their attention to different conceptions, emphasizing the main arguments for and against them; it shall endeavour to rouse consciousness of current problems, and stimulate interest in their solution by developing the powers of its pupils — powers of the heart as well as of the head — and thereby enable them to tackle them; but solutions themselves must not be given. Only then will their minds be really their own; only in this way will they, as independent and active men, be able to enter upon the life of a citizen — — —".

Uldum.

At the close of the 'forties another folk high-school appeared, Uldum Folk High-School, the establishment of which was mainly due to the peasants and elementary-school teachers. Rasmus Sørensen, a school teacher, had in 1843 worked out a plan for a school for adult farm labourers. Expressing his view on the matter he declared, "a school is needed for gifted young men of the peasantry who, after further development, could represent the people of the country districts or be appointed by the villagers themselves as their leaders and spokesmen. They should be in possession of such education and ability that, whether acting as parish leaders, members of county councils, Diet deputies, as public surveyers or lawyers attending to the affairs of their own class, they should be able to do so with the same skill and accomplishments in reading, writing and

speaking as those of educated men belonging to other unscholared classes". An attempt was made to carry out the idea in 1844. In the following years Rødding folk high-school caused much discussion throughout the country. The Diet held the view that the State should establish and run such schools. As an interesting instance of how the idea gripped the peasantry, it may be mentioned that 448 inhabitants of a small Jutland parish sent in an application asking for higher schools for the general education of the peasantry. Such initiative on the part of the peasants was just what Rasmus Sørensen wanted. For years he travelled incessantly all over the country with the purpose of rousing the peasanty both politically and religiously. His activity led, as late as 1845, to the banning by the the absolute monarch of meetings on the peasant question, unless such were sanctioned by the police.

At the outbreak of war in 1848 Rasmus Sørensen approached the new king and roused his interest in higher schools for the peasants. At Uldum, north of Vejle, he got in contact with some interested peasants and rented a room from a farmer in the village. Fifteen prospective pupils at once applied, and the school was started at the beginning of 1849. In 1851 ten men of the district offered to erect a school building. The school term was fixed and was to run from November 3rd till March 31st, which is the same as at most folk high-schools to-day. This school was inaugurated with a more moderate speech than that given at Rødding, and close and intimate relations soon grew between the pupils and the principal. One of his first students wrote that the principal had a special gift "of putting life into us and quickening the interest of the pupils in their work". Continuing he said, "I shall never forget that part of Danish history dealing with the emancipation of the peasantry at the close of the last century, which was a necessary preparation for the Constitutional Law of 1849". Soon the school became the mid-point of meetings for the people living in the district. Five thousand people gathered there in 1854 for the purpose of celebrating the Constitutional Law.

A teacher of the school, who had formerly taught at Rødding, gave the following colourful picture of the pupils and the teaching. "The pupils, clad in homespun, are not nearly as attractive as those at Rødding. There are 37 of them. I sing at the top of my voice with them, and they howl so that everything rumbles; I exhort them to let themselves go, even if they cannot sing better than owls. The school-room ceiling is pitched much too low, tobacco smoke and moisture from the large number of persons accumulate on the beams and drip down; it is worst near my desk, so I am sometimes obliged to put on my rain-cloak; but that does not matter; good spirits and an agreeable attitude of mind prevail here — that's the main thing. We haven't any books, either for the teachers or for the pupils. We teachers have to produce everything out of ourselves. Perhaps it is all to the good, for then we are not tempted to become too learned; but I must admit that I miss the large collection of books we had at Rødding. Nor have we any curriculum. Rottwitt insists upon there being a teacher in the school-room with the pupils from early morning till midnight, and so Rottwitt and I take turns either there or in the common room — the only two rooms where it is warm. Warmth is, indeed, very scanty, for it is always windy here; if only we can escape being blown right away we must consider ourselves fortunate. There are always folk from the village or district, the coffee pot is never off the fire and some of them prefer brandy to cream in their coffee."

Ryslinge.

The third and most significant effort to found a folk high-school was made by Christen Kold at Ryslinge in 1851. The names of Christen Kold and Grundtvig appear side by side in the history of the folk high-schools. Grundtvig conceived the ideas and created a stir all over the country. Kold created a deeply characteristic and intensely personal school.

Christen Kold was the son of a shoemaker living at Thisted in

North Jutland. He was born in 1816 and died — before Grundtvig — in 1870. As a young man he went to a teachers' training college and passed through difficult spiritual crises until, on coming in contact with the Christian laymen's movement, he found peace in the conviction that "God loves mankind". It filled him with such joy that he had to confess it to everyone he met, and it is related of him that, in order to resemble the apostles, he walked barefooted from the college to his home in Thisted, and that the boys threw stones at the strange fellow!

As a young teacher he discovered that through "the word", through living oral accounts from the history of Denmark and the Bible, he could get the children far more interested than by using the ordinary method of catechizing them. So he refused to allow the children to learn the catechism by heart. This led to a conflict with the authorities and he could not get a post. At that time he was a family tutor in South Jutland and he read with enthusiasm Ingemann's novels of the Middle Ages. The thought of "getting Denmark reconstructed" and of disbanding the prevailing apathy in respect of Danish culture took possession of him. Every Wednesday evening from 6 till 9 he got together 15 young farm labourers and spoke and read aloud to them. People mocked and laughed, but the young fellows turned up evening after evening. "There are only three things people here talk about when they come together", said Kold. "And what are they?" "They are the cattle they had last year, those they have this year, and those they are going to have next year. But I will see to it that there are other things to talk about."

As Kold's applications for posts were constantly turned down, he went to Copenhagen where he heard Grundtvig preach, and where he found a job as servant to a clergyman who intended becoming a missionary in Asia Minor. Here he lived for five years, first as a servant and later as a book-binder. Then he sailed to Triest, bought a hand-cart for his effects and tramped 800 miles home. As he persistently refused to make children learn religion by

rote and therefore could not expect to get a post, he seriously considered emigrating to America.

But that was not to be. He was destined to become Denmark's most peculiar teacher, the first man to build a folk high-school himself from rock bottom and to stamp it in every detail with his own personality. At the outbreak of the war in 1848 he volunteered for service, but was unable to learn the use of a gun! And then, in 1849, the freedom of the people was achieved and his time had come. At the same time he read Grundtvig's History of the World. This gave him the thought that God throughout the ages has led the human race from one comprehension of truth to the next and, as he said, "I became fully assured, as this book so often expresses it, that the human race shall end in triumph over death, darkness, boredom, weariness, emptiness and desolation. It was something new to me, but as soon as I had read it, it occurred to me that so it was and not otherwise, and then I thought that this was something people ought to know".

But then came something else, the experience that gripped the Danish people during the war. Speaking of this he says, "Previously I had only known how the spirit worked through the word, partly on myself and partly through me on my neighbour, in individual cases; but then I perceived that the whole nation was inspired, and it was then that I first really came to know the Danish spirit. Thus, too, I got a clearer idea of what was really my purpose: namely, that the feeling and the inspiration from 1848, and the awakening which took place then, might endure and be confirmed. I wished to work through the school with the word so that all the Danish people could be lastingly inspired".

And so Kold began, partly with his own hands, to build a small school-house with the 1000 kroner he had saved in Smyrna and the 1200 kroner which Grundtvig and other people had collected for him. Here he would endeavour to "rouse both the Christian spirit and the Danish spirit and urge people to believe in God's love and Denmark's fortune".

During the following two winters Kold proceeded experimentally while acting as a family tutor at Ryslinge, "to see" as he put it, "if I am capable of inspiring young persons of that age". When in 1850 he discussed the question of pupils' ages with Grundtvig, they disagreed. Speaking of this Kold said, "I wanted to have my lads in school as soon as they were confirmed, at the age of fourteen, fifteen or sixteen years. But Grundtvig said, 'It is no good before they are eighteen'. 'No', said I, 'as I have understood the matter, my opinion is the only right one! I have always been sure in my cause, even when I made a mistake'". And Kold made a mistake here. Within a year he discovered that he could get much further with fully-grown youngsters.

The school was to begin on November 1st. 1851, but even in the last days of October Kold did not know for certain whether more than one pupil would turn up. Referring to this he said, "People thought that it was a strange venture and that it was expensive, although all I asked was 12 kroner a month for board, lodging and instruction and promised people to work wonders with their children. People asked what their children might become after attending the school, if they could become parish clerks or could obtain exemption from military conscription". However, on November 1st. there arrived not one but ten pupils, and Kold said, "I was *so* glad. Hardly ever in my live have I been so glad, although I have been very, very glad". How did things go? It proved difficult to interest the pupils in Grundtvig's History of the World, but Ingemann's historical novels suited them. Many years later Kold declared, "The purpose was achieved, and no one has yet lost the inspiration he then gained".

In the course of ten years or so Kold worked-up a large school with 70 farm labourers in winter and 50 girls in summer. Kold was the first to start a term for girls. To this day most folk high-schools have run a three-months' summer term for girls and a five-months' winter term for young men.

His work as a family tutor had accustomed Kold to living in close contact with his pupils, and he maintained similar contact at

his folk high-school. His clothing was like that of the pupils. In the first years he and his fellow teachers shared sleeping accomodation with the pupils. He ate at the same table with them, and the food was even plainer than at the farms. In the evenings, after lessons, Kold often came down to the room where the pupils were sitting. He seated himself quietly in their midst and soon became the centre of conversation. He was by no means a learned man. His secret was that he took his stand on the basis of personal experience, and with convincing references to what to him seemed perfectly obvious his words were inspired by the deepest experiences of his life. When inspired, in conversation or when giving his daily lectures, his words produced breathless silence around him. The parents of the pupils soon began to visit the school, and in the eighteen-sixties it was nearly always full of visitors who wanted to hear the man who had defied bishops and educational authorities and who had now created a school with its own peculiar character, a school which apparently transformed the young people who came within its walls. After his death Kold continued to live as a legendary figure among the people and innumerable stories were told about him. Few figures in Danish history appear with such simple and compressed force as that of Christen Kold. With rare fervour he devoted his life to the founding of two new schools, a free *children's school* — and it was really through this that he first achieved success — and a free and absolutely original school for adults. Kold desired to enliven people, and, as he said to a farmer, wind up his pupils so that they would never stop again. Referring to this he said, "when people asked me what method I used, I answered that, properly speaking, we had no method; and when asked about the plan, I replied that we had none. — 'What then do you want a school for?' asked Monrad*). 'When I was eighteen years old', I said, 'I learned to love God and my neighbour, and that made me so happy that I determined to devote all my time and energy to help others to do the same. The

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*) Danish prime minister during the war of 1864.

school will aim at teaching people to love God, their neighbour and their country.' 'Well', said Monrad, 'It's a very good aim'."

However, it must be added that Kold, who received a small State grant from the very beginning of his school, sent in yearly statements on the work of the school to the Ministry of Education. From these and from visits made by the parish dean, we learn that able instruction was given in such subjects as physics and chemistry, geography and surveying, in addition to Kold's own free style of imparting enlightenment through talks and lectures. For these he found material particularly in the history of the Jews, in Grundtvig's History of the World, from northern myths and sagas and from Danish history and literature; but his presentation was impregnated with his own conception and experience of life.

It was, be it remembered, not knowledge these young people primarily needed. The first thing was to enliven them. To quote Kold's own way of expressing it, "I enliven first and enlighten later, or in any case I enliven and enlighten at the same time; that I believe is the right way. Enlivenment is what they need". In this last sentence we find the fundamental folk high-school view of teaching in a nutshell. Kold added that he was obliged to choose that way, for he had to deal with people "who were incapable of imbibing enlightenment before being enlivened. — If in the beginning I had met people like the Copenhagen undergraduates — perhaps I would have set to work giving enlightenment without enlivenment, because, in a way, that is easier". But Kold concluded by adding that "the more one gets to know the Danish people the more one realizes that those living in Copenhagen as well as those living outside the capital cannot be receptive of enlightenment before they are enlivened; or, in any case, enlightenment and enlivenment must occur simultaneously."

THE FOLK HIGH-SCHOOLS IN THE PERIOD PRECEDING THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Kold's school bore a deep personal impress, and it was Kold's own creation. Rødding Folk High-School came into being as a result of collaboration between academic circles and the North-Slesvigian peasantry's reviving interest in Danish culture. Uldum Folk High-School originated directly from the efforts of interested country people.

In giving so much space to a description of these three first folk high-school experiments, one is actuated not merely by historical considerations. A study of these pioneer schools throws much light on the folk high-school movement of the twentieth century. Just as the school at Uldum was at the very start, many folk high-schools are still closely related to the peasantry living in their vicinity. And there are schools to-day which continue on the same lines as Rødding Folk High-School, whereas others prefer to follow the example of Kold's school. Most schools do their best to combine Kold's school with its deep personal character with the more outwardly-directed aims and the interest in education for citizenship of the school at Rødding.

We have seen that the advent of the folk high-schools was closely linked up with the rise of the peasantry, the introduction of democratic government, and a strong current of spiritual and intellectual impulses emanating from Grundtvig. In the following decennaries the history of the folk high-schools still remained connected with the newly-born democracy and its struggles to assert itself. But then came a very important factor, the painful experience of the war in 1864.

The three years' war from 1848 to 1850 from which Denmark emerged victoriously, had enhanced the people's self-respect and confidence, and this was badly needed after the experiences of 1807 and 1814. But the defeat in 1864 seemed to confirm the downward trend in Danish history. Many people doubted that the country

would be able to maintain its independence much longer. At the same time political reaction grew and, in spite of the vigorous protests of Grundtvig and others, it resulted in 1866 in a new Constitutional Law which limited general franchise in favour of the propertied classes, especially the estate-owners. Through this arose a violent political conflict which in the middle of the 'eighties took on an extremely grave character and which continued until 1901, when the King at length met the peasant-democrats' demand that the government should be formed by the majority of the Lower House and not, as formerly, by that of the Upper House.

This struggle and the role played in it by the folk high-school cannot be described here. From the very beginning of democratic government the Lower House, where the friends of the peasants were in the majority, sought to procure constantly larger State grants for the folk high-schools. In 1852 6000 kroner was sanctioned, in 1857 20.000. On the other hand the State repeatedly attempted to introduce examinations, but both Rødding Folk High-School and Christen Kold resolutely insisted that examinations were incompatible with the free nature of the folk high-schools, which did not aim at education for trades or professions, but at enlightenment designed to quicken interest and promote knowledge of a purely human character.

This firm attitude gradually resulted in the demand for examinations being dropped. In 1868—69 the grant was increased to 28.000 kroner, and for the first time money was granted as bursaries (13.200 kroner in all). These figures grew in 1879 to 55.000 kroner and 100.000 kroner respectively. The Conservative governments of the 'seventies made further attempts to introduce control over the schools. The outcome of this was that the State appointed a man who was impartial, but at the same time sympathetic towards the schools, to visit them and acquaint himself with their conditions. The folk high-schools had expressed their agreement with such an arrangement, provided that examinations were not required and that the supervision did not meddle with the teaching. This arrangement

has persisted up to he present time. The State supervisor is not an inspector whose job it is to complain of faults or to lay down rules for the teaching. His work is to get to know the school, its principal and teachers, and to ascertain that the curriculum of the school is really that of a folk high-school, and not, for instance, that of a school providing vocational training. He is the government adviser in all matters relating to the folk high-schools, and as he has always been amicably disposed towards them, he acts simultaneously as a kind of folk high-school representative in their relation to the State. During the last decennaries the superviser has been a person with close associations with folk high-school work. Here it may be added that any person — no matter whether he is a trained teacher or not — may start a folk high-school, but he must be approved by the State and the school must attract some twenty pupils before being entitled to the considerable grants for the teachers' salaries, building maintenance and educational appliances which the State, pursuant to Folk High-School Acts of 1892, 1913 and 1942, has secured the schools (see page 50).

The first superviser rendered the folk high-schools considerable services. During the extremely critical political situation in the eighties, which among other things led to a cutting-down of grants to the folk high-schools in general and a refusal to sanction grants to some of them, while a few schools, as a protest, declined to accept money from a government which, they believed, had seriously compromized itself, he upheld the interests of the schools before the government, although he did not belong to any of the freedom parties himself. After 1892, when the first Folk High-School bill became law, the old tension between the State and the folk high-schools gradually disappeared. But even to-day most folk high-school men watch carefully lest the State should try to extend its control. They readily accept, and would welcome increased grants from the State, but not at the cost of losing time-honoured freedom, according to which the State supports the schools without interfering with their internal affairs, such as the appointment of teachers and the

curriculum (apart from requiring that this provides instruction of general educational character and does not aim at examinations or vocational training).

The folk high-schools, which in the decennaries after 1860 appeared by the score, undoubtably played a very significant part in the political struggle. Practically all the principals belonged to the Left Party (liberal). Many of them participated actively in the political work, and large numbers of former folk high-school pupils became Members of Parliament or local representatives of the Left Party. But the significance of the schools was undoubtably indirect rather than direct. On the whole, political propaganda was avoided. In their daily work the schools were firmly anchored in an appreciation of the value of an education promotive of national consciousness or purely human qualities. But this very interest in life's problems which a capable school was to rouse among its pupils — or which the pupils roused among themselves during the nightly debates in pupils' rooms — naturally contributed considerably to the circumstance that young people of the rural districts actively engaged in political work.

Something similar may be said about the relations between the folk high-schools and Danish farming. When the agricultural crisis of the 'eighties compelled the farmers to change their agricultural methods, the folk high-school movement had already gained a firm hold. The folk high-school desired to awaken "life" and "spirit", and this did not usually mean that the pupils became self-reflective. On the contrary, it was a matter of course that "life" should express itself in deeds, in vigorous human activity. Although teaching in agricultural subjects did not play a large role, the road from the folk high-school lecture-hall, though sometimes leading to secluded places of meditation, led more often to the fields or heaths where new soil was waiting to be cultivated for the honour and happiness of the country.

Folk high-school men watched the germinating farmers' co-operative movement with the greatest interest, and as time went

on several of them played a prominant part in it. But the close connection between folk high-schools and the co-operative movement does not mean that the folk high-schools lectured on this movement and the pupils then set to work building dairies and slaughter-houses. The co-operative movement would undoubtably have come even without the schools. The question is rather *how* the movement would have turned out if it had not been able to derive inspiration and initiative, leaders and vision from innumerable former folk high-school pupils. At any rate statistics prove conclusively that the mainstay and local pillars of the co-operative movement largely felt themselves children of the folk high-school.

As already mentioned, the year of disaster, 1864, was destined to play an enormous part in the folk high-school movement in the time that followed. A well-known folk high-school man expressed this view, "as youngsters we endured the baptism of affliction, and so we became folk high-school teachers". One is tempted to regard the years from 1864 to 1870 as the period when the folk high-school idea really established itself. During those few years something like 50 folk high-schools were founded, some of which, however, did not carry on very long, but the number of pupils increased from 4—500 prior to 1864 to more than 2000 in 1869, so that instead of causing paralysis, 1864 led to a remarkable display of energy. Affliction and despair found an outlet in renewed activity. What was lost outwardly should be gained inwardly.

Contributory to this great progress was the appearance of a body of young folk high-school principals. They were strong personalities, impregnated with Grundtvig's ideas and closely associated with one another.

Three young university men, Ludvig Schrøder, Ernst Trier and Jens Nørregaard deserve special mention.

None of these men came from the peasantry. Trier and Nørre-gaard were Copenhageners. Nørregaard and Schrøder seemed destined for a university career. But in 1861 Schrøder became the leader of Rødding Folk High-School. After the war he and his

teachers moved fifteen kilometres northward. Three kilometres north of the new border he started in a small house the school which was soon to become the mid-point of the entire Scandinavian folk high-school movement: *Askov Folk High-School.* In the same year (1865) Trier started *Vallekilde Folk High-School* in North-West Zeeland. His fiery southern eloquence — he was of Jewish descent — seemed foreign in the midst of the common people of Zeeland, but he was triumphant. Whereas Schrøder, in spite of being influenced by Kold, was principally concerned with pursuing a course in harmony with the traditions of Rødding, Trier felt himself wholly a disciple of Kold. A year later, in 1866, the third of the friends, Jens Nørregaard, began a school at Testrup, a little south of Aarhus, and soon this school attracted much attention. Nørregaard, too, felt indebted to Kold, and in 1880 wrote the following: His significance and influence resided, of course, in his peculiar personality and the special blend of small personally-experienced events, his plain way of telling world history and the philosophical reflection with which his speech excelled; but generally speaking, the Danish folk high-school derived from him two things: first, confidence in the power of the inspired lecture to enliven and enlighten, and, secondly, the importance of daily domestic intercourse between teachers and pupils.

Nevertheless, Nørregaard was one of the warmest supporters of Grundtvig's original educational idea, and desired the erection by the State of a large folk high-school at Sorø. The existing schools, he declared in 1880, were unable both to safeguard their inheritance from Kold and to meet the need for more thorough enlightenment. "What was needed was a powerful focus round which the entire folk high-school movement could be concentrated, a hotbed that would occupy itself with northern languages, northern history, poetry and the knowledge of nature and mathematics to which young people of to-day were particularly attracted — and all in such a way that knowledge was sought not for its own sake but for the good of those who seek it".

Nørregaard and Schrøder had already discussed this idea at a meeting in Copenhagen in 1878, but as the government was unwilling to take the matter in hand, Schrøder started at Askov himself. A number of pupils returned for a second year's course, and Schrøder now engaged more teachers, including Poul la Cour, who later became famous as a natural scientist and inventor. A number of prominent young teachers such as Holger Begtrup and Jacob Knudsen, the poet, were appointed at the beginning of the 'eighties. Askov thus became an "*extended folk high-school*"; its pupils came in large numbers from other folk high-schools and were able to continue their studies for two years. Other social classes also provided an increasing number of pupils. A number of leading social-democratic politicians have been pupils at Askov. Undergraduates also attended, and the institution became to some extent a school for the entire people such as Grundtvig had dreamt of. In 1913 a three-years' course was added, and a special State grant enabled the school to appoint several highly qualified teachers. For many years the school had already held a summer course for young teachers who wished to become folk high-school teachers. From 1906 till 1928 the school was led by Ludvig Schrøder's son-in-law, Jacob Appel, who was twice the Danish Minister of Education.

The time dealt with here was the period of expansion of the folk high-schools. Mention has already been made of the particularly large number of schools that were founded between 1864 and 1870. Of the 58 schools working in 1893, 26 were started between 1864 and 1869. The number of schools culminated in 1910 with 82 against 65 in 1894. Between 1894 and 1919, 36 new schools were established, but 44 ceased work. In 1919 there were 57. The number of pupils, which in 1894 was 5000, had, in spite of a decline in the number of schools, risen to 7000 in 1919. Whereas in the nineteenth century the movement tended towards many local schools which were comparatively small, the movement of the twentieth century has been in the direction of fewer but

larger schools. Economic developments during and after the first world war rendered it practically impossible to erect new schools unless these received the support of unions and people in possession of capital.

In the first folk high-school period ending in 1870 only 17 schools were owned by principals themselves, 31 were supported by endowments, societies and the like. In 1914 the position was reversed. But in the period between the wars and in the nineteen-forties there has been a marked trend towards self-owning institutions.

In considering the expansion after 1864 it must be borne in mind that the folk high-schools became the model for a number of other boarding schools. Most schools provided some instruction in farming subjects, but this was unsatisfactory from both agricultural and folk high-school points of view. In a number of cases the teacher of farming subjects left the folk high-school and started an independent agricultural school. To-day there are 26 such colleges. The Act of 1892 provided regulations for folk high-schools and agricultural schools jointly, and the same is true of the latest Acts of 1942 and 1947. The principals and teachers of the two schools are united in the same association.

Towards the close of the nineteenth century the first domestic science colleges, which have a certain connection with the folk high-school movement, and which as a rule are boarding schools, were started. Similarly several boarding-schools for artisans were founded later, and in 1900 the small-holders' movement began to take a keen interest in the folk high-school. This led to the erection of five special small-holders' schools which are really a combination of the agricultural school and the folk high-school. Lastly it must be mentioned that at the turn of the century the Home Mission founded a number of folk high-schools. This pietistic movement played a large part parallel with the Grundtvigian movement. At first the mission was not interested in community questions and the work of enlightenment was quite outside its domain. However, it gradually

developed a desire for schools to which its young adherents might be sent, and from 1888 several schools were founded. In 1916 an extended folk high-school was established at *Haslev* in Zeeland.

In yet another way the significance of the folk high-school was revealed. In the villages meeting houses were built where lectures could be given throughout the year, and soon former folk high-school pupils began to found people's youth associations, gymnastic clubs and choral societies. With the folk high-school a new era had begun in the century-old villages.

EVENING SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLS FOR YOUNG UNSKILLED WORKERS

As mentioned earlier, Danish adult education takes two main forms. An account of the folk high-schools from their inception till the outbreak of the first world war has already been given. In the following pages attention will be directed to the second form, the evening schools, which are less known abroad but which claim considerable interest; besides these, however, several other sources of adult education must be considered.

Throughout the nineteenth century a *continuation school* or *evening school* provided a subject for constant discussion. The Education Ordinance of 1814 had, as it were, shown the way by laying down regulations requiring that elementary school teachers should gather young people "past the age of confirmation" (an expression generally used to describe youngsters above the age of 14) for continued instruction. In the eighteen-forties there was marked social interest in country districts in the founding of a continuation school. This, coupled with the enthusiasm for general enlightenment which the Grundtvigian movement was rousing among many village teachers, resulted in the founding of evening schools in many villages in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Those attending received in-

struction in reading, writing and arithmetic, and often the evenings concluded with readings from Danish literature and lectures delivered by the teacher or guest teachers. Some evening schools became what might almost be called small folk high-schools for the village people, for other people besides the young attended.

Successive governments were, however, more interested in establishing a *continuation school* for persons between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. Political conflicts in the eighteen-seventies and 'eighties were partly responsible for the failure to carry the idea through, and it was not until 1895 that a direct State grant of 11,500 kroner was sanctioned for the support of evening and other schools for young people in the country districts. At the turn of the century there appear to have been eight or nine hundred evening schools functioning.

In the provincial towns, which since 1860 had grown rapidly on account of industrialization, there were schools for apprentices and business learners, but practically no evening schools providing general educational instruction. From the beginning of the new century, however, such schools appeared in the capital and also in several provincial towns. About 1910 there was a vigorous movement, notably among elementary school teachers but also peasants and workers, aiming at voluntary schools for young people which would offer afternoon and evening instruction once or twice a week. During the first world war from two to three hundred schools of this kind were started, mostly in country districts; but then the numbers fell, and in the 'twenties the special schools for young people were merged in the ordinary evening schools.

In the nineteen-forties renewed efforts have been made to found a "youth school", this time the initiative being taken by the towns. In the years between the wars the progress of industrialization and rationalization was such that young *unskilled* workers greatly increased in numbers. Girls, too, became factory hands or untrained shop assistants. During the economic crises of the 'thirties, when unskilled workers in particular often fell victims of unemployment,

and when Nazism, while becoming more and more threatening seemed by reason of its grasp on the young to present a challenge to those responsible for the training of young people in democratic countries, many leading politicians and educationalists took up the question of establishing a special school for young unskilled people. In 1939 a youth-school commission was set up. It must be admitted that the primary object was to improve conditions for the folk high-schools and possibly to secure a footing for them in the towns, but soon the commission was equally concerned about proposals for legislation that would provide for the setting-up of *youth schools for unskilled persons* between 15 and 18 years of age.

It was obvious that there was a double purpose behind this move: a desire to help young unskilled workers in their struggle for a living and to make them feel that the community was not solely interested in skilled people; and, in view of the fact that these young people spent practically all their time in the streets, there was a further desire to provide a meeting place for them where, on leaving the elementary school, they might preserve contact with the adult community and possibly find opportunities of good comradeship and valuable use for their leisure.

It was clear from the beginning that no attempt could or should be made to set up technical schools for the unskilled. A lad of 15—18 years does not want to study in order to become a messenger or an unskilled labourer. Nevertheless, it was deemed advisable to associate the school with the practical needs of its pupils, and consequently the Act of 1942, lays down that one-half of the teaching work shall be devoted to *"knowledge of work"*. The time stipulated for this in the amended Act of 1948 is a minimum of 40 hours out of at least 90 hours. Through "knowledge of work", meaning the knowledge of tools, of raw materials, an insight into business and trades and modern industrial production, an effort is being made to orientate young persons in matters connected with the work they already have or presumably will have on reaching the age of eighteen. Material for instruction on these lines has been

derived from the numerous jobs which are done with the aid of unskilled labour (the making of cement roads, building, forestry), and successful teaching has been given in general technical subjects such as the internal combustion engine, the steam engine, tackle, cranes and such like. As a rule such subjects are linked up with matter derived from history and sociology, the chief aim being to impart general knowledge and to stimulate interest.

As for the girls, practical housework has been the chief subject almost everywhere, although there are several schools which comply with the requirements of the Act referring to "knowledge of work" by affording instruction in *domestic economy and household requisites,* and, in some cases, the care of children and home furnishing. The new schools for young people have found it much easier to arrange teaching for girls than for lads, partly because valuable experience of teaching domestic work had already been gained from work at other schools, and partly because almost every girl is really interested in matters pertaining to the house and home. Instruction of this kind has proved of great interest to the pupils.

Time not given to "knowledge of work" may be spent on practically any other subjects. Among these the most usual are hygiene, civics, literature, gymnastics, sloid, needlework and other kinds of hand-work. A characterization of the school as it is at present is, however, incomplete without something being said of the so-called "arrangements for leisure" which most of the schools have adopted. The leaders of the schools realized from the outset that if they were to be of real value to young persons, something more than a few weekly evening lessons were needed to secure the allegiance of the young. As an inducement to schools and local authorities to provide freer intercourse than that arising from class work, the State now makes a grant covering one-third of the expenses incurred. In many cases the schools have started a club where, after the evening's work, the pupils may spend an hour or two playing games, performing sketches, reading, singing and enjoying music. There is usually a chance of getting a cup of coffee. At least one teacher

is present. A club committee elected by the pupils often shares responsibility for the various arrangements. Several of the schools have pupils' unions which, among other activities, arrange Sunday excursions and, in summer, while the school is closed, endeavour to maintain and strengthen the comradeship that developed in the course of the winter. By such means the schools hope in time to be able to fulfil their twofold task: to counteract the rootlessness of young unskilled workers and to aid them in their struggle to secure a livelihood.

How far has this experiment succeeded? It is self-evident that it is no easy matter to induce messengers and young labourers who have been busy all day long to attend voluntarily a youth school several evenings a week throughout the winter. The first year after the Act came into force rather more than 9000 young people, of whom more than one-half were girls, availed themselves of the schools. The number fell to about 4300 in 1947/48. This is, however, partly due to the circumstance that the number of young persons below the age of eighteen, on account of the extremely low birth-rate about the year 1930, is comparatively much lower than when the school began in 1943. Of still greater significance is the fact that the number of apprentices in trades and industry in 1948 was nearly twice as large as in 1943. For this reason the pupil-clientele of the new school is not nearly as large as it was five years earlier. Many schools, therefore, seem to have comparatively as many pupils in 1948 as they had in 1943, and the general opinion of youth-school teachers is that the school is more firmly established to-day than it was six years ago. Following the revision of the Act in 1948, which enabled the schools to receive persons also between the ages of fourteen and fifteen, the influx of pupils has increased to 6492 in 1950. This is not simply due to the admittance of younger persons.

When considering proposals for the Youth School Act in the first years of the war, the commission desired to establish a *day school* providing one full-day's or two half-day's teaching for young unskilled persons. This school was to have been compulsory. The plan,

however, met with obstructions and the result was a compromise. Attendance at the school was made voluntary, whereas the setting-up of such schools was made obligatory for town authorities which are required to make yearly arrangements for such a school and to notify young persons concerning it. Should less than fifteen prospective pupils apply, the municipality is relieved of its obligation, and should the average number of pupils per lesson fall to eight, the school can no longer expect a grant from the State.

Expenditure entailed by the founding and running of a school is shared by the State and the municipality. The State defrays one-half of the teachers' minimum salary. This is automatically regulated according to the price index and, at the moment, is 7,50 kroner per lesson. The State makes a further payment of about a half of the special fee for the leader, and also grants a sum for the provision of educational appliances. The municipality pays the rest and also meets the cost of premises, heating, lighting and cleaning. As a rule municipal contributions amount to two-thirds of the total expenditure. The Youth School may also be run by private enterprise, in which case the State supports it on equal terms, and the municipality must pay half the minimum salary of the teachers and place premises with lighting, heating and cleaning facilities at its disposal.

Local administration is in the hands of a special *Youth School Board*. This board lays down rules with regard to attendance and the curriculum; it appoints and dismisses teachers, supervises the instruction and is responsible for giving publicity to the existence of the school and urging the young people concerned to become pupils. This Youth-School Board exercises similar authority in regard to the ordinary evening schools (of which more will be said later). In villages, where there is no legal obligation to found youth schools, an *Evening School Board* has existed since 1942. Thereby public bodies, the task of which is to interest themselves in, support, and supervise the voluntary youth instruction given in evening and youth schools, are found all over the country. On the boards of the youth schools there are representatives from municipal authorities,

the Education Commission, teachers' organizations, from organizations such as housewives' unions which actively aid in the teaching of the young persons, and from workers' and employers' organizations. Through these boards an effort has been made to promote widespread interest in the work being done for young persons. Besides securing the setting-up of local youth-school and evening-school boards the Evening School Act of 1942 also provides for a *County Youth-School Board* whose task is to follow the progress of, and to support educational work for young people in the counties.

So far the youth school has been considered only in its role of evening school. According to the law, however, it may also take the form of a *Day School* or a *Youth Boarding School*. While in practice the day school has played little part, attention has been increasingly drawn to the possibility of a youth boarding school.

It is perhaps characteristic of Denmark that when making legal provisions for the founding of a school for young unskilled persons, the well-tried method of the boarding school was adopted as a possible solution.

Youth boarding schools may also be founded privately or by the municipality and they enjoy considerable support from the State. In the case of such schools the State grants not one-half, but two-thirds of the teachers' salaries. Shortly after the ratification of the Act, private initiative started a youth boarding school which was chiefly intended for young unskilled women employed in manufacturing industries. The terms lasted three months (similar to the folk high-school summer term for girls). Stress was laid on interesting the girls in the numerous kinds of work involved in running a home, and a number of lessons were devoted to civics, literature and hygiene.

Since then three youth boarding schools, which are partially or completely municipal, have been founded. Two of them have their own buildings. As in the entire question of providing schools for young unskilled persons, Esbjerg assumed the lead in this matter

too. Together with ten other Jutland municipalities Esbjerg purchased and re-equipped a boarding school with accomodation for 40 pupils. Three terms, each lasting three months, are held yearly, two for lads and one for girls. The participating municipalities grant as a rule a free stay at the school to some of the most industrious and capable pupils. So far the profit derived by pupils from a stay at this boarding school has occasioned unqualified satisfaction, and there are indications that this new type of boarding school has a real future. It is, indeed, interesting to note that towns in this way are becoming aware of the great educational value of boarding schools.

Mention of this new type of boarding school for young unskilled town workers between the ages of 14 and 18 naturally turns one's attention to that kind of school which is most closely associated with the youth boarding school and from which the latter has been most directly inspired, — namely the *Continuation Boarding Schools* (efterskole).

CONTINUATION BOARDING SCHOOLS

While foreigners usually know the Danish folk high-schools, at any rate by name, these continuation schools seem to have escaped their notice entirely; and yet Denmark, besides its 60-odd folk high-schools has now about 70 continuation schools. These schools are most easily characterized as folk high-schools for young people between the ages of 14 and 18, for these schools, too, are generally boarding schools providing three and five months' courses similar to those of the folk high-schools. They are private, being owned either by the principal or by an association of interested parents. In pursuance of the provisions of the new Continuation Boarding School Act of 1942 — which was amended in 1948 — these schools are supported by the State on practically almost the same terms as the folk high-schools, so that for this reason, too, it is but natural

to regard them as folk high-schools for young persons in the age of puberty. The chief regulations governing State support of these two kinds of schools are, first, a fixed basic grant of about 1000 kroner a year; secondly, a grant covering one-half of the expenditure on teachers' salaries (within certain minimum and maximum rates which are not quite the same at both kinds of school); thirdly, a grant for the principal's salary as a teacher; fourthly, a building grant of 2¾ % of the value of school buildings (estimated by the Ministry of Education); and, fifthly, 35 % of school expenditure on educational appliances. The State also pays a direct salary increment to teachers and principals of folk high-schools, which after fifteen years' service amounts to 1800 kroner a year. Further, the State grants bursaries for the pupils of youth boarding schools, continuation boarding schools and folk high-schools. Necessitous pupils — who during the previous year were in receipt of poor wages, and whose parents' income is very small — may obtain about two-thirds of the costs of a stay at a boarding school. More than half of the pupils receive bursaries which, however, often cover only from 20 to 40 per cent. of the expenses. In accordance with the law, the State provides for continuation boarding school pupils an annual sum for bursaries corresponding to two-fifths of all the pupils' expenditure on instruction, rooms and board, which means, at the moment, two-fifths of about 150 kroner per month per pupil, or a total of over 900.000 kroner, which sum is thus divided between about 4000 continuation boarding school pupils.

A further reason for comparing these boarding schools with folk high-schools is that they have, on the whole, been founded by the same circles of people that established the folk high-schools. As a matter of fact, Christen Kold's first school at Ryslinge was a continuation school, and in 1879 one of Kold's first and most capable teachers founded the first continuation boarding school in the present sense of the name. In the years following 1864 a number of these schools were built along the new frontier between Germany and Denmark, and they received young people from Danish homes

in North Slesvig. These schools stressed teaching in the Danish language and literature, and thereby contributed considerably to the preservation of Danish culture in North Slesvig.

However, continuation boarding schools did not really come to the fore until the twentieth century, particularly in the period between the two world wars. In 1930 there were 40 such schools recognized by the State, with well over 1700 pupils. In 1939 there were 54, attended by almost 2700 pupils, and in 1951 more than seventy with over 4200 pupils.

While folk high-schools have in increasing measure become *national* schools, receiving pupils from all parts of the country, continuation boarding schools are in almost every case *district schools*. Young persons between the ages of 14 and 18 desire to remain near their homes, and possibly parents desire this even more. Like folk high-schools in the nineteenth century a comparatively large number of continuation boarding schools are rather small, but in recent years several of them have provided accomodation for more than 100 pupils.

The continuation boarding schools — arising from the same movement that advanced the cause of the folk high-schools — have always stood for the general enlightenment of the people. Danish language and history, literature and gymnastics have set their impress upon the schools; but during the last twenty years of rapid growth, these schools have laid greater stress on practical subjects. Sloid for the lads is now almost universal and plays a large role, while cookery, needlework and sometimes weaving are arranged for the girls. Some of the new continuation boarding schools call themselves *youth schools*.

Bearing in mind the close historical connection between, and the ideas shared by, folk high-schools and continuation boarding schools, it will readily be understood that faced with difficulties a number of folk high-schools have endeavoured to save themselves by starting a continuation-school department. At present six folk high-schools are also recognized as continuation boarding schools.

More frequently, however, folk high-schools change over completely and become continuation boarding schools. The view is sometimes expressed that continuation boarding schools are competing folk high-schools out of existence. Though undoubtably there are cases where parents elect to send their fifteen-year-old sons or daughters to a continuation boarding school and then feel that there is no need for them to attend a folk high-school, these are also numerous examples that point to the opposite, that pupils discover the value of a stay at such a school and are themselves prepared to make an effort to attend a folk high-school later.

The continuation schools have even less pupils from the towns than folk high-schools have. On the other hand, it seems that comparatively more artisans and tradespeople of the villages and small station-towns send their children to the continuation boarding school.

THE EVENING SCHOOL

Whereas the youth school for young unskilled workers and the continuation boarding school are concerned only with young persons between the ages of 14 and 18, the evening school is open to all people who have passed the school-leaving age.

Though the evening school, as we have seen, dates right back to the beginning of the nineteenth century, it is in its present shape a product of the twentieth century. Mention has already been made of the fact that the first direct State grants to evening schools (in the country districts) were given in 1895. From 1905 very small grants were given to a number of town evening schools, but it was not until the nineteen-twenties, following the formation of a nation-wide Evening School Union, that successful efforts were made to fix definite State grants so that evening school teachers might feel assured of fairly reasonable fees for their work. In 1920 many people still kept to the old idea that the evening school should pri-

marily be a continuation school where subjects such as Danish and arithmetic should be included with a prescribed minimum number of lessons. This tradition, which had been and still is a decisive factor in the work of village evening schools, did not suit the town evening schools which were now rapidly increasing in number, and whose pupils after the passing of the eight-hour working day in 1920, came largely from the working class. The town evening schools wanted courses without obligatory subjects. This idea triumphed with the passing of the first Evening-School Act of 1930, which was revised in 1935, 1942 and 1948.

The Evening-School Act concerns public support to practically all kinds of educational work of a general character which does not lead to any qualifying examination (however, if schools for a definite trade or business are lacking, the evening school may be used for this purpose). Here instruction may be given in languages and literature, history and civics, religion and psychology, singing and music, arithmetic and book-keeping, in practical subjects such as typewriting and shorthand, sloid, domestic industry, needlework, and in vocational subjects such as housewifery, agriculture, fishery etc.

For a grant to be given the Act requires that the course shall comprise at least twenty lessons on a single trade or subject, and that the instruction is attended by an average of at least ten pupils per lesson. As the Act does no state special requirements with regard to teachers' qualifications or reserve the evening school for the local educational authorities, this evening-school Act extends a helping hand to all free general educational work as an inducement to individuals and unions to set educational work going. To put it rather simply, but in essentials to state the matter quite correctly, it may be said that through this Act the State promises financial support to anyone who is able to retain an average of ten pupils per lesson for twenty lessons. In accordance with the amended Act of 1948, the State pays 70 per cent. of a fixed minimum fee, which at present is 70 per cent. of 7,50 kroner per lesson. This

grant, however, is conditional upon the school being able to obtain from a local source a promise to provide the remaining 30 per cent. This money must not be found by the pupils, but must be raised either by the municipality, a union, or such like. In this way the State seeks to protect itself against pure stragglers. To help provide special lecturers, the State may grant 100 kroner per municipality, provided that local bodies are able to procure a corresponding sum.

On the other hand, the Act secures to evening schools a certain support from local sources. The local authorities are, within certain limits, bound to place premises with lighting, heating and cleaning at the disposal of the person or persons starting the school, and if recommended by the aforementioned Evening School Board, the municipality must also defray that part of the teachers' minimum fee that is to be procured from local sources. In by far the greater number of cases, the municipalities regard it as perfectly natural that this local grant should come from them. Many towns grant more than the required minimum amount.

The Act of 1948 also opens up the possibility of a State grant for the salaries of the leaders of large evening schools, and in several of the larger towns the State has for some years aided in the appointment of permanent leaders of evening schools, so that a start has been made to appoint full time evening-school leaders.

In order to obtain support from the State, the school curriculum must be approved. Application forms are sent in through the Evening School Boards (who also assume the local supervision of the schools) to the municipal council and thence for approval by the county educational authorities. The municipal councils of provincial towns send in applications to the Ministry of Education. In Copenhagen, evening schools are approved by the educational directors of the city. Besides the local supervision, county-school advisers and the State adviser for youth schools watch the work of evening schools.

Since 1930 evening school work has developed to an almost astonishing extent, the number of pupils rising from about 25.000 to 196.000 in 1942/43. In 1950 there were 265.000. About 60

per cent. of the pupils are over 21 years of age, and something like 25 per cent. are between the ages of 14 and 18. In 1950 a total number of 4.973 schools and 15.712 classes were started, which means that in practically all towns and in the great majority of villages evening schools flourish. Attendance in country districts and in towns is about equal. During the war and the German occupation the number of women pupils increased rapidly, so that now these constitute a considerable majority. Thus in 1950 there were 177.585 women pupils as against 87.718 men.

This is bound up with the fact that a comparatively larger number of young men attend the technical schools, whereas the evening school, by giving access to instruction in housekeeping, have met a vocational need among young women. Up to the close of the nine-teen-twenties only about 2000 young women a year received house-keeping instruction at evening schools. The number has since risen rapidly to about 24.053 in 1950. More than any other evening-school teaching, the evening school for housekeeping has become a special school, with special premises (school kitchens), special teachers and a curriculum comprising continous instruction covering a period of three years. In increasing measure efforts are being made to co-ordinate this instruction with the instruction in house-work given at children's schools and the three or five months' courses given at domestic science colleges of the folk high-school type. About one-half of those attending are between the ages of 14 and 18, one-fifth between 18 and 25 and one-third over 25. In 1947 about 5000 pupils were the daughters of labourers, more than 4000 of artisans, fully 8.500 of farmers, more than 2000 of civil servants, and an equal number came from the homes of trades-people. In the case of about two-thirds of these pupils, the teaching was given in school kitchens, 301 classes were taught in meeting-houses (in country districts), 120 in private homes, 18 in school-rooms and 150 in other places (hotels, inns).

This educational work has been largely furthered by the women's own organizations, rural and workers' unions. It is particularly

interesting to note that only 466 classes were run by municipalities, whilst the rest, 1248 classes, were arranged by the women's organizations, farmers' and small-holders' unions, the Workers' Educational Association and several other organizations.

Usually from 60 to 100 hours instruction are given. About one-third of the pupils continue during the following two or three winters and then, in addition to the lessons in house-work, often receive some instruction in home-nursing, the care of children and women's hygiene. In some places a little teaching is also given in home furnishing and family knowledge.

Besides housewifery, needlework and such subjects play a very large role at evening schools. During the war and the German occupation, when it was difficult to procure clothing, many housewives made their way to evening-school classes to learn how to "make new things out of old", or to get proper instruction in dressmaking, sewing or weaving.

About one-half of the women pupils of evening schools desire instruction in housewifery and needlework. As for the men, sloid and domestic industry are in great demand.

In rural districts the teaching of farming subjects is sometimes given at evening schools; but in 1938 Parliament passed a special bill designed to support this kind of teaching. Consequently the greater part of the instruction given in vocational farming now takes place outside the domain of evening schools. Gardening, too, may be an evening-school subject. Particularly in Copenhagen this subjects claims much interest, and in the periphery of the city "young persons' gardens" are much in evidence. In summer thousands of young Copenhageners make countless journeys on their bikes to their garden, which they often tend with touching devotion. Sloid, domestic industry, gardening, housewifery and needlework are subjects that usually make a strong appeal.

Just as evening-school subjects may approach those taught at technical schools, they may also border on those available at the commercial schools. This is true of subjects such as typewriting,

shorthand and book-keeping. In Copenhagen and several large provincial towns these subjects play a very important role. However, it is the instruction given in foreign languages that attracts conspicuous attention. Out in the country, classes in English and German are not very common. In Copenhagen a six-year period of progressive study, partly under the guidance of native teachers and with stress on the practical acquisition and use of languages, may be obtained. Plays or sketches in English, German and French are performed. During the German occupation the number of German classes fell to a mere fraction, whereas French, Spanish, Italian and Russian attracted additional pupils. In 1948/49 some 9000 persons enrolled for English, 2000 for French, 300 for German, 250 for Spanish, 150 for Russian, 80 for Italian and 50 for Icelandic and Swedish respectively.

The municipal evening schools of Copenhagen now consist of six departments. Department A comprises language and commercial subjects in particular, and in 1947/48 had 14.416 pupils. Department B or the practical Youth School, had 10.408 pupils. Here the principal subjects are sloid, Danish, arithmetic, gymnastics and gardening. Departments C. and D. comprise housewifery and needlework and attracted 1.948 and 4.584 pupils respectively. Department E deals with instruction in drawing and had 243 pupils. The latest creation of the Copenhagen evening school is department F, the Evening Folk High-School, which after a few years' work has more than 1000 pupils.

Besides this municipal evening school, the number of pupils of which has increased rapidly to 32.616 in 1947/48, several private evening schools in the city have been approved, among others the Workers' Educational Association's evening school with 405 classes and 7002 pupils, and the Communist Party's evening school with 10 classes and 276 pupils. In all 50.829 pupils attended evening schools in Copenhagen in 1950. The figures for greater Copenhagen are, of course, much larger.

There are a few small provincial towns that have no permanent

evening school, but, generally speaking, there are now relatively large municipal evening schools in most provincial towns, which are often closely associated with the Workers' Educational Association. Developments indicate that the municipal evening schools is becoming the centre of almost all evening-school work in the towns, without, however, doing away with the enterprise of private organizations. Unions that are interested in special schools, The Danish Women's Society, housewives' unions, workers' organizations, youth organizations and political associations are still starting evening schools, procuring their own teachers and arranging the teaching, but they hand over the purely administrative work to the principal of the municipal evening school. In this way these union schools in their relations to the local educational authorities and the Ministry of Education act as an integrating link in municipal evening school work. A striking example of such a municipal evening school is provided by *Elsinore*. Statistics referring to this school show that almost the entire population of the town is associated with the school, 76 per cent. of whose 1300 pupils are over 21 years of age. The town has about 20.000 inhabitants; including the suburbs about 30.000.

In *Silkeborg* the reverse is the case, in that the evening school is run by the Workers' Educational Association, which closely associates itself with a large number of other organizations and receives substantial support from the municipality. The town has a population of about 21.000. In 1947/48 the school had 1519 pupils divided into 93 classes. There were 9 housewifery classes, 24 needlework classes, 2 English classes, 2 other language classes, 4 hygiene classes, 2 Danish classes, 24 civics classes and 4 literature classes.

In Denmark gymnastics is a very important factor in the education and in the leisure hours of young people, particularly those of rural districts. The folk high-schools have contributed enormously to this development. Here the evening schools have not played any decisive role, one reason being that until now the law has not allowed gymnastics unless pupils taking this subject attended at least

twice as many lessons in other evening-school subjects. Something similar may be said of singing and music, where the Evening School Act likewise requires participation in other lessons. Young peoples' interest in amateur theatricals, too, has so far remained outside the sphere of the evening school.

Although since 1930 the evening school — apart from gymnistics, singing and music — has been able to develop freely towards detached courses, it is interesting to note that, particularly in the last ten years, it has endeavoured to make up for the disadvantages of dividing-up their teaching work into innumerable courses, the pupils of which have no connection one with the other. Not only do many schools gather all their pupils at inauguration and farewell festivities, but half-way through the season they bring them together for lectures, concerts, visits to museums, discussions etc. At several places, Frederiksberg for instance, the pupils elect a pupils' representation and form pupils' unions. Through such means and thanks to the large place occupied by practical work the evening school is increasingly becoming the pupils' "own" school. In an age where the mechanization of industrial processes is becoming more and more widespread, it is doubtlessly of great importance that the evening school has become for so many young people a place where they experience the joy of producing things themselves, or where their interest in history and social questions, music and literature may be developed.

Here it is natural to mention the newest branch of the evening-school tree, the *Evening Folk High-School*. The Youth Commission of 1939—41, of which mention has already been made, was deeply interested in supporting those sides of Danish education for young persons which dwelt on cultural aspects and civics. It took the view that folk high-school teaching ought to be shared by new sections of the people, particularly those living in the towns. The result was that the new Evening School Act of 1942 included a clause providing larger grants for teachers' salaries, provided that teaching was given in social and cultural subjects and that the pupils had reached

the age of 21 or had already spent a term at a folk high-school. Study-circles and lectures followed by discussions were recommended as the method of teaching. In full accordance with the intention of this clause, the new kind of evening school soon became generally known as the Evening Folk High-School.

While the salary of teachers at the ordinary evening school is fixed at 7.50 kroner per lesson, the minimum fee to be paid at an evening folk high-school is 9.20 kroner. Further, up to one-eight of the total number of lessons given entitles the school to an increased grant of 14.15 kroner from the State, provided that 7.95 kroner is obtained from a local source. This is to enable the evening folk high-school to engage outside lecturers etc.

This clause roused great interest, and evening folk high-schools have in constantly-increasing measure been founded in the town and country districts. In 1950 the number was about 375. There are more than 14.000 pupils, of whom more than a half are men, whereas the opposite is the case in the ordinary evening school. Of these 375 evening folk high-schools 328 are situated in the rural districts and the small station towns and 45 in the provinces and Copenhagen. The study-circle method is frequently used. Sociology, history and literature are the most usual subjects, but family knowledge, knowledge of music, the history of art, psychology, the history of religion and the Church and similar subjects are also to be found rather often. In many country districts the evening folk high-school has become a new rallying-place for large sections of the parish population. One or two evenings a week people of the parish meet with their representatives (teachers, the clergyman, editors, members of Parliament, the chairmen of parish councils etc.). Discussion and conversation follow an introductory lecture, or people sit round a study-circle table and become accustomed to dealing with a subject. Many observers expect a great future for the evening folk high-school.

In the towns the Workers' Educational Association in particular has sought to start evening folk high-schools, but some training

colleges and higher secondary schools have also expressed eagerness. Through the evening folk high-school movement new sections of the people are thus being drawn into the work of popular enlightenment, and new contacts are being made between the folk high-schools and other institutions dedicated to the cause of free general education.

THE WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION AND SIMILAR ORGANIZATIONS

The Workers' Educational Association is one of the private organizations which make most extensive use of the Evening-School Act. The greater number of its study-circles, approximately 1000, are approved as evening schools. Often capable young workers are appointed as study-circle leaders. Further, a number of the ordinary evening-schools, especially in the towns, have been founded by the Workers' Educational Association.

This association celebrated its 25th anniversary in 1949. It was founded by the joint enterprise of the Social-Democratic League, the Trade-Unions, the Trade-Union Congress, the Workers' Co-operative Organizations and the Social-Democratic Youth Organization. Each member paid a small subscription, from 5 to 15 øre per year, so that the Association obtained about 100.000 kroner a year to work with. Adding to this there soon came a State grant of about 16.000 kroner. A year ago the subscriptions from the workers' organizations had risen to more than 200.000 kroner, and the State grant was raised to approximately 50.000 kroner.

The Workers' Educational Association is led by a committee of eighteen members, elected by the affiliated organizations. The object of the association is "the spreading of enlightenment among the working-classes of Denmark". The association has its head-quarters in Copenhagen, but local branches are found all over the country. Practically speaking these have to support themselves financially;

they receive contributions from local workers' organizations and sometimes from the municipality. In the large towns, Copenhagen, Aarhus, Odense, full-time educational secretaries have been appointed. The Odense branch receives a local grant of 29.500 kroner from the workers' organizations and 3.000 kroner from the municipality.

Through its local branches, and through its series of lectures given in the country districts, the Workers' Educational Association has reached wide circles of the Danish working classes. A comparison has sometimes been drawn between the activities of this organization and the folk high-school movement. All that the latter has meant to the rural population, it is added, the Workers' Educational Association has meant to the town workers. The Workers Educational Association has, through its widespread activities, certainly contributed largely to the schooling of the rising generation of the working-class and in giving them social insight and understanding.

The chief corner-stone of the work of the association is evening-school and study-circle work; but other fields of activity also call for a brief survey.

In the country districts, where the setting-up of local branches is unfeasible, the central organization acts directly, particularly in arranging free series of lectures. In 1949/50, 190 series (each comprising 4 or 5 lectures) were provided. There was an average of 28 persons at each meeting. Seven different series of lectures were offered. Those that made the greatest appeal were "Democracy in Everyday Life", "Parliament and its Work", and "The New World".

In 158 country parishes a total of 124 study-circles (45 of which were evening-school classes), 115 ordinary evening-school classes, and 26 evening folk high-school classes were held. In all more than 7.000 persons attended.

In provincial towns, too, there is comprehensive lecturing activity. In 1947 there were, in all, 458 meetings with an attendance of 59.000 persons. Social-economic questions claim a great share of the time devoted. More important, however, is the study-circle and

evening-school work. In 1949/50 there were 457 study-circles in the towns (394 of which received grants under the provision of the Evening-School Act), 2.178 ordinary evening-school classes in 59 schools, and 33 evening folk high-schools with 148 classes; in all 50.114 persons took part. Then there is Copenhagen with 380 study-circles and 465 classes. 264 were held by trade-unions and 361 by political clubs. There were 140 English language classes and 175 classes for needle work. Particularly interesting are the study-circles held at places of work. Here the study-circles begin as soon as the day's work is ended. As a rule the subjects deal with trade-union questions, the work of shop-stewards, factory and business economy, collaborating committees and rationalization. It has happened that representatives of the employers have participated.

Though social-economic and vocational subjects play a very great part in the study-circles of the Workers' Educational Association, one also meets subjects from other spheres, particularly in the evening folk high-schools. At the Ålborg evening folk high-school (12 classes) the subjects were rationalization, art, biology, literature, astronomy and social problems; in Fredericia (6 classes) foreign policy, social economy, biology and the appreciation of music; in Roskilde (5 classes) the history of art, the history of Denmark, singing and music, and psychology. A total of 2.617 persons attended the evening folk high-schools of the Workers' Educational Association. In the case of some classes, the number of lessons may total about 100 in the course of a winter. As a rule, however, it is round about 40 or 50.

From its start in 1924 the Workers' Educational Association has been greatly interested in the *study-circle method,* through which a group of interested persons come together in order that, by reading and debating, they may study and master a subject. For such work, however, suitable reading material was sadly lacking. The Workers' Educational Association has, however, gradually published a large number of text-books and instructions, for instance on sociology, trade-union knowledge, co-operation, municipal questions, the poli-

tical history of Denmark, health and the community, and the Danish primary schools. From other sources, too, series of text books have appeared. On the initiative of the Workers' Educational Association, and in association with the State Library at Aarhus, a study-circle centre has been established for the purpose of lending sets of books to study-circles. This centre possesses about 9.200 volumes comprising about 1.050 different books. Aiding considerably in the growth of the study-circle movement have also been the short annual instructional courses for study-circle leaders, arranged by the W.E.A.

Besides sending out text-books proper, the Workers' Educational Association began in 1947 to distribute a series of "*foundations of discussion*". These short and easily accessible booklets: Why collaborating committees?, What about the parcelling-out of large estates?, The future of the family, The school, children, parents — will, it is hoped, quicken interest in study-circle work.

As early as 1931 the Workers' Educational Association started a "book-circle". The members pledge themselves to buy a number of books that are likely to be published in the course of a year. The book-circle consists of about 5.000 members. They get the books as cheap as production costs permit. If the books are purchased at a book-seller's the price is substantially higher. A copious workers' song book, thousands of copies of which are sold, is published by the Workers' Educational Association. The Association is also active in the domain of art and the theatre; films and lantern slides are extensively used, and the Workers' Educational Association command a good number of sound-film projectors which are stationed in all parts of the country. There are plans in hand for the exchange of films with various countries, and in 1947, as a step in this direction, the Workers' Educational Association offered to negotiate with representatives of the other Northern countries, Holland, Belgium and Switzerland, on ways and means of international collaboration between workers' film organizations in the democratic countries. A temporary secretariate was set up with head offices in Copenhagen.

Radio, too, interests the Workers' Educational Association very considerably, and in close collaboration with corresponding organizations in the other northern countries, the association is endeavouring to stimulate the work of popular enlightenment being done by broadcasting.

The Workers' Educational Association has close contacts with adult educational work not only in the other northern countries, but also, for instance, in England. The idea of an international federation of workers' educational associations is supported by the Danish association. The deep Scandinavian and international interests of the Workers' Educational Association unite in an interesting way in the work done for the "Geneva High-School". Swedish initiative started this school round about 1930. The idea was that the Northern countries should assume joint responsibility for a folk high-school in Geneva, the scene of international politics at that time. Naturally the school had to be closed down during the war, but it was re-opened in 1946. In the summer of 1948 about 35 students from Finland, Sweden, Norway and Denmark met at a folk high-school outside Copenhagen. After some weeks' preparation they left for Germany in order to gain a first-hand impression of German conditions. After about a month's study in that country the course was concluded at Askov Folk High-School. The Workers' Educational Association has been one of the most faithful supporters of this school.

The folk high-school idea is not new to the Danish labour movement and the Workers' Educational Association. As early as 1910 Esbjerg Folk High-School was founded. In 1940 the school was occupied by the Germans. In 1946 a fishermen's folk high-school was opened in the old buildings, for the intention is to build a completely new workers' folk high-school outside the town of Esbjerg.

In 1930 the Workers' Educational Association, in partnership with the local branch of Copenhagen, purchased *Roskilde Folk High-School,* which has accomodation for about 120 pupils. There

is a six-months' winter term. In this way Roskilde Folk High-School has gained contact with wide sections of the Danish labour movement. Like ordinary folk high-schools Esbjerg folk high-school ran a girls' term in summer. Often, too, a summer course for youth leaders and co-operators was arranged. In association with the Workers Educational Association the two folk high-schools sent out a periodical "The Workers' Folk High-School", which is published twice a year.

The Workers' Educational Association is thus closely connected with the two main institutions of Danish adult education: the folk high-school and the evening school. In recent years two new educational associations which as regards organizational matters follow the example of the Workers' Educational Association, have been started. They are the "Liberal Educational Association" (1945) and "The People's Educational Association" (1947) founded respectively by the organizations of the Left Party and by The Conservative People's Party. The Liberal Educational Association receives a State grant of 5000 kroner a year, and is engaged in setting-up study-circles and evening schools. The chairman of the "People's Educational Association" is a professor of theology of Copenhagen University.

Besides the organizations and unions already mentioned there are many others which take advantage of the Evening-School Act. There is, for instance, "Folkevirke", which was founded during the German occupation and which seeks to quicken the interest of women in political questions and matters relating to intelligent citizenship, and furthermore rambling, the co-operative movement, women's organizations, peace societies and national youth associations.

Thus the evening school meets a large variety of needs felt by the Danish people. A prerequisite for official approval is that political propaganda is kept out of the evening school; but the conflicts and interests of the Danish people are nevertheless clearly reflected in this school. Many people would be somewhat anxious

if the day should come when the authorities no longer feel that they can afford such liberality.

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION, RADIO, FILMS AND PUBLIC LIBRARIES IN ADULT EDUCATION

From its start the Workers' Educational Association has closely collaborated with the *University Extension Union*. Contrary to the development in several other countries, the University has not played any decisive role in Danish adult education. In the eighteen-eighties, when the labour movement was breaking through but had not yet created its own educational bodies, many young students were interested in finding new methods of imparting enlightenment to the working class. In 1898, following the lines of the English movement, the *University Extension Union* was founded, and has for fifty years, especially in the towns, arranged series of lectures of scientific character.

Shortly after the German occupation ended, new educational work was begun by Copenhagen university students and professors, inspired this time by Sweden. The work was first connected as an evening folk high-school with the Copenhagen municipal evening school, but soon it became an independent organization (Unifo). Each winter season it arranges 25 series of lectures, each forming part of 6 double-length lessons. Conversation and discussion follow the lectures. Use is also made of the study-circle method. This fresh attempt to establish contact between the university, the young university folk in particular, and the people of Copenhagen has roused much interest, and the courses are attended by about 5000 persons each season. Similar work has begun at Aarhus University. In 1950 the old and the young organization in Copenhagen were merged under the name of *Folkeuniversitetet* (The People's University) continuing the teaching of the Unifo.

In the last ten years the *State Radio* has played an increasing

role in Danish adult education. The lecture department has always been led by a folk high-school man, and when in 1940/41, just after the beginning of the German occupation, the first attempts were made to start study-circles in connection with radio, a former folk high-school teacher and secretary of the Workers' Educational Association was appointed to the leadership of this work. From October to April each year, from two to four series of talks designed for study-circles are broadcast. In connection with each series a text-book of about 200 pages is sent out. The book is sold by book-sellers at a price that is from 30 to 50 per cent. lower than the normal price of such works (at the moment about 3 kroner), the State Radio giving a direct subsidy to the production of the book.

The text-book is divided into from 8 to 10 chapters, and a broadcast is usually allotted to each chapter. The broadcasts may take the form of lectures or discussions. They are given once a week at a fixed time (Monday at 8.20 p. m.) and are addressed to all listeners; but they are designed for collective listening by groups that have read the corresponding chapter of the text-book. Following the broadcasts there is a discussion of the ideas and viewpoints that have been set forth. In 1946 about 7.000 registered listeners availed themselves of these broadcasts. In 1951 this figure decreased considerably,

This initiative taken by the State Radio has been of great significance in the emergence of the study-circle method in Danish adult education. The State Radio text-books, for instance, "Citizens of Denmark", "Law and Justice in Denmark", "The Industrial and Business Life of Denmark", "Danish Social Novels", "Everyday Psychology", "The Foundations of Music", "What is Christianity?", "The Family and the Community", "Danish Democracy", which on the whole have been both reasonable in price and very suitable, have greatly facilitated the starting of study-circles, and very large editions have soon been sold out. The State-Radio has also arranged instructional courses for study-circle leaders.

Besides Radio, the Film is becoming a factor of importance in

Danish adult education. In 1938 the State founded a film centre for the purpose of purchasing and lending films for school use, and also films that serve the cause of general adult education. This centre is not concerned with the production of films, which work is being done by a State-supported private institution known as Dansk Kulturfilm. The institution has produced a number of excellent films for the use of schools and unions.

Finally, mention must be made of the *Public Libraries,* which share with Radio and the Film the honour of being the most important innovations supporting free adult educational work. As early as the 19th century there were a number of local public libraries, particularly in country districts, but public libraries as we know them to-day were created in the twentieth century after the style of those found in England and America. In order to obtain larger State grants all public libraries united in 1905. In 1920 Parliament passed the first Bill supporting public libraries. As in the case of evening schools, State grants are conditional upon a contribution to the work being made from local sources. There has been rapid progress since 1920. The number of libraries grew from 670 in 1919/20 to 1000 in 1941/42, and the number of books lent out from 2.8 million volumes to 15.3 million. In addition to the ordinary local libraries there are 31 central libraries which besides lending to individual borrowers, lend to parish libraries and study-circles. Cars convey the books to where they are required, if delivery in this way in necessary.

The public library system was long since constructed in such a way that anybody may borrow any book whatsoever through the local library or the central library, provided that it is to be found either in the public libraries or in the science libraries. It is self-evident that all this development has been of the utmost importance to Danish adult education. Many public libraries are closely associated with free adult educational work, the Workers' Educational Association, the study-circle movement and the folk high-schools. Among other ways this has found practical expression in the fact

Denmark, the various Danish youth organizations, with few exceptions, came together under the auspices of the organization known as "Danish Youth Collaboration". There was a strong desire to show the German authorities that the young people of Denmark, while holding conflicting views on many matters, were nevertheless united in their appreciation of the fundamental values of democracy and were able to meet in a common endeavour. When the occupation ended, the above-mentioned organization was dissolved and in its place the "Joint Council of Danish Youth" was founded. The council publishes the periodical "The Leader's Magazine", seeks to stimulate the work being done for young people and safeguards the interests of the young both in matters concerning the Danish authorities and in those referring to countries abroad. But this council, too, is but a co-ordinating body, through which independent youth organizations have separately entered into collaboration.

Through the work done by the organization "Danish Youth Collaboration" during the German occupation, when the point was to keep the young united on the fundamental principles of democracy, the youth organizations were drawn out of the relative obscurity in which they had hitherto been living. They were recognized as important instruments in the life and training of young people. The idea of educating young people for citizenship suddenly assumed a central place in public interest. With clearer perception people re-read Grundtvig's first writings on his educational ideas and saw that in his folk high-school he really aimed at a school that would enlighten the young on the duties and rights of citizenship.

THE FOLK HIGH-SCHOOLS OF TO-DAY

In giving a picture of the folk high-school we left the matter at the outbreak of the first world war. The years when the folk high-school idea triumphed and the classical prime of the folk high-school movement was at an end. The schools ceased to grow in number,

and in the course of the war the number was reduced from 78 to 58. It was sometimes suggested that the folk high-schools were as a whole on the retreat. As we have seen, new and many-sided work in the interests of the young developed in the years between the two world wars. The folk high-school is no longer the completely dominating factor in free Danish adult education. The country population upon whom the folk high-school primarily relied has declined. The influx to the towns in the years between the world wars was so great that the number of people living in the country, despite a higher birth-rate than in the towns, rapidly fell. Further, the agricultural crisis of the nineteen-thirties hit Danish farming severely and this considerably affected attendance at both agricultural schools and folk high-schools.

In view of the very complicated situation which has been briefly indicated here, it is still difficult to judge the position of folk high-schools in the years since 1920. However, it is quite possible that the future will reveal the years between the wars not only as a difficult period of transition for the folk high-school, but also years that brought new impulses, more vital and creative than did the years leading up to the first world war.

The folk high-school movement of the 19th. century had been closely connected with the national struggle in South Jutland. The hope of the return of South Jutland to Denmark played a great role at most folk high-schools and contributed in giving their work direction and purpose. In 1920 South Jutland was reunited with Denmark. Mid the jubilation occasioned by this event, several folk high-school men thought they had lost the inspiration and the object of their work. But the great events of the period — the final emergence of democratic government in a number of countries and the formation of the League of Nations, with the dream of peaceful co-operation between democratic nations, gave many young teachers new aims. Characteristic of this new orientation was the periodical "Danish Outlook", published by a circle of teachers at Askov Folk High-School.

About the same time (1921) a new folk high-school was founded, which was, indeed, an offspring of the new era, the International Folk High-School at Elsinore. P. Manniche, the principal, conceived the idea of his school during the world war, and he succeeded in engaging a British, German and American teaching staff. The school is run in much the same way as an ordinary folk high-school with winter and summer terms. These, however, are followed by several short vacation courses which attract many teachers and students. The basic idea of the school corresponds closely to the folk high-school ideas propagated by Grundtvig in the eighteen-thirties. Grundtvig then believed that the success of democratic government would depend on a new type of school where young people learned to think socially, were influenced against narrow loyalty to parties and led to a sense of oneness with the nation. — Manniche's view was that the time had come when the nations should meet and experience a fellowship that transcended differences of nationality, and through a study of international relations be strengthened in mind and will to think supernationally. This idea has attracted considerable attention throughout the world and the school has been attended by large numbers of people from abroad.

In other ways, too, the folk high-school movement revealed new possibilities of development in the period between the wars. The two workers folk high-schools at Esbjerg and Roskilde, which, generally speaking, belong to this period, have already been mentioned. Through them the labour movement has been drawn right into the folk high-school movement, and the number of pupils from the towns has rapidly increased from 5 or 6 per cent. in 1920 to 10—15 per cent. in the nineteen-forties. While the figure relating to working-class youngsters at the folk high-schools before 1914 was only 3 per cent., it was 7 per cent. in 1940/41. It must, however, be added that an essential reason for this increase was extensive unemployment in the years between the wars, the unemployed being given an opportunity of spending the winter months at a folk high-school on very favorable terms. Some schools, the International

Folk High-School among others, were attended by large groups of unemployed persons. The same is true of the two workers folk high-schools, most of whose pupils were young unemployed workers. It was an excellent arrangement for the young people, but not always to the advantage of the folk high-school work.

The fact that latest statistics indicate that only rather more than one-half of folk high-school pupils hail from farmers' homes (of which number about 16 per cent. come from small-holdings) is also partly explained by another interesting innovation in the folk high-school movement, — the founding of "vocational" folk high-schools. The term is applicable to the gymnastic folk high-schools — which are well-know abroad — and folk high-schools for nurses, the pupils of which are prospective nurses, and therefore often come from other groups than the ordinary folk high-school groups. These schools are recognized by the Ministry of Education as folk high-schools, but they are entitled to give one particular subject a prominent place in the ordinary folk high-school teaching.

At the three folk high-schools for nurses, only 12—14 lessons are devoted to preparatory nursing (anatomy, hygiene, the history of nursing etc.), so there is time left for ordinary folk high-school lessons and lectures. The inspiring idea leading to the founding of these schools has been that nurses are just the persons needing the human and social influence exerted by the folk high-schools. Whereas the development in the twentieth century has almost always tended towards the establishment of purely vocational schools, the folk high-school for nurses provides an interesting example of a vocation which has found inspiration in the basic idea of the folk high-school.

As to the gymnastic folk high-schools the facts of the case are different. As early as the eighteen-eighties the folk high-schools were pioneers of the Ling gymnastic system. The movement made rapid progress in the country districts, and there was a call for squad leaders for the voluntary gymnastics arranged for young people. At some folk high-schools a number of hours were allotted

to the theory of gymnastics and instructional practice. This, however, was not particularly satisfactory, and in 1921 Ollerup Gymnastic Folk High-School was founded. This soon developed into a very large school and became very well-known. From this school evolved the so-called primitive gymnastics which soon changed the character of most gymnastics in Denmark and attracted attention all over the world. In 1925 Snoghøj Gymnastic and Folk High-School was founded. This school, whose gymnastics are inspired particularly by the Finnish physical-training educationist, Eli Bjørksten, has exercised great influence over voluntary gymnastics for women in Denmark. The school lays great stress on folk high-school teaching itself and strongly emphasizes the part to be played by gymnastics in adult aducation.

The great enthusiasm with which young people attend these schools has led to the founding of two more gymnastic and athletic folk high-schools. Plans are ready for the erection of two or three new schools and considerable financial means to this end have been procured. One of these will be opened in November 1951.

Several other schools have a similar half-vocational character. Let it suffice to refer again to the fishermen's folk high-school which was begun at Esbjerg in 1946. The fishermen's organizations support this school which, in addition to ordinary folk high-school instruction, allots ten lessons a week to special fishery subjects. For that matter most folk high-schools similarly afford their pupils an opportunity of attending some lessons on agriculture, if the subject is desired. At the moment plans for the founding of a domestic-industry folk high-school and a music folk high-school are being considered.

One sometimes hears the view expressed that this innovation, where side by side with ordinary folk high-schools teaching pro-minence is given to one particular subject, means deviation from a principle and consequently involves a danger to the future deve-lopment of the folk high-school. However, in view of the fact that it is mainly the folk high-school's own people that have founded

or led these schools, one might say that until now they have meant new conquests for the folk high-schools.

The folk high-schools have always been keenly concerned with common Scandinavian issues and have had close contact with the folk high-schools in other northern countries. This interest was quickened in the nineteen-thirties, especially after the Nazi assumption of authority in 1933. In 1932 Askov Folk High-School started a Northern Teachers' Course which ran parallel with its normal summer course. In 1934 an Askov teacher took over Frederiksborg Folk High-School, endeavouring to give it a special northern impress by engaging teachers from other Scandinavian countries and by giving northern history and culture a prominent place in the curriculum. In November 1948, a new folk high-school which aims directly at becoming a northern folk high-school in respect of pupils, teachers and instruction came into being. At the end of the second world war, the Swedish State, acting through the Scandinavian Association, granted 100 full scholarships tenable at Swedish folk high-schools to folk high-school pupils from the other Scandinavian countries. Since then similar grants have been placed at disposal for Swedish pupils. Through this a stronger Scandinavian factor now appears in many schools.

While speaking of the presence of pupils from other Scandinavian countries at folk high-schools, mention may also be made of another interesting circumstance. Since 1947 a number of German pupils have attended folk high-schools in Denmark. They were welcomed as a link in the chain of efforts that are being made to resume cultural relations with Germany. Further, connections between Danish folk high-schools and such countries as Holland, Switzerland, Great Britain, Austria and U. S. A., usually procure them a few pupils from these countries.

Since 1946, however, the greatest influx from beyond the borders has been from South-Slesvig, where revived interest in Danish affairs has led to a yearly attendance of several hundred young South-Slesvigians at Danish folk high-schools and continuation boarding

schools. This interest prompted the folk high-schools to establish a Danish Folk high-school in South-Slesvig, which was opened in 1950.

Shortly after the first world war, in the school-year 1920/21, the folk high-schools were attended by about 8000 pupils. This number, however, soon fell again, but remained fairly constant until the agricultural crisis of the 'thirties set in. The number then fell to about 5.600. During the German occupation applications for admission to many schools were so numerous that sometimes a school had to refuse more than those that could be accepted. The highest number was reached in 1941/42, when 7206 pupils attended. But in 1946/47 the figure was up to 7269, perhaps the highest the folk high-schools have ever had, the above mentioned figure for 1921 having been calculated on a somewhat incorrect basis. The figures have since fallen to about 6000. The number of schools in 1948 was 59. It is reckoned that about 25 per cent. of young country persons of any particular year attend the folk high-schools. State grants to folk high-schools amount to about 1,5 mill. kroner a year, apart from about 1,3 mill. kroner provided for bursaries. Approaching two-thirds of all pupils received bursaries covering from 75 per cent. to 20 per cent. of fees and other expenses entailed by folk high-school attendance.

Mention has already been made of how, after 1920, considerable interest arose in the new endeavours to unite the nations in a supernational organization for peaceful co-operation on a democratic foundation. It has also been indicated that later a new interest in Scandinavian affairs was strongly evident. Some people found, however, that the folk high-school was departing from its original traditions and instead of serious "enlightenment on life" was giving a superficial orientation in matters pertaining to the present day. This view, coupled with debates on the cultural crisis, the theology of Karl Barth, the triumph of the Nazi ideology in Germany etc. contributed to the rise of a new Grundtvigian movement. There was an eager return to Grundtvig himself. Kold, too, became the object

of much attention, and his deeply personal school was contrasted with the folk high-school of the twentieth century. It was not the time, they thought, for general, liberal enlightenment on matters relating to the Danish community and world politics. In an age of ideologies and mass mentality the folk high-schools must have a clear and distinct view of life to set up against gleichschaltung (unification) and anarchy. Consequently the folk high-school ought to be imbued with the Grundtvigian view of life and lead its pupils into vital contact with it.

During the German occupation such thoughts as these played a considerable role, but just as clamant was the idea that the folk high-schools should be hot-beds for such training in citizenship as is necessary if democratic government is to be maintained. When in the autumn of 1940 practically all Danish youth associations, non-political as well as political, joined forces and founded the institution Danish Youth Collaboration, it was just this aspect of folk high-school work that was strongly emphazised.

Professor Hal Koch, who became the chairman of this institution, pursuant to a thorough study of Grundtvig's ideas put forward the view that youth associations should make a joint effort to found a new folk high-school where emphasis should be placed on education for citizenship. In the light of Grundtvigian ideas and knowledge of a movement which had given practical results in Switzerland, he also became the spokesman for those who believed in civil confirmation when the young reach full age. While this idea has not yet been widely accepted, that of a folk high-school run by the combined efforts of the youth organizations was realized in 1946, with Hal Koch himself as principal. Here young Danes of all political and religious persuasions meet at the fine old palace of Krogerup, 30 kilometres from Copenhagen, for winter courses lasting six months.

Krogerup Folk High-School is an extremely interesting innovation. Political, non-political and religious youth organizations work in fellowship to support the school. In much the same way as at the

start of Rødding Folk High-School, a Copenhagen university professor has entered free adult-educational work, and the folk high-school as a school for training in citizenship has come to the fore.

In November 1950 two new folk high-schools were opened, one established by artisans in Jutland to create a wider folk high-school interest among young artisans, and the other outside Copenhagen, closely connected with movements for furthering international understanding.

When in 1944 the folk high-schools celebrated their 100th anniversary, Grundtvig's peculiar educational ideas, his conception of Christianity, of man and of national life (Folkelighed) were perhaps as consciously present with folk high-school men as ever before.

The Home Mission (Evangelical) with its 10 folk high-schools, moved by the pressure of events during the German occupation, approached the Grundtvigian conception of the value of teaching that aims at general enlightenment promotive of the common good. The workers folk high-schools also stressed such ideas.

At the beginning of the second century of folk high-school history, shortly before the fall of Nazism, the Danish people experienced renewed appreciation of the need for schools of the folk high-school type. In the century of mechanization and ideologies, just as much as a hundred years ago, there is use for schools whose aim is to rouse their young pupils to community-consciousness and to open up for them a life dedicated to the service of their own nation and to humanity as a whole.

Translated by Percy Wait.

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ADULT EDUCATION IN FINLAND

by *Viljo Kosonen.*

THE ORGANIZATION OF VOLUNTARY ADULT EDUCATION IN FINLAND

Adult education in Finland is something that has evolved gradually through a long period, and it has been conditioned by the many circumstances and points of view current at various times. This explains its spontaneous character. It has not been created on a ready-made pattern, but has devoloped by itself. But this also explains a certain incoherence in the organizational work — and it is a characteristic of the movement as a whole. However, this allows of elasticity too, and it is thus possible to satisfy the cultural needs of large sections of the population embodying the most heterogeneous elements. For adult education is not only — or even mainly — individual self-education, but a mass-activity carried on within various organizations and institutions — with however great diversity of work. The existing organization has been built up only as a result of a constant striving for practical results — and yet in spite of all, a most profound (and most natural) internal freedom has been maintained.

All the different forms of Adult Education have direct or indirect contacts with the School Board *(skolstyrelsen)*, which in its turn is subordinate to the Ministry of Education *(undervisningsministeriet)*. And within the School Board, these matters are dealt with partly by the Department for Peoples' Education *(folkundervisningen)* and partly by the Swedish-speaking *(svenskspråkiga)* Department. In the former body, the work is so arranged that one of the members functions as a *skolråd* (or official) specially concerned with Adult Education, his work dealing only with questions relating to different branches of it, i. e. the Folk High Schools, the Workers' Institutes, the Study Circles, lecture activities and organization.

In the Swedish-speaking Department, the corresponding questions are in the hands of the *skolråd* who in addition deals with elementary school matters.

Because the scope of this work has increased year by year — particularly amongst the Finnish-speaking population — the question has arisen of creating an additional post *(skolrådstjänst)* at the School Board — one wholly concerned with Adult Education.

In accordance with the laws concerning government financial aid to the Folk High Schools, these institutions are subject to the superintendence of the School Board. This chiefly consists of an examination of the way in which the schools fulfil the conditions for obtaining such aid. The schools must send to the School Board their teaching programs, the total number of teachers and pupils for each term, budget proposals and statements of accounts, and the Board makes inspections and investigations in connection with the teaching, the economy and the administration. The government does not however interfere with the inner life of the schools, with the spirit of the Boarding Schools, or with the teaching methods. In these respects, the individual governors, headmasters and teachers have a very great measure of freedom.

The Workers' Institutes have similar legal obligations, and are also subject to superintendence by the School Board. And as in the case of the Folk High Schools, the School Board here carries out its task partly on the basis of documents submitted (which thus enable them to sanction teaching programs, see the total number of members, and form judgments on the economy of the Institutes), and partly by means of personal inspections for the investigation of — amongst other things — the studies involved and the qualifications of the staffs.

As for the legal position of the free libraries, these are not subordinate to the School Board, but to the State Library Commission, which however is closely connected with the Board. The actual work of management and superintendence is in the hands of the State Library Bureau and its inspectors in various parts of the

country. Five years ago, the different forms of voluntary Adult Education: study circles, popular scientific lectures, and the organizations themselves, acquired a kind of welding and superintending agent in the form of a "State Commission for Adult Education". It is appointed by the Ministry of Education for periods of three years, is subordinate to the School Board, and consists of representatives of the chief Adult Education organizations. It makes general decisions regarding the forms of voluntary Adult Education, but leaves the management of the activities themselves in the hands of four central bodies for whom the term "State Study Centres" is suggested. Here are the names of the four "Centres" at present involved: Central Union for Study Circles, The Workers' Educational Association, Swedish Lecture Bureau, and Swedish Association of Popular Culture.

The organizational pattern of our Adult Education had already been formed before Finland won its independence, and yet it was admirably suited to prevailing conditions, and so it was possible for the new regulations and laws to be framed according to these already existing forms. And in our own time — in spite of greatly changed social conditions — it has not been found necessary to make any alterations.

THE FINNISH FOLK HIGH SCHOOLS

History.

One can distinguish several divergent epochs in the history of our Folk High Schools. The first comprises the two decades between the publication of the first newspaper article on the subject (1868) and the establishment of the first School of this kind (1889) — by means of which the idea itself became accepted in the country, later gradually maturing and taking shape. The existing conditions in Finland were in some ways similar to those of Denmark when

the first Folk High School was established there. After the assembling of the Estates, political life had begun to develop within old and familiar grooves, and thanks to new municipal laws, life in the countryside was progressing. Fundamentally, the questions round which the newspaper debates moved were the same as those in the other Scandinavian lands. A peasant population taking an active part in municipal and political life needs increased knowledge and understanding of social affairs, and the task of the Folk High Schools is to bridge the gulf between those who have had education and those who have not. The strength of the smaller nations is their high standard of education, and this in itself is a vindication of the work of the Folk High Schools.

But at the time, the idea itself could not lead to the necessary action — i. e. the actual founding of Folk High Schools. Amongst the obstacles was the fact that our elementary school system was still at its "power-consuming" initial stage, and further, that years of severe famine had pressed the people down. And in Finnish-speaking quarters, every available resource was needed for the support of Finnish-speaking academic schools. Nevertheless, the spreading of the idea amongst the masses was continued. Newspaper articles were written and pamphlets were published, lectures were given and meetings held, and in connection with these things the Undergraduates' Association and certain elementary school-teachers were particularly active.

Then came the final years of the 80's, when the sky darkened in the East. The activities of nationalistic Russian circles and some measures by the Tsarist Government hinted that the inner freedom of the country and the continuance of the national culture were threatened by new dangers. And the need of Folk High Schools became clear — nay, they were absolutely indispensable for strengthening the spiritual backbone and the powers of resistance of the people. The time for the establishment of Folk High Schools had arrived, and with the first concrete achievements, the idea swept like a storm across the land.

However, the very first two Schools were founded by private individuals who were interested in the cause. The first Finnish-speaking School was established at Kangasala by Sofia Hagman, and the first Swedish-speaking one — thanks to J. E. Strömborg — at Borgå. Both started in 1889. They did not however have a teaching program completely in line with the typical plan of a Folk High School, for the fundamental idea implies that groups contending about the language-problem become unified in a task which serves the cause of the whole people. At the *lantdag* of 1891, the Estates showed that they were ardent supporters of the scheme, and proposed a public grant — and a considerable one for those days — for both the existing and future Folk High Schools. And the most representative sections of the peasant population in various areas also became eager collaborators in the creation of conditions conducive to the establishment of new Schools. The result of this strong community-spirit was that during the ten years between 1889 to the beginning of Finland's period of oppression, no less than 16 Finnish and 5 Swedish Folk High Schools came into existence. Every country *(län)* and province *(landskap)* from Åland to Nordösterbotten acquired a School of its own, though most of them had to make a start under the most difficult conditions. But these were not enough to break down the enthusiastic devotion of the teachers, nor the youthful idealism of the many pupils — on the contrary they acquired new strength for their arduous pioneer work.

The oppressive policy of the Russians also caused a number of severe checks on this form of education, for as it was now no longer possible to arrange lotteries or public subscriptions, it became more and more difficult to provide the movement with the necessary financial aid. And as far as the Schools themselves were concerned, subjects which dealt with the government and the social pattern were struck off the teaching programs — and even the very term "Folk High School" caused suspicion. For this reason, some of the Schools carried on under the name of "rural" or "housewifery" schools during this period. During the early years of oppression

(1899—1905) only two new Folk High Schools — one for each language group — were able to make a start.

After the great strike, there followed a few years during which the oppressive measures of the Russians became somewhat toned-down, and thus fresh possibilities arose. And they were utilised. In a number of places, preparations for the establishment of a School had been going on for years, though the necessary permission had not been given. But now the work could start. During the period between the great strike and the year of independence (1905—17), new Folk High Schools — seven of them Swedish — were founded. The first of the so-called "Christian Folk High Schools" now came into existence, and Swedish-speaking Österbotten became provided for in a way similar to the Swedish districts in southern Finland. The first School with the second year's course (The Swedish Folk Academy) started in 1908, and within the Finnish-speaking region, Schools were established chiefly in the border districts and so on.

It goes without saying that the independence of the country had provided quite a new basis for the activities of the Schools, and had imposed new duties on them. Thus in 1925, legislation made the Folk High Schools the primary form of voluntary Adult Education, regulated by law. Common outlines for work were sketched, they were legally entitled to government grants, but they were at the same time subject to inspection by a state official specially employed for that purpose.

Meanwhile, the establishment on new Schools in various areas went on at an even pace. And it should be noted that the new Schools were with few exceptions founded by various religious bodies. Three Finnish Schools with a *second year's* course were completed, and the workers were provided with an institution appropriate to their spirit and needs, viz. *Työväen Akatemia (The Workers' Academy)*. And thanks to the official grants and general economic progress, the general activities of the Schools acquired stable foundations. By 1939, which brought with it a new period of trial, the movement had grown so as to comprise 56 Schools, fifteen of

them Swedish, and it now enjoyed a recognised and firm position in the minds of the people.

But the wars, and the severe peace treaties which followed upon them, struck our Folk High Schools a severe blow. During the war period, work was discontinued for several years. In the surrendered Karelian region, there were six Schools which after the peace were compelled to investigate other possibilities, and up in the North the Germans destroyed two Folk High Schools completely. However, the Karelian Schools, having moved, are able to continue their educational work amongst Karelian youth — a sure sign of the great affection in which the movement is held, and of the readiness of people to make sacrifices for it. Likewise, the Schools in the North have been rebuilt.

But the post-war history of the Schools is a good deal more than just a record of building activities. Under the pressure of manifold political and economic difficulties, there has been a strengthening of that belief — dating back to the early years of the movement — in the value of knowledge as a source of power for the people. During this period up to September 1949 17 Schools with Finnish language and 3 Schools with Swedish language had come into existence, of which 8 Folk High Schools or Academies with a second year's course. In the beginning of the schoolyear 1950—51 the number of schools has been increased with one Folk Academy, one Folk High School, and two former Schools have been transformed into Academies. It is in this way that the "network" of Folk High Schools has — if we go by the actual number of Schools — become the world's greatest.

The Folk High Schools now.

Statistics show that during the working year 1949—50 a total of 81 Schools was active. Of the total mentioned 62 were Finnish and 19 Swedish. 67 had a one year's course, 14 a second year's

course, of which in 3 the basic teaching includes a second year's course.

From the beginning, Finnish Folk High Schools have differed from the Danish in that way they are mixed schools, where men and women have simultaneously attended the same courses. There is only one — the Jamilahti Folk High School — which for the whole period of its existence has specialised in women pupils.

We have already pointed out that the great increase in the total number of schools has been brought about largely by those which happen to have a definitely Christian view of life — a view which is plainly indicated by their names. There are 34 Schools (i. e. 42 %) in this category. All the revivalist movements within the national church, as well as the Free Church bodies, have established their own Folk High Schools. And amongst the higher grade Schools — the so-called Folk Academies — a special group includes two Schools working in spirit with the Labour Movement, the Workers' Academy and *Sirola-opisto* (the Sirola Institute). The last-mentioned gathers its adherents from the extreme Left, and further there is *Alkio-opisto* (the Alkio Institute), which has grown up from the Youth Organization to the Agricultural Party. The newest special Schools are the Institute of the the Confederation of Finnish Trade Unions (SAK) at Kiljava and the Folk High School of the Friends of Temperance at Joutseno. And these have given rise to astonishment within illinformed circles in Finland and amongst foreigners. Will not such Schools easily become propaganda institutions for bigoted lay-preachers or partisans?

The fact is however that these Schools remain in harmony with the fundamental principles behind Adult Education. For each and all of us, it is of decisive importance that we be allowed to continue our studies and our spiritual growth in an atmosphere where our traditional view of life is revered and respected. And those who founded the first Christian Folk High Schools certainly did not mean to imply that in the existing Schools, the Christian way of life was not respected. Their aim was to found Schools which as far as

teaching went, did not in the least diverge from the methods of other Schools, but which nevertheless would be coloured and characterised by the religious views held by the sect or body concerned. This means that the essential task of a Folk High School is an effective *civic* education, not a Christian or a political one.

The teaching program.

After the headmasters of the very first Folk High Schools had become acquainted with those of Denmark and Sweden, they concluded that each country had to create its own, in line with its particilar conditions and resources. Hence from the very beginning, the Schools differed — except for their mixed character — from the Danish ones. In fact we ourselves speak with some justice about "the Finnish form of Folk High School". With the exception of the workers' High Schools, religious instruction is quite naturally included in the teaching program, although the number of hours per week is not large — generally two, and in the Christian Schools from three to four. However, such teaching is not much concerned with theoretical questions, and it forms a small but important part of the program because from the angle of Finnish public opinion, religious instruction is essential for the development of the youthful personality, and cannot therefore be replaced by any other subject.

Another characteristic of the Finnish Folk High Schools is the considerable number of hours devoted to handicraft. It is a very important subject, and was included in the teaching program of the elementary schools even before Folk High Schools came into existence. It was possible to build upon foundations already laid, and it was included in the programs because it was a necessary change from the more theoretical studies, and because the skill thus acquired was extremely useful in the rural areas from which the pupils came, and to which they would return. Thus the needs of the peasant population were a decisive factor in the choice of teaching-material for both male and female handicraft classes.

Domestic economy and housewifery also occupies a rather more important position than it does in other lands. Women pupils have as many hours of domestic economy as of handicraft, and teaching takes the form of theoretical lectures plus practical cookery in the large school kitchen and in the little "teaching kitchen". The number of hours devoted to agricultural studies is greater for men than for women, though not so great as to give it the character of occupational training. In this subject, as in all other subjects at the Schools, the object is to provide a stimulus to those destined for a farming life, as well as to provide those who will take up other occupations with basic knowledge regarding the country's chief industry.

Each School is quite free to frame a curriculum in line with the wishes of those who support the school and with its special tasks. In almost all Folk High Schools the greatest stress is on the humanistic subjects, and only in a few do the sciencefarming-technical subjects occupy the leading position.

A Folk High School course is held during the winter halfyear, and for various reasons the question of a summer program has arisen. It is not only that it ought to be possible for the youth of a given neighbourhood to carry on with their studies during the summer, for it is important economically for the school buildings to be used the whole year round.

Different schools fill-up the summer-time gap in different ways. Some let their buildings to professional and educational organizations holding summer courses, whilst some are arranged as restrange short courses either purely educational or dealing with domhomes for housewives with large families. Again, some Schools arestic economy, handicraft and so on. In the course of the past four years, there have been requests for 5-month summer courses in domestic economy, 20 Schools arranged special summercourses in the summer 1950.

Folk High Schools and the state.

When the Folk High Schools at last emerged triumphantly, a discussion arose on whether the principle of freedom in teaching was in fact in harmony with the request for government money. Would not the state demand the right of making decisions as to the teaching programs? However, even those who urged government subvention were of the opinion that Folk High Schools ought not to become authentic state schools, for that would lead to a decline in local interest, support and continued growth — all basis conditions for successful activity. The law in force concerning the Folk High Schools, given the 7 July 1950 fixes the task of the Folk High School and the Folk Academy as follows:

"The Folk High School is a boarding school delivering a generally educational social and professional instruction and training.

The Folk High School is either an institute with a first year's course delivering a supplementary instruction on the basis of the Folk High School or a Folk Academy which is based on the instruction received at such a school and which gives a more fundamental special instruction during one or several years."

A Folk High School having these aims, and which has been active for at least two years, receives as a fundamental subvention 70 % of its real expenses, which are made up of the salaries, rents, heating, water, electricity, materials and equipments of instruction, library, premiums of fire ensurance, general care of the health and printed works. From the point of view of the teachers in the Folk High Schools it would be especially important if this law should number the teachers' and other persons' pensions to the real expenses justifying a subvention. And during the first two years, the government grant is half the above. In order to receive the grant, a School must fulfil certain conditions.

Within the limits set by these conditions, the School has ample opportunities of arranging its internal life and teaching in such a way as to correspond with its individual spirit and aims. Thus the

conditions which are attached to the government grant do not act as fetters — rather they give stability to the work of the School and contribute to its success.

In addition to the grants for teaching and so on, there are others which are given to pupils in poorer circumstances. From the state the School receives at most 70 % of the total amount of the study-expenses for each pupil without means.

In connection with the superintendence and control of teaching activities and the uses to which public money is put, the School Board employs a special *skolråd*. He carries out his duties partly with the guidance of written reports sent in by the Schools themselves, and partly by means of personal inspections. But since the same official also superintends the Workers' Institutes and other voluntary education activities, the space of years between one inspection and another at a given School tends to become too long. Consequently, requests have been made for the employing of another *skolråd* in the sphere of voluntary education, but without result so far. Inspection of the Swedish Folk High Schools and questions concerning them are both in the hands of the *skolråd* in the Swedish-speaking department of the School Board who has to deal with Elementary School matters.

Finance and School buildings.

During the whole of the Russian period with the exception of a few years, the economy of the Folk High Schools had to be based on the self-sacrifice of private individuals. In Finland, the Schools are owned by benevolent societies, limited companies or charitable institutions, and during the period when they first made their appearance, they met with much good-will expressing itself practically in monetary grants. Many Schools acquired their building sites as a gift, or at a price lower than was usual in the district. But as soon as a School had started to function, many an ardent friend tended to forget how important it was for the school to continue

receiving sufficient economic help. In fact to a number of Schools, the situation seemed so desperate as to threaten their very existence. We may note however, with great satisfaction, that only three of Finland's Folk High Schools were forced to discontinue their work. And in two of these cases, contributory causes were the death of the Headmaster, and the remaining School was destroyed by fire.

Nor is it easy today to obtain the amounts of money which are still required in spite of the help which comes from the government. A School cannot be made economically stable by means of the fees which pupils pay for teaching and food, and yet to increase the fees might well prevent poorer pupils from attending. Consequently, the Folk High Schools must still base their economy in great part on the voluntary aid which comes from the circles which support them, and further, the summer activities of many Schools have acquired an economic character.

One of the greatest difficulties has been to make buildings suitable for teaching purposes. Thus there are Schools which do not have the appropriate special rooms for special classes, which have no reading room or gym hall, and at many the pupils are forced to live so closely packed that independent work is out of the question, and study has to be chiefly confined to the classroom sessions. Of the total number of Schools during 1949—50 68 worked in buildings — though often defective ones — of their own, and 13 (2 of which were ambulatory) in rented premises.

Amongst those Schools which struggle under economic burdens, a special group consists of those which moved from the surrendered Karelian areas. As we have said, all of them have been able to carry on with their work and at present there is only one without the house of its own.

Teachers and pupils.

In the period prior to Finland's independence, the Folk High Schools were free to appoint teachers according to their own judge-

ment. From the very start, they did their best to get as Headmaster someone who had completed his academic studies. But where the other teachers were concerned, they had to lower their standards both as regards quantity and quality. When state aid and state regulation came, the legislation contained certain stipulations as to the teachers. The object was partly to ensure that the teachers' qualifications were such as to satisfy all reasonable demands, and partly because it was desirable to bring salaries to a level that would guarantee really skilled teachers for the Schools. Personal suitability is certainly involved here, but even so one ought not to underrate formal qualifications proved by examinations. And gradually the laws made have borne fruit. According to the report of the Committee on the working-year of 1937—38, 42 headmasters out of 54 had passed an academic examination, whilst 78 % of the women teachers of domestic economy and 74 % of the women teachers of handicraft had received a thorough teacher's training. And it is clear that the legal stipulations about professional qualifications have not filled the Schools with teachers unfamiliar with the special aims of this kind of education. There is evidence for this in the fact those who have chosen the Folk High Schools as their sphere have generally liked their work, and the report just mentioned states that during the year 1937—38, more than half the total of headmasters had served for more than ten years.

The number of teachers has increased, quite naturally because the number of Schools has grown, but also per School. During the hard early period, each had to be content with teachers engaged by the hour, but in time things improved enough for at least five teachers to be on the permanent staff: Headmaster, the teacher of agricultural subjects, the teachers of handicrafts for males and females, and the woman teacher of domestic economy. The increase was all the more necessary because of the growing numbers of pupils, for generally speaking, a teacher of practical subjects may not have more than 30 pupils to instruct. Recently, permanent teachers have been engaged for special subjects — particularly music.

During 1949—50, the total number of teachers at the Schools was 711. Considerable efforts have been made not only to increase the salary levels, but to even the salaries between the different Schools, and by commen action on the part of the School Board and the benevolent societies concerned, these efforts have been successful.

In the pioneer days, the enthusiasm of the youth was so great that the Schools could not take all those who wished to join, and when the total number of Schools increased, the numbers were distributed amongst them. The biggest fluctuations — except for the changes caused by three wars — occurred during economic depressions, when the totals had a tendency to sink below the legally prescribed limit. During the final normal year before the wars began (1938—39), the total number of pupils in all the Schools was 3,581, of them 1,002 men and 2,579 women. The size of the Schools is indicated by the limit figures: 20—276. The total number of pupils reached its highest point during the post-war year 1947—48, when it was 4,424 — a figure achieved by the establishment of new Schools.

In those very early Folk High Schools, one often found not only young people, but married ones — often more than 30 years old. In time, however, a levelling-up of ages took place. According to the new stipulations, the lowest age limit 16 for women and 17 for men. During the past few years, the average age seems to have increased, this being due partly to more strict methods of selection forced upon the Schools by increased numbers of applicants, and partly to the wishes of the pupils themselves. The relatively small number of male pupils has been a remarkable characteristic of the Schools during the whole period of their existence, but nevertheless a contributory cause is compulsory military service. And in the peasant homes, it is not easy to spare a young male for two whole winters. In both the above-mentioned respects, the Folk Academies are in a unique position. In these Schools, the average age of the pupils is considerably higher and the number of male pupils is prop-

ortionately larger — it is sometimes more than half. But the Folk High Schools were established for the needs of the peasant population, and therefore the majority of the pupils — 73 % in 1938—39, for example — are from farming homes. Those Schools which are inspired by Labour ideals are of course in another category.

Already in the early years of the movement, there were discussions — even in the *lantdag* — as to how it might be made possible for young people from the poorer homes to attend a Folk High School, and although scholarships were given and fees lowered, not until state help came along could the matter be permanently arranged. The number of pupils receiving financial aid has been kept at about one-third the total number, although there is a noteceable tendency for the former figure to increase. This is partly due to Finland's economic trials, and partly to the increase in the number of Schools.

As regards the composition of the pupils during the post-Independence period, it is worth noting that before war came, the Finnish Folk High Schools had as pupils many representatives of sister nations. In addition to refugees from Karelia and Ingerman-land there were young people from Esthonia, from the coasts of Livonia and from the Finnish settlements of the north of Sweden and Norway.

Work in neighbouring areas.

The activities of a Folk High School ought not to be limited to the work done in the School itself. These activities should in fact embrace the whole neighbourhood, geographical and human, and in practice they vary widely because of the variations in the Schools themselves. The countryside Youth Association of Finland, which came into existence during the 80's, cooperated with the Folk High Schools from the very start, and the headmasters and teachers of the Schools, for their part, regarded such cooperation as a bounden duty.

The Christian Folk High Schools established contacts with the Youth Organizations of the parishes and with their fellow religious bodies; they took part in the arranging of religious meetings and festivals, and they also visited neighbouring parishes. And Schools which recruit their pupils from amongst the working classes co-operate in many ways with the various educational movements which are active in that field.

Work amongst former pupils is also worth mentioning. Every School has a "Comrades' Association" of former pupils, and many Schools publish a special magazine which acts as a link in this connection. And a Comrades' Association may in many ways further the interests of the School — by financial support, perhaps, or by making it possible for the less well-off to attend, or even by helping to establish a new School with the same spirit.

The relations between the Schools and other branches of continued education have always been lively. Thus, a visit was recently arranged between a Folk High School and a Workers' Institute, enabling young people from different spheres to become acquainted with each other and each other's interests. Young people who have attended study-circles quite often find their way to a Folk High School, and return to their previous sphere of study better equipped than they were before — and perhaps even fit for leadership. In the realm of continued education, the Folk High Schools are both receivers and givers.

Internal cooperation.

The pupils and teachers of the first Schools felt like pioneers, and they felt bound together by common ties and common problems. Teachers as well as headmasters came together for unofficial conferences, although it was not until the present century that firm collaboration came into being. Finnish Folk High School Association *(Suomen Kansanopistoyhdistys)* was founded in 1907, and during the last few years its activities have so increased that they

are thinking of engaging a permanent leader. The central task of the Association is to attend to the further training of High School teachers, this taking the form of lectures and special courses in various subjects. Membership is quite large — 70—80 % of the total number of teachers. There are also arrangements for the publication of books specially written for the teachers at Folk High Schools, and the first of these has already appeared.

From 1927 onwards, a special Association paper *(Kansanopisto* or "Folk High School") has appeared, and for the past four years it has been bi-lingual.

The future.

Sixty years of successful activity have given the Folk High Schools a strong position on Finland's educational front. But the movement must not become petrified within older forms. It must keep its eyes fixed on the future. The great number of post-war Schools proves that the people are still alive to the importance of the movement, and the new law of Folk High Schools having come into force many signs of brighter outlook on the sky of the Folk High School are visible. The Folk High Schools of Finland, conscious of its still growing strength, grateful for the good-will of the people and the aid of the state, is now ready to meet the new and increased demands which may be made on it in the future.

THE FINNISH WORKERS' INSTITUTES

Origin and Development.

The first Workers' Institute in Finland was started at Tammerfors on Jan. 16th 1899. And that date marks the beginning of the 50 years old history of the Workers' Institutes, whose ideals and aspirations are so similar to those of the Folk High Schools.

It is true that the social motives of the former are not those of the Folk High Schools, but both aim at raising the cultural and educational level of the masses. Both were born during the latter part of the 19th Century, a significant period in the development of Finland's educational pattern.

We may regard the so-called "Folk High Schools Courses" initiated by the Society of Popular Culture (founded 1874) as a kind of forerunner of the Workers' Institutes. These courses were started in 1892, and the object was to apply the ideas and methods, of the Folk High School to town conditions. But although in some cases the courses were actually arranged by the workers' associations, their form and spirit could not in the long run satisfy the needs of a labouring population with conditions of life fundamentally different to those of the peasant, in which the Folk High School had its most fruitful soil. For instead of typical Folk High School courses founded upon ethics or religious faith, the workers wanted an educational scheme coloured by science, economics and sociology, and above all fitted as far as possible to their own conditions of life. Therefore, at the end of the century, there arose in certain circles — particularly those connected with education within Labour organizations — the idea of establishing an Institute suitable for the industrial workers, one which would really meet the special needs of a continuously growing section of the population. Thus it was that by the beginning of the 80's, the Tammerfors Labour Association had already taken steps toward the establishment of a Workers' Institute. In 1892, the Association appointed a special Committee which approached the Town Council and asked if a fund might be started, but this request was refused. In 1884, one of the Committee members, A. Dahlberg, B. A, published in the Associations "calendar" a long article on the need for an Institute, at the same time giving an account of the Stockholm Workers' Institute and basing his arguments on statements made by the founder, Dr. Anton Nyström. But several years passed before the strivings of the Tammerfors workmen led to practical results. Baron E. S. Yrjö-Koskinen

made the appropriate proposal at a meeting of the Finnish Club, and a Committee was appointed to deal with the question. The proposition itself and the draft statues drawn-up by the Committee bore fruit, for in spring 1898 the Town Council agreed to the establishment of a Workers' Institute at Tammerfors. The Board consisted of 5 members appointed by the Town Council, and representatives of the Labour Association, The Temperance Society and the Youth Association.

The basic principles of the Institute were outlined as follows:

"The aim of the Workers' Institute is to arrange lectures, lecture courses and discussions, and so awaken and keep alive a desire for knowledge and a patriotic spirit in the community, and particularly amongst the numerous labouring population; to raise the standards of professional skill in various fields by tuition regarding the nature and maintenance of machines, and further dealing with tools, technical drawing etc." Teaching subjects include Finnish history, economic and world history, cultural history, geography, ethnography, nature study, hygiene, geometry, drawing and singing.

The positive and active interest of organized Labour in such Institutes has been a most important factor from the very beginning. It expressed itself simultaneously with the founding of the Tammerfors Institute, and in a concrete fashion. At the Third Congress of the Finnish Labour Associations 1899, a decision was made regarding the formation of a Finnish Labour Party, and the Congress also, the workers were recommended to start institutes in all towns, communities, industrial centres and villages with a minimum of 100 workers, and to plan such Institutes on the pattern of Tammerfors.

In 1906, a Workers' Institute was started at Vasa, one appeared in 1907 at Uleåborg, at Åbo and at Viborg in 1908, at Kotka in 1910 and in Helsingfors in 1914 — where both Swedish and Finnish higher lecture course for workers had been going on since 1904.

Because the prototype of the Tammerfors Institute was the Stockholm Workers' Institute, we may well ask ourselves why it is that

today, the Workers' Institute movement is so much weaker in Sweden. The question could be very thoroughly discussed, no doubt, but the fact remains that decades ago, Finland's interest in Workers' Institutes was so strong that although the total was no more than a third of the present one, it was even then possible to regard it as an authentic popular movement. The use of the term would be even more justified today, for there are now 98 Schools of this kind in Finland. At the start, all of them were called "Workers' Institutes", but later on the titles of "Civic" and "Free" Institutes came to be used. These newer names are for the most part indications of a wish to serve wider circles than merely the workers, but they sometimes hint at political factors too. Of the Institutets existing now, 66 are called Workers' Institutes, 19 Civic Institutes, and 12 "Free" *(i. e.* Independent) Institutes. In addition, there is the Sanatorium Institute, which is unique in that it has a central bureau in Helsingfors connected with the activities of 14 large tubercolosis sanatoria in various parts of the country, and the pupils are patients. — Of the present total, 15 Institutes are Swedish.

A special group is formed by Institutes working in the so-called "Settlements" — the centres of Christian social activity. Their programs and working methods are generally the same as those of other Workers' Institutes, even if the spirit manifests itself in other ways. The first of these was the Kalliola Free Institute in Helsingfors, started in 1920, and there is a central organization which was formed in 1918 under the name of "*Industriorternas Evangeliesällskap*" and is now known as the Central Union for Christian Social Work.

With regard to developments during the past few years, it may be mentioned that before the war, and particularly after it, many new institutes were founded. The number on the present Finnish territory is now double what it was in 1938—39, the last working-year before war broke out. At that time there were 53 Institutes of this type, but 7 of them were in the areas surrendered to Soviet Russia.

The pupils.

Up to two-thirds of the pupils of Workers' Institutes are manuel workers, and most of the others are foremen and office employees. During the whole period, these proportions have not changed very much, although there has been a recent slight decrease in the number of manual workers. Generally it is the women who are in the majority, for they often form about two-thirds of the total — and during the last years of the war their majority was even larger. The lowest admission age is 16, and without going into the question more closely it may be mentioned that nine-tenths of the pupils are over 18 and two-thirds over 21. The total number of students during the working-year 1950—51 rose to about 45,000.

The size of the Institutes varies a great deal. The largest is the Finnish Workers' Institute in Helsingfors, which has averaged 4,500—5,000 students during the past few years. The Tammerfors Institute has averaged about 2,500, the Åbo Institute 1,500, the Helsingfors Swedish Workers' Institute over 1,000 and the smallest Institutes around 100.

There are also wide variations in the capacities of the students. The majority however have been through elementary school. Compulsory elementary education was introduced in the 1920's, and so at that time there were many students who had never even been to an elementary school. Some students have attended the *lärdomsskola*, passed an examination at a secondary school, or even matriculated. And it is worth noting that improvements and extensions of elementary education have already necessitated higher forms of study at the Workers' Institutes.

The aim of Workers' Institutes —

quite naturally necessitated their being placed in industrial centres. To quote Tammerfors again: "The groundwork of all social, political and material reforms is the raising of the labouring class both intellectually and morally. Where there is no craving for knowledge

it must be stimulated. The task of the Institutes is to transform the workers into enlightened members of the community". And the objectivity of the approach has already been demonstrated by the fact that when the Labour Party gave its support to the idea, it stressed that politics should be kept out of the teaching. The principles of the Tammerfors Institute were in line with those which the Labour movement had approved, and as has already been said, the pattern of later Institutes was very similar.

This very clear statement of the aim of the Institutes was quite spontaneous. It arose from the educational needs of the working people, and it has been reiterated again and again. It has been dealt with at the delegate meetings of the Union of Workers' Institutes, founded in 1919, and it has appeared again on lecture and conference days.

The 1946 meeting of delegates approved a resolution arising from a report, which contains the following: "As their name implies, Workers' Institutes should be educational establishments working in line with the spirit of the working people, and at the same time should aim at scientific truth. Teaching programs ought to pay due regard to the atmosphere in which the workers live, their conditions and their needs. Consequently there should be room for social and such other subjects as help to strengthen the democratic view of life, and there should also be the kind of studies which help to draw the different social classes closer together. In their official activities, the Institutes should aim at friendly collaboration with the Labour organizations in order to further assist the working people in their struggle for knowledge".

The laws passed regarding the Institutes have been of great value. The first measure passed dealt with the question of official grants. It was passed in 1926, came into force in 1927 and was renewed in 1938. Present legislation provides that "teaching at the Institutes shall take the form of lectures and exercises dealing chiefly with social and economic subjects, but including also the humanistic and natural-science subjects, in order to raise the general educational

standard and to awaken interest in independent study, as well as to develop the qualities necessary in civic life. Teaching shall be done skilfully and diligently on pedagogic principles which are suited to the age of the students and free from political bias."

At present arrangements are done in order to get more possibilities to continue the studies at the School of Social Sciences on basis of that knowledge received in the Workers' Institutes.

The program and general activities of Workers' Institutes.

By now, the reader should have a fairly good idea of these, but an additional fact which should be mentioned is that the social subjects have not received that rather central position in the program which was originally intended, and which is implied in the official regulations. Attempts have been made to discover the reasons for this, but so far with no very clear results. But it should not be forgotten that it is often hard to draw a strict line between social and non-social subjects.

For the first few years, lectures were the chief teachingmethod, but considerable changes have come about in the course of time. The social aims mentioned above are still fulfilled by a vast number of lectures of various kinds — including public ones with a very wide range. But the central working-method is no longer that of lectures plus so many teaching-hours, but the study circle, a form adopted by the Kotka Workers' Institute in 1921.

Individual activity in its purest form is to be found in the ranks of the so-called "Comrades' Associations", some of which are registered societies. They provide a sphere and an outlet for the energies and interests of socially-minded people, and they have for a long time been considered a most important part of the Institute movement. Besides their proper work — the arranging of social evenings, meetings, excursions, theatre visits, and club activities of various kinds — the Comrades' Associations have some more "official" tasks, for at Institute meetings, or through their represen-

tatives on the Institute Board, they express their opinions on the program and work.

The library is a thing of great importance in an Institute — but it is unfortunately not so in all of them. The difficulties here are chiefly due to the fact that because building problems have often been solved in an unsatisfactory way, the only space for a library is in the Headmaster's private house, and therefore the books are not readily accessible.

Premises.

In the course of 50 years of Institute work, no satisfactory solution of this problem has been found. No more than a few Institutes own a special building, and most of them work in places rented by the evening. These are chiefly schools, but they are sometimes in buildings belonging to associations and societies. Finance makes this a very difficult problem to solve, and it is all the more so under present national-economic conditions.

Finance.

The financial backbone of the Institutes is the government grant, and the statutes give them a basic amount corresponding to 50 % of their actual expenses. It is true that an Institute is supposed to have functioned for two years before it can obtain the full grant, but in practice the School Board has interpreted this with some elasticity and recently the full 50 %, instead of 25 %, has been granted during the first working-year. This elasticity has been made possible by a clause stipulating that the larger amount may be granted during the first year to Institutes situated in economically poor areas. Institutes in remote parts of the country may also receive an additional 10 %. The legal interpretation of "expenses" covers salaries, rent, heating, electricity, furniture, teaching materials, library books and occasional commitments.

Further conditions of the grant provide that the Institute must

be owned or supported by a given community, or that the question of ownership is sufficiently clear to guarantee the proper functioning of the Institute and the legitimate usage of its contents; that the working year comprises 26 weeks; that after two years the Institute must have at least 50 pupils over 16; that the number of pupils in any teaching group is not below 10, or below 5 at the "continuation teaching"; that the Headmaster and teachers are properly qualified and their salaries reasonable; that the Institute is subject to state inspection and is not run for private profit.

It is the communal Institutes which are most favoured, but these nowadays constitute but one half of the total, whereas the first ones were all communal. One-half of the Institutes are owned by "guarentee associations" compose of citizens' societies, business firms and private individuals. In the matter of financial support, communal aid ranks next in importance to the government subvention. Two Institutes are owned by limited companies.

Headmasters generally possess a B. A. *(fil. kand.)* degree, but some of them (clergymen and so on) do not. Elementary school teachers are to be found in the ranks of both teachers and headmasters, and there are also teachers who have been educated by private study, in the Labour organizations, or in the Institutes themselves.

Special stipulations.

The law states that Workers' Institutes must have regulations sanctioned by the School Board regarding teaching programs, working schedules, ownership, working-hours and fees.

Programs, working-hours and fees are spontaneously arranged within the Institute itself, in line with the law but also adapted to the needs and capacities of the students. The institutes generally work from mid-September to April—May — the most favourable time for study, of course. The pattern of working-class life made it necessary for studies to be arranged in the evenings and to some extent on Sundays. The fees are very low. At present they vary

between 30 and 200 marks per term, and once paid, entitle the member to take part in all forms of study.

According to the government decree, there should be at least 10 working hours per week. In addition, summer terms may be arranged, and they should comprise at least 6 weeks with at least 6 week-hours. The qualifications of a Headmaster are defined as a high school examination successfully passed, a certificate in pedagogics, and at least one year's experience at a Workers' Institute. Stipulations regarding teachers are less strict: "the knowledge, ability and interest — proved by example — necessary for educational tasks in a Workers' Institute".

Cooperation between Workers' Institutes.

Prior to 1919, there was already some common ground on which the affairs of Workers' Institutes were discussed, but in that year a separate cooperating organization was founded. It was christened the "Union of Workers' Institutes" *(Työväenopistojen Liitto)*, and its declared policy was to extend the activities of the Institutes, to guard their common interests and to keep alive the connections between them.

The Union tries to fulfil these aims by stimulating interest in Institute studies and private ones, by Institute propaganda, by the publication of standard regulations etc. It assists by word and deed with the establishment of new Institutes, and does its best make their tasks easier by supplying lecturers, teaching material etc. It arranges joint meetings study and conference days and study trips. It publishes a periodical and other literature dealing with the movement, and in all ways gives all the help it can.

In this Union, the greatest power of decision is that exercised by the representatives' meeting which meets at least every third year. The delegates on these occasions are the Institute headmasters, the students' representatives appointed according to the regulations, the Board and teachers.

The Unions' income is derived from a government grant plus Institute subscriptions, the latter amount being decided at the Union meeting, and in line with the total number of Institute students. Hitherto, the most important tasks of the Union have been those described above, and the arranging of annual lecture and conference days. In connection with these latter, the Union has for a couple of decades received the necessary financial aid from the Kordelin Fund, which has also made possible the arranging of summer courses. These were started in 1938.

The Union's summer courses are chiefly arranged for recreational purposes, but studies are also included in the programs, and the number of participants has grown steadily. They are held in the country — once a year at the beginning and now twice a year — and last for one week. There were 140—150 participants in 1948—50, and Union circles are now contemplating an extension of these courses. The program includes lectures, discussions, excoursions, recreations of various kinds and social evenings. There are also "Workers' Institute Days" arranged every few years and organized by the various local Institutes. The program includes festivals, excursions, speeches, lectures etc. At Tammerfors 1947 1,500 delegates and students assembled for three days; on the last occasion at Kemi in 1950 the number was 700.

The Union has its own journal "*Työväenopisto*" (The Workers' Institute), from 1923. The Union has published a book of prof. Zachris Castrén and his lifework and has participated in publishing some booklets important and suitable for the institutes.

In recent years, cooperation between the Institutes and their student-groups has also developed on a district basis, and so-called Institute and Pupils' District Groups have been formed.

Recent investigations into the question of Workers' Institutes.

A state committee, whose task was to plan a reorganization of the Institutes with regard to current tasks, their teaching programs

and methods, and their harmonising with other Adult Education work in Finland, was appointed in 1945. The committee was also asked to formulate some suggestions to be passed on to the government. The report was completed at the end of 1947, after two and a half years of work.

In dealing with the present position of the Institutes, the Committee emphasises that the increasing power and influence of the workers is a phenomenon of great significance for the whole of society. The report further points out that both the Institutes and the Labour organizations have changed their character somewhat, and urges that something should be done in order to strengthen the position of the Institutes and increase confidence in them, and it mentions several factors which are blocking the way. There are for instance the divisions amongst the workers themselves, and differences of opinion amongst headmasters and teachers on the one hand and students on the other. In addition the report urges the necessity of strengthening democracy by means of scientific and objective thinking, and adds that the naturally human feeling of fellowship should be developed into true internationalism. Special importance ought to be attached to character-forming, to the increase of knowledge and the power of judgement, to social activities and the development of a sense of responsibility. Lecture circles — on the lines of the university circles in the realm of Adult Education in England — deserve increased attention in the search for better teaching methods. The state ought to increase its subvention from 50 % to 60 %, and social studies ought to be further encouraged by means of an additional 15 %. With some justification, the Committee considers it possible as well as desirable to establish a greater number of Institutes in country districts. The School Board should — as both the Board itself and the Institutes have wished for a long time — acquire an official especially for this branch, because as long as Adult Education in Finland is handled by one man only, it is impossible for him to work for the cause as energetically as could be wished by all concerned. In its estimate of the importance of the different

subject groups, the Committee emphasises the demands of practical everyday life, and states that social education is the most important task of the Institutes. The humanistic and natural-science subjects are also important, but nevertheless they have not received sufficient attention in the teaching program of every Institute. Exercises in languages, writing, arithmetic, singing and elocution are also necessary, and the purely professional subjects are also an inevitable part of a teaching plan. But Workers' Institutes must not become trade schools — their task here is that of increasing the previous professional knowledge of the students. A social aim should be apparent in the whole teaching program. The Committee regards the work of the Comrades' Associations as of great importance. The text-book question ought to be solved in a more satisfactory way than hitherto, and the Committee recommends that libraries be increased and teaching materials augmented, and further that films be used more than they are at present. The Committee also deals with the problem of more effective training for Headmasters and teachers, and with the question of better salaries for them. The ideal is a university or School of Social Sciences training, or practical experience in the field of social work. The supplementary training of headmasters and teachers ought to take the form of long courses arranged with government grants, and there should be more opportunities of travelling abroad. Salary arrangements are so far most unsatisfactory, and have caused much uncertainty. The position of a headmaster at an Institute ought to be comparable with that of a similar post at the state schools. Workers' Institutes and Adult Education as a whole would gain much if in the elementary stages, more attention was paid to civic education. The social consciousness of the students should be awakened, and they should be encouraged to take up social studies and so reap all the possible benefits later on.

Finally, we may note that the Committee's report has become accepted as basic material in contemporary investigations in the sphere of Workers' Institutes.

FREE LIBRARIES IN FINLAND

The first tentative attempts to create free libraries for the mass of the Finnish people took place early in the 19th Century, but it was not until the mid-19th Century that it was possible to speak of an actual library movement. During the latter part of the 19th Century, numerous libraries in both town and country were established — this on the initiative of clergymen, teachers, undergraduates and enlightened autodidacts. Sections included not only religious, professional and general educational literature, but fiction too. The ownership of these libraries was often ill-defined, and they were supported financially by means of subscriptions, festivals etc. About 1900, the influence of the American library system began to make itself felt — chiefly via Norway — and in this way the libraries lost their "charitable" character and became looked upon as something for all citizens, not merely for uneducated peasants. During the period in which Finland was a Grand Duchy subject to the rule of the Russian Czars, the state did not support the libraries except by means of small and very occasional grants. When the country achieved independence in 1917, the question of government help for the free libraries arose immediately, and it came before the *Riksdag* of 1920. From 1921 onwards, the free libraries received government grants according to fixed principles, and at the same time a State Library Commission and Library Bureau were established. In 1928 matters were stabilised by the passing of special statutes which came into force the following year. These statutes, with slight changes, are still in force. They embody the conditions which must be fulfilled if the state grant is to be obtained, and the decree was renewed at the end of 1941.

The Free Library Statutes provide for the appointment of a State Library Commission working in cooperation with the School Board, and handling the general management and superintendence of state-aided free libraries established by communities and associations. It has the character of a permanent committee, and it has

three members who are appointed, for periods of three years, on the recommendation of the Library and Adult Education organizations mentioned in the statutes. The Chairman is the departmental chief in the School Board who, in his capacity of a state official, deals with the question of voluntary Adult Education. The State Library Bureau has 5 officials in the capital, one manager, one chief, one chief clerk, two senior library inspectors and one chancellery clerk. The country is divided into districts, each with its own full-time inspector. "Junior Library Inspector" is the title applied to those officials who live, each in his own district, in various parts of the country. There are five of them, and thus there are seven districts in all.

The government grants to the libraries are, in accordance with the statutes, calculated with regard to what the communities or the owners have spent during the previous calendar year. But from the start, border and other poorer areas have been granted higher amounts, and in some of the Lappland communities it is as high as 90 % of the total expenses. 30,000 marks was the highest grant up to 1947, and it was inflation which at length raised it to 150,000 marks. But this rather low maximum is something of a handicap in the effort to create larger libraries. The 1950 budget included the sum of 37,5 million marks for libraries, in 1949 government grants rose to 28 millions.

Nearly all the free libraries in Finland are communally owned. Educational organizations which at one time tried to build up extensive libraries for general use as well as for their own members, have now ceased this form of activity and now confine their collections to a limited number of reference works for internal use and for study circles.

With the ceding of territory, Finland lost three towns, but there are now 35 towns with libraries of their own, and quite often there are branches. There are also 28 small market towns with access to communal libraries. In 1949 there were 484 communes,

and at the end of that same year there were 10 which had no state-supported library. But many of them had some sort of library, however small, or the germ of one. So that even without statutory help, progress has been made, and about 98 % of the total number of communes have at least one library which fulfils the conditions necessary for receipt of the government subvention. But many of these communes are so vast that there are often tens of kilometres between one village and another, and one library in a commune does not mean that all the inhabitants are able to use it. There are about 2,150 branch libraries, some with a permanent stock of books, and others with a stock which is changed from time to time.

There are many variations in the housing of these libraries. The oldest building specially erected for the purpose is the Helsingfors Town Library, built in 1880 with money from the "Spirit (i. e. alcohol) Monopoly". Later, most of the buildings were acquired through private benevolence. In Vasa and Uleåborg, the library shares a building with the Provincial Archives, and in other towns the libraries are housed in buildings built for quite other purposes, or they may be in the Town Hall or some other local building. Two of the rural communes have buildings of their own, built by means of donations, but generally the central libraries of rural communes are housed in the Municipal Hall, and the branch libraries in elementary school buildings. The most urgent issue in postwar library policy is the obtaining of new premises.

Stocks of books at the libraries vary between the 300,000 volumes of the Helsingfors City Library and the 100—200 volumes of the rural branch libraries.

The library collections are to some extent bi-lingual: in part purely Swedish and in part Finnish. The collections of the town libraries in particular have this character, whereas in the country they are in one language or the other, according to the nature of the population. About 17 % of all libraries, branch libraries included, are

Swedish — a higher percentage than one might assume if one considers the constitution of the population. Literature in foreign languages is found only in the largest libraries.

In the towns and in some of the boroughs, the libraries are managed by full-time paid officials, whereas in the country most of them are managed as a spare-time occupation. For decades, discussions have been going on regarding the employment of full-time officials at the bigger country libraries, but as yet this reform has not arrived. The statutes, in defining the qualifications for employment at state-aided libraries, provide that in towns with more than 15,000 inhabitants, both a library and an academic examination are required. In other places, full-time officials must have matriculated or passed an elementary school-teacher's examination. Half-time paid librarians in the country must pass a simple library examination which can be arranged by means of a ten-days' course or by correspondence.

The system of arrangement is everywhere that of the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian countries, i. e. that of the open access. Dewey's decimal classification is the one generally used — a shortened version of this has just been published, but some big libraries use the system in its original form. There is either an alphabetical or a subject catalogue, or both. Printed catalogues have not been issued recently. The Newark system, or a simplified version of it — the so-called one-card system — is generally used.

During the last 10 years, some attention has been paid to the question of library work among hospital patients. The idea is to get the town libraries to regard the hospital collections as branch libraries. The libraries of five large Helsingfors hospitals have been successfully arranged and managed in this way, and in Vasa a special hospital librarian is employed. During the war, magnificent voluntary work was done at the military hospitals, in order that the patients might be properly provided with literature, but apart from these things, this branch of library work has only just started. Prison

libraries, military and marine libraries are managed separately, and there is nothing in particular that need be said about them.

The libraries are also active in the field of Adult Education — chiefly in an advisory capacity. And during the past few years, great attention has been paid to further developing this into a "study advisory service" of wide scope. Some libraries have arranged study circles led by library officials, public literary festivals and book exhibitions, and have invited schoolclasses and associations to become acquainted with the libraries and their contents. There is also definite cooperation with Adult Education organizations, but there is still much to be done in this connection.

Collaboration between the various libraries is as yet little developed. When requested, the scientific libraries lend books to the town reference libraries, but there is as yet no central library organization. However, preparatory work has been going on for quite a long time. As long ago as 1917, the *riksdag* carried a measure providing for a central library serving the whole country, but due to political circumstances it could not then be put into operation, and was since dropped. Later, efforts were directed mainly towards the creation of regional libraries on the Scandinavian pattern — the so-called provincial libraries. The 1928 library statutes include a stipulation about such libraries, but so far no money has been granted for the purpose. With these conditions, it is not generally possible for the big libraries to feed the small ones; but it is nevertheless only a question of time before there is a centralised library system in Finland.

Library work suffered a great deal during the wars of 1939—40 and 1941—44. Several libraries were bombed, but no severe damage was done. But when the Germans in retreat burnt nearly all the buildings in northernmost Finland, the consequent loss of about 50 libraries was a severe blow, and rebuilding has cost a very great deal. But the greatest loss caused by the war was that areas of Finnish territory were surrendered to Soviet Russia under the terms

of the peace treaty, with the result that 350 libraries were left on the other side of the border.

In general, we may conclude that the Finnish free library system has deep roots and far-reaching influence, and that the Finns are a people much interested in reading and studying. Further development has however been held up by war and insufficient funds. At the end of 1946, a state committee was appointed for the purpose of preparing a renewal of the legislation relating to free libraries.

In 1949 the committee delivered its report and proposed important changes both in the administration of the libraries and in the system for government grants. The state library bureau would according to this plan be linked to the School Board and library affairs handled by a special councillor. Communal libries would become obligatory, branches founded when considered necessary according to a "library plan" in every commune. Rural library work would profit by granting rural communities ⅔ of their expenses as a state grant. The towns would get 50 — 10 % according to size, no maximum for the grant would exist. Building subventions would be given in the same way as for elementary school building, in the towns less. The government hasn't yet handled the bill.

STUDY CIRCLE WORK IN FINLAND

Outline of the Development.

During the final decades of the last century, the great Temperance, Youth and Labour movements arose in Finland, and within them, educational work was important from the very start. Studies were arranged chiefly by means of "lecture and discussion associations", and although some of these developed into something resembling the study circles of our own time, they cannot be regarded as the forerunner of the present Study Circle movement. The most analogous activity was one called "home studies" and

later on "citizens' studies", and was started after a Swedish model. In 1902, the Swedish IOGT (International Order of Good Templars) began study circle work at its lodges, and that same year the example was followed by the temperance association *Raittiuden Ystävät* (the Friends of Temperance). This latter body saw study circles as a means of giving members further knowledge about the temperance cause, and further there was an examination in three stages, which could only be passed after several books on temperance had been studied.

The work of Temperance enthusiasts did not extend very far outside their own circles, and it was only when the civic studies were transferred to more general spheres that they began to attract general notice. It was the leading Adult Education organization, *Kansanvalistusseura* (Society of Popular Culture) which forced this change. Apart from this, the system of the Temperance advocates, including the examination mentioned above, was applied in its original form. Studies might be made privately, but from the beginning the Association paid great attention to the establishment of special home study circles. But the complicated studies, with their many books which were necessary for the examination, frightenened away a great number of otherwise willing people. Therefore *Kotikasvatusyhdistys* (the Association for Home Education), which was specially interested in young people outside the organizations, simplified the system so that only one subject was dealt with each year, and for this subject only one book was necessary.

Before World War I. attempts were made to start study circles in the Youth and Labour movements, but during the conflict itself activities slackened, recovering again when political and social conditions changed. Adult Education, too, acquired new tasks which demanded new forms. This was the time when the modern form of study circle began to take shape, and organization went on apace. Government subsidies for study circle work were first granted in 1921, and new managing organizations arose: *Työväen Sivistysliitto* (the Workers' Educational Association) in 1919, *Valistusjärjestöjen*

Opintotoimikunta (the Educational Organizations' Studies Committee) in 1922, and the Swedish Lecture Bureau in 1919.

The Educational Committee of the Instructional Organizations suspended its activity in 1943 when the Central Union for Study Circles was founded. 16 central organizations working on the field of adult education are now connected with it and of these following ones are active for the study circles as well:

Youth Association of Finland *(Suomen Nuorison Liitto)*, The Folk High School Association of Frontier *(Rajaeudun Kansankorkeakouluyhdistys)*, Agricola Society *(Agricolaseura)*, The Association of Home Education *(Kotikasvatusyhdistys)*, Friends of Temperance *(Raittiuden Ystävät)*, The Ortodox Youth's Union *(Ortodoksisten Nuorten Liitto)*, The Study Central of the Officials' Union *(Virkamiesliittojen Opintokeskus)*, The Central Union of the Agricultural Societies *(Maatalousseurojen Keskusliitto)*, The Union of the Christian Labour Youth *(Kristillisen Työläisnuorison Liitto)*, The Finnish Lutherian Evangelic Union *(Suomen Luterilainen Evankeliumiyhdistys)*, The Union of the Finnish Christian Youth *(Soumen Nuorten Kristillinen Liitto)*. — Beside these some independent circles are associated to the Central Union.

Organization and government subsidies.

The government had extended grants for lecture activities as early as the 1906—09 period, and again in 1913, and expenditure was in the hands of a joint committee appointed by the Society of Popular Culture and the Friends of the Swedish Elementary School. When in 1920 subsidies were granted again, distribution was once more entrusted to a committee, appointed by the Adult Education organizations, and given the title of the "State Lecture Committee". The Workers' Educational Association was also represented. Later when study circle activities also benefited, distribution was in the hands of the same Committee. Governments grants to the Study Circle movement amount to the following sums:

1920:	100,000	marks	1940:	350,000	marks
1925:	150,000	,,	1945:	800,000	,,
1930:	400,000	,,	1950:	5,500,000	,,
1935:	450,000	,,			

In 1946 the Lecture Committee ceased to exist in its earlier form and was replaced by the State Adult Education Commission for working in line with regulations issued by the Ministry.

Study Circle work in Finland is led almost solely by the various Adult Education organizations. The number of Circles outside this movement is relatively small. One may divide the organizations into two main types according to their objects and tasks. One is concerned with the many forms of general Adult Education, and the other consists of central bodies dealing with lectures and circles. The above-mentioned four central organizations, who in addition to other tasks distribute the grants, may be considered as belonging to the latter type.

Government grants to Study Circles.

From the beginning, the subsidy for Study Circle activities has been intended for distribution in the form of grants for books to individual circles. But this is only one of the ways in which Study Circle work may be furthered, and therefore the Bureaus have also used the money in other ways. There is, for instance, the training of study leaders, the expenses of the advisory service, the superintendence of study activities in connection with the fulfilment of the legal conditions for the grant, and so on. The annual subsidy per circle remains relatively small, in 1950 it was about 800 marks.

With regard to the practical distribution of the government grant, it may be mentioned that the subsidies are usually distributed in the spring on the basis of applications sent in by the Circles during April and May, and they are intended as an advance for the next term. These require that the working period contains at least 12

study meetings, and the Circle is also required to spend at least a sum equal to the subsidy obtained from other sources. Further, the books over and above those retained by the members, and all works of fiction purchased with the subsidy, must be passed on to some library. In order to obtain a fresh subsidy for the period following, the Circle must be able to show that it fulfils all the conditions. Here are some figures showing how many Circles received the subsidies:

1921—22:	297.	1939—40:	1,596.
1929—30:	861.	1949—50:	2,065.

However, Circles receiving government financial help form only a part of the total number. 50—60 % of the Circles received an annual subsidy, and from this we may judge the total number of Circles to be 4,500—5,000.

Activities.

The organizing of work within Study Circles is in line with the principles and methods in the other Scandinavian lands. But since these activities are regarded as a form of educational work amongst adults, young people's Circles are not regarded as belonging strictly to this category. Circles of that kind are arranged by several organizations, and in the elementary schools it is regarded as an organic part of school-work proper. The basic principles in Study Circle activity amongst adults are (1) that attendance is voluntary and (2) that there is freedom in the organization of internal work. The central organization issue general directions, but do not interfere with the practical working-methods of individual Circles. And they must not use the Circles as a platform for political or other propaganda.

In the majority of cases, it is the Circles themselves which choose the subjects for study, but we may distinguish two different forms, one used by *Opintotoiminnan Keskusliitto* (the Central Union of Study Circles) and affiliated organizations, the other by the Workers' Educational Association and the Swedish-speaking organizations.

The system applied in the Central Union is known as the "method of common study". It implies that the Central Union each year recommends one or two subjects, with speciallywritten text books adapted to the capacities of the members. And although Circles are of course free to choose quite another subject, in practice 60—70 % follow the suggestions of the Central Union. A survival from the "civic study" activities of former days is the Spring Examination, and for this purpose the Central Union prepared a list of questions based on the contents of the text-books. The Examination is not obligatory, but nevertheless 35—40 % of Circle members pass it annually,

The dominating group embodies definitely educational subjects, historical or scientific for the most part, and after these come social and political science, religion and pedagogy, fiction and literary history, and finally public speaking and associated activities.

The Workers' Educational Association and the Swedish-speaking Central Organizations do not annually recommend any common subject, but leave each circle to decide for itself. The Circles within the Worker's Educational Association are closely connected with the Labour organizations, and this fact is decisive where choice of subjects are concerned. The workers' central organizations often recommend Circles to take up studies useful from their own point of view, although they recommend not one subject but several.

But individual aptitudes and interests are also important factors. If social and political questions occupy the leading position, and interest in pedagogic matters is relatively small, there are those groups which study literary history, fiction, general educational and practical subjects. Recently, some Circles have taken up psychology.

In the Swedish-speaking Circles attached to the Swedish Lecture Bureau, fiction and literary history are the most popular subjects. The central Studies' Organization of the Swedish-speaking workers, the People's Educational Association, started work only at the beginning of 1947.

Study leaders.

One of the requirements of successful Study Circle work is an able leader. In this respect, the movement in Finland has to contend with great difficulties. There is still a great shortage of such leaders — people who are not only familiar with Study Circle work, but interested in it and able to handle it in a stimulating fashion. It is true that a great number of elementary teachers work with the Central Union and allied organizations, but about half of these Circles are led by an ordinary member chosen by his fellows. The Circles of the Worker's Educational Association are almost wholly guided by such leaders, and few of them have teachers' qualifications. The future training of leaders is therefore a most important issue, and courses for this purpose are constantly arranged by the managing organizations. These courses vary both as regards programs and length.

The Worker's Educational Association has also tried the experiment of training leaders by correspondence. The Association's own Correspondence Institute has added to its subjects a course dealing with the tasks of study-leaders, and it is of great practical value in Circle work. In the countryside, it is often very difficult to get any sort of a leader, and these correspondence courses have been arranged in such a way that they can be collectively studied and in a way act as a substitute for a leader.

Instruction in Study Circle work.

In addition to the above methods of training teachers and leaders, a great deal is done within the Circles themselves. The instruction is done orally or by writing. Oral instruction takes the form of visits to study-meetings.

Written tuition is given in the organizations' own periodicals, circulars, instruction booklets, letters etc. Particularly important here are the "study plans" in various subjects, which are worked-out by the organizations and give general guidance, but which do

not as a rule seek to impart knowledge about the subject itself. Though lately, there has been a tendency to include this too.

The planning of future activities.

At the end of 1946 a state Committee was appointed for the purpose of investigating Study Circle activities from the angle of voluntary Adult Education, for evolving proposals regarding the extent to which such activities should be aided by the state, and for sketching-out an appropriate legislative pattern. The Committee presented its proposition to the government in the summer 1949.

In its proposals for an extended organization, the Committee suggests that within the School Board a special Adult Education Department should be created. The distribution of the government grant should, according to the Committee, be entrusted to State Commission for Adult Education appointed by the Ministry of Education and subordinate to the School Board, and it should distribute the grants to special bodies with the collective title of the National Study Centre. Such bodies should be approved by the above-mentioned Committee and each should have regulations sanctioned by the School Board, and they should be led by a Director of Studies *(rektor)* approved by the School Board. The State Studies' Office or Centre should then distribute the grants to the Circles. Such grants should take the form of (1) salaries for leaders, (2) rent, (3) library expenses, and (4) correspondence institute expenses in connection with study plans for the year. In order to obtain the grant, a Circle should be affiliated to a national Centre, should adhere to the regulations of that Centre and use its plan of studies. It should study social-economic, humanistic or scientific subjects, or some practical extra subject, in a skilful and proper manner which yet corresponds to the capacities of the members. The working period of a Circle ought to comprise at least 26 weeks and should contain at least 12 meetings of 2 hours each. A Circle should have at least 10 members over 16, and the total number should not sink lower

than 5 during any appreciable period. With regard to the qualifications required of paid study leaders, these should be such that leaders chosen by the members may be given the same salary. Correspondence Institutes serving a Circle and thus indirectly receiving part of the government grant, should be subject to approval by the School Board.

THE WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION

(Työväen Sivistysliitto).

Founding and Building up of the Association.

During the conditions that prevailed after the First World War, the workers became more and more confirmed in their opinion that the Labour Movement must to an ever increasing extent be built up on a cultural basis. The increasingly important rôle played by the workers in national and civic affairs required preparation and special training. It was, therefore, necessary for them to found their own educational organizations and institutes and to work out special forms and methods for the education of the workers. With the help of these organizations and institutes, mental and spiritual forces would be created which would be able to exert a fresh influence on the economic, social, political and cultural conditions of the day and on their future development. A movement with a view to propagating education is not however enough, and the attention of the workers ought to be directed simultaneously towards a purposeful attempt to re-model society.

The Workers' Educational Association was founded on these principles in 1919. Professor Väinö Voionmaa was elected chairman straightway at the inaugural meeting of the association (24th May), a post which he occupied until his death in 1947. The Association became — as in Sweden — a central organization built up of affiliated bodies, which could be both national or other independent

labour organizations, associations and institutes. The number of affiliated bodies is now 43 and the total membership of those bodies with individual members is 1,300,000.

The right of decision in matters concerning the Association lies with the Representative Assembly and the actual running of the Association and its outside contacts are in the hands of a Board chosen by the Representative Assembly. The Board has ceded part of its right of decision to the Study Board, whose task it is to arrange the actual educational work of the Association.

In order to facilitate the activities of the Association and to render the local educational work more efficient, local workers' educational associations were founded. It is the task of these local associations to stimulate workers' study groups in their own districts, and to organize the work in consultation with the central Association. Such local organizations are now active in 59 places.

The Association has a journal called *Työläisopiskelija* (the Student Worker, from 1928).

Aims and Tasks.

The aim of the Association is to educate the workers in social matters and to satisfy their mental and spiritual needs. Its work is chiefly in the interests of it affiliated members, and takes the form of an advisory service, the procuring of lecturers, etc., provision of books and other material necessary for the educational activities, publication of suitable literature, arranging meetings where educational matters are discussed, and other similar activities.

As all the labour organizations and their individual members need as reliable information as possible both in their social activities and in their private lives, the Association has tried to form its activities so as to suit all the labour organizations. It is, therefore, independent of the political parties, safeguarding the common ideals of all labour movements, an organization within whose compass free and voluntary educational activities can grow and then fertilise other Labour organizations.

Study circles.

Practical activities aim at arousing interest in studies, lectures and libraries, and at stimulating interest in art etc. And from the beginning, the most important aspect of this work has been the Study Circle. It has shown itself to be one of the most satisfactory and flexible forms of Adult Education in the country. Most of the Association's Study Circles work in collaboration with the Labour organization, and they are distributed fairly evenly amid the various areas and towns. In order to facilitate Study Circle work, the Association has worked out a number of "study plans", and since 1920 there have been special courses for the training of leaders. In addition, leaders have been trained by correspondence methods, and by means of visits paid by a special instructor.

In order to extend study activities to seamen, the Association has, in collaboration with the Finnish Seamen's Union and the Swedish Association for Popular Culturel, founded a special seamen's Studies Committee with its own secretary. At the end of the working-period 1950 the Association had 966 Circles with a total of 13,879 members.

The Correspondence Institute.

The Correspondence Institute of the Worker's Educational Association started in 1921. From the start, it aimed at being a support for Study Circle activities, and at the same time it wished to satisfy the special needs of the Labour organizations. It now has about 65 courses in various subjects and the total number of students is about 10,000.

Lecture activities.

Since 1920 the Association has with the financial aid of the state arranged popular science lectures. At least two lectures on the same subject are given on a single occasion, and admission is free to all. The organizations themselves choose the subjects, and a

great number of these lectures have been given at special courses and study days. Owing to the small government grant for this purpose, postwar activities have been rather slight.

Initiatives taken by the Association.

Työväen Akatemia (the Workers' Academy).

As soon as the Association had made a start in 1919, it began to plan the establishment of its own Workers' Academy. Preparations were concluded during 1923—24, and in the autumn of the last-mentioned year the first course was started. The Academy course, comprising six months, follows upon a first year's course at a Folk High School, and the chief stress is upon social and political studies.

The Väinö Voionmaa Fund.

When Väinö Voionmaa, Chairman of the Association, celebrated, his 76th birthday on February 12th 1945, he was presented with a handsome sum collected from various quarters. It was however his wish that this should be used for founding an Institute for Labour Youth. When the sum had been further increased, a Fund was organized, the object being to establish and maintain one-year boarding-schools in which Labour Youth will receive stimulating tuition on cultural and social issues. With further aid from the state, the first institution of this kind is now being built in northern Tavastland.

Economic resources.

In order to provide support for Association activities, affiliated bodies pay annual amounts calculated according to the membership total of the previous year. But much of the available means of the Association has been derived from government subsidies granted for general activities and especially for lectures and Study Circles.

The government subsidies in 1950 totalled 4,675,000 marks. This makes out about 45 % of the total expenses of the Association. The Association also receives help from funds, business houses and private individuals. The Correspondence Institute, too, and book distribution, have also yielded money. But owing to inflation, the economic position of the Association is far from secure, and there are very many difficulties.

"THE FRIENDS OF THE SWEDISH ELEMENTARY SCHOOL" AND EDUCATIONAL WORK AMONGST SWEDISH-SPEAKING FINNS

Johan Vilhelm Snellman's national-revivalist work in the 1840's led to a struggle for enlightenment amongst the Finnish-speaking section of the population. It expressed itself by the publication of popular newspapers and periodicals. But only vague attempts in the same direction were obserwed amongst the Swedish-speaking minority. In the late 1850's however, Axel Olof Freudenthal, leader of the undergraduates of Nyland Province, produced — in conjunction with a circle of friends — a popular Swedish national program. This brought the Finnish-Swedish peasant into the field of vision. In the 1860's and 70's, Swedish popular papers and popular science books started to appear, and lectures by undergraduates were arranged in both town and country.

Kansanvalistusseura (the Society of Popular Culture) had most of its activities concentrated within the Finnish-speaking areas, but up to the beginning of the present century it published also popular scientific literature in Swedish. But the need for a central organization for Swedish Adult Education work was becoming more and more felt.

The organization which came into existence in 1882, and which is still the largest cultural body in Swedish Finland, was christened

Svenska Folkskolans Vänner or "The Friends of the Swedish Elementary School". However, the very first paragraph of the regulations makes it clear that the title did not completely cover the aims, for it mentions besides elementary schools, the publication and distribution of popular booklets, the founding of free libraries, the arranging of popular lectures and other means of furthering the cause of Adult Education.

The SFV — as it is called for short — has continued its work along these lines, but it has also acquired new tasks.

When the first Folk High Schools were founded in the 1880's, Dr. Nordmann, the leading man in SFV, was very active in the cause. By means of a donation which was quite large for those days, the SFV was able to give financial aid to the Swedish Folk High Schools. These High Schools can generally stand on their own legs nowadays, but another fund enables the SFV to aid so-called "practical schools" in the countryside. In 1919, a Bureau for the leadership of lecture activities was founded, and one year later it took the name of the Swedish Lecture Bureau. In 1922, this Bureau took control of Swedish-speaking Study Circle work, which from that time on has received government subsidies.

Here are some figures for 1949. The Bureau received government subsidies amounting to 150,000 marks for lecture activities, while other subsidies (the SFV for instance grants free premises) amounted to 60,000 marks. By these means the Bureau arranged 125 lectures: 46 in Nyland, 12 in Åboland and 67 in Österbotten (East Bothnia). But in a great many instances it was not found possible to grant the subsidies for which applications had been made. The state Study Circle subsidy was 367,000 marks, and subsidies in the shape of books were given to 165 Circles: 56 in Nyland, 23 in Åboland and 86 in Österbotten. There were 556 Circles on the Bureau's list for this year, and 51,000 marks were used for leaders' courses and such-like activities.

In 1921, the basic work in connection with the cause of free libraries — handled by the SFV since the inception of that organi-

zation — was taken over by the State Library Bureau, which employs a special Library Inspector. But SFV still deals with the actual procuring of books, and fortunately, the Association is able to give libraries financial help and books.

Popular musical avtivities have been developed to a high level in Swedish Finland. Every few years, music festivals are held, and it is now possible to assemble 4,000 singers and a string orchestra. The bringing together of countryside choirs into "Choral Unions", comprising a province or a part of one, has been a most important factor in the enrichment of Finland's musical life. The work of organization was carried out after World War I. by SFV's Music Committee under the leadership of Professor Otto Andersson. In 1932, Finland's "Swedish Song and Music Union" took over the arranging of these Music Festivals, but SFV continues to give them all the support it can.

In 1928, Joel Rundt, the author and the then Secreaty of SFV, took the initiative in the formation of correspondence courses, and these at length evolved into *Svenska Brevinstitutet i Finland* or "Swedish Correspondence Institute in Finland". It works on the SFV premises and it led by a special Board, and serves the needs of those seeking knowledge in all secondary school subjects and those of the most important upper-school classes. It further deals with a number of practical subjects of a social or business character, with agriculture and with household craft. It is the first and only Institute of the kind in Finland, and is clearly most successful.

In the appeal made in 1882 by Dr. Wilhelm Grefberg — himself a peasant's son from Eastern Nyland — which led to foundation of SFV, he says that Finland's Swedish population possesses great gifts which are of vital importance for the whole country. He adds: "In spite of its intelligence, its energy and skilfulness, this element of the people will, however, sooner or later be on the road to destruction if the cause of Adult Education is not more furthered than it has been so far." These thoughts of the funder of the Society have

been a guiding-light for his successors, and they have become more and more inspired by them.

So ends this attempt to give a picture of voluntary Adult Education in Swedish Finland. If credit for the pioneer work must go to SFV, it must still be emphasised that much valuable cultural work is also being done outside this Society — by professional and local associations, Youth organizations, Unions and Clubs, by Undergraduate's Associations and so on. But with all this, the central office of the SFV is a place where many threads meet.

FINLAND'S YOUTH ASSOCIATION MOVEMENT

Origin and development.

Though the national revivalist and educational work begun by J. V. Snellman in the early eighteen-eighties had gained wide ground among the educated classes and even carried away prominent men among the mass of the people, the majority still kept to their old ideas, untouched by the tides of time. The attempts to extend this national educational work to the masses caused the twenty-year-old high school student Juho Hietanen, a peasant's son from Southern Österbotten, to publish in the early Spring of 1881 a series of articles in which he proposed that youth associations should be formed, in which "all truly national education should be furthered and the habits and material conditions of the people improved". The fundamental idea behind the youth associations was thus put into words. The first youth association was formed in the same year at Midsummer at Kauhava in Southern Österbotten, and during the years that followed associations were established in various parts of the country.

In the eighteen-eighties, however, only slightly more than ten youth associations came into being, and not until the following

decade, the eighteen-nineties, did the movement become popular. At the turn of the century the number of associations had increased to 247 and their membership to 17,000. As the number of associations grew, so did the need for cooperation between them. This led first — in the beginning of the eighteen-nineties — to the youth associations in each province uniting into *central provincial associations* and in 1897 to the founding of *Suomen Nuorison Liitto* (Youth Association of Finland).

The youth association movement has been chiefly an educational one, and has been chiefly in the countryside. Its members have thus been recruited mainly from the peasant population, even if other classes have given it their unreserved support. People with secondary-school education have taken part both in the work of the local associations and in the organization of the movement. Foremost among the many who have made important contributions to the work of the associations and to their development, is Santeri Alkio, the writer. He spread the knowlegde of the movement by means of speches and lectures, and since 1890 through the movement's own paper, "*Pyrkijä*", which he edited and published for 28 years. The aim of the youth association movement is to awaken in the people, and particularly in the youth, an interest in education for citizenship and in self-education, in harmony with the Christian way of life. This was how Alkio himself expressed it when he explained to each member of a youth association that it was his duty as a member to try to become a good man and a capable citizen.

Thus the youth association movement tries to influence its members and their environment morally and intellectually by offering them a chance of occupying their leisure time both usefully and agreeably after their own choice. During the course of the decades, the youth association movement grew up side by side with the adult education movement, and as general conditions improved, became more varied and reached a higher level. In spite of this, its programme — while remaining strictly non-political — has remained unchanged in principle.

The Youth Association Movement Today.

The number of the *local youth associations* is at present (1949) 1,478 and their membership 93,812, of which 49,258 are men and 44,558 women. The associations are distributed quite evenly over the whole country, and are with few exceptions in the countryside. The lower age limit is 15, but the associations arrange special activities for the growing youth under 15.

The work of the associations consists both of educational work and enlightenment directed outwards, and of educational activities among actual members. No sharp dividing line can be drawn between these two forms of activity, as that directed outwards is at the same time directed inwards at the members themselves, and is in any case chiefly handled by the members of the associations. The educational work among the members is directed either at all the members, for example, at general meetings, discussions and planned social evenings, excursions, etc., or it consists of so-called *group activities*, which have recently been strongly developed.

As far as study circles are concerned, the youth associations dominate the countryside. Within the sphere of folk-dancing and the amateur theatre they are the leading organizations in the country as a whole. The youth associations give about 6,000 performances a year. The work in the field of physical training aims at drawing the great masses into taking part in gymnastics and sports. For the furthering of temperance, 517 temperance committees work within the movement.

Among the other activities of the local associations may be mentioned various kind of courses and excursions. Literary interest is shown by the 1,100 odd hand-written newspapers which appear annually. Within the field of regional history, the associations have tried both to collect objects and by noting down folk-dances, folklore and magic runes, etc., help to preserve them for the benefit of ethnographical research.

The youth associations work mostly in their own club houses.

At present 684 associations have premises of their own, and 143 own parts of houses. The association lacking premises of their own work in rented rooms, in elementary schools, in the homes of the members, etc.

The central associations.

In some places the local associations have united into 8—12 associations comprising *youth association circles*, but these have been of comparatively little importance. The next stage consists of the 22 central associations, whose primary task is to lead and further the work of their local associations, to give advice and carry on the work of enlightenment. The most important activities are: a) instructing the local associations; b) organization of courses in the local associations and for their officials; c) organization of meetings, competitions and festivals — chiefly singing, music, sporting and other festivals and contests in the province; and d) enlightenment and instruction by means of circular letters and printed instructions. Special committees have been set up in the central associations for organizing the special branches of activity; for the study-circle work there is a study secretary, for physical training for men and women special leaders are employed, as also for the work among the growing youth, etc.

Youth Association of Finland.

The central associations are federated to Youth Association of Finland, which has its office in Helsingfors. Its task is to guide the work of the central associations and to arrange courses for their officials, to further the various branches of activity, to deal with questions concerning the work of the movement as a whole, to arrange outside representation, and handle the publishing side of the movement. It works through courses and conferences for the officials of the central associations; through its printed advisory service it reaches the central associations by means of circulars and the local

associations by means of information leaflets; by publishing the leading organ of the movement, "*Pyrkijä*", and other youth association literature and the procuring of the necessary material for this work; by editing programmes for choir singing, folk-dancing, amateur theatricals, men and women's gymnastics, etc.; by arranging the joint youth association festivals, such as the annual "Summer days" and the general meeting of the associations which takes place every three years; and, finally, by arranging nationwide competitions in folk-dancing, amateur theatricals, etc.

Finland's Youth Institute.

Since 1923, the Youth Association Movement has had its own people's high school, called Finland's Youth Institute *(Suomen Nuoriso-opisto)* at St. Michel. Its task has been to make the youth more "association minded" and to train officials. The school now runs a two-year course, and thus corresponds high schools with second year's course. The first year includes — in addition to an all-round theoretical and practical education — fundamental instruction on the work of the youth associations, and during the second year an attempt is made to train officials to meet the needs of both the local and the central associations. This second-year's course is devided into a study circle and instructor section and an amateur theatre section.

The finances of the youth association movement.

In the local youth associations practically all work is unpaid. They receive their income in the form of entrance fees to evening entertainments and festivals, through lotteries, gifts, membership fees and profit-making activities.

The central associations use a considerable amount of paid labour, and in addition a vast amount of unpaid. The necessary funds are derived by means of quotas from the local associations,

from profits on festivals, business and publishing activities, from gifts, and finally as subsidies from Youth Association of Finland.

Youth Association of Finland uses paid labour, but only to a very small extent for work in the field, as this is managed almost entirely by the central associations. It derives its funds from the profits on the national festivals in the form of entrance fees, etc., from its publication and publishing activities, in the form of gifts from private individuals and business enterprizes, and from a state subsidy. The Association has been able to distribute every year considerable sums as subsidies to the central associations. In 1949, the state subsidy amounted to about 36 % of the income of Youth Association of Finland.

FINLAND'S SWEDISH-SPEAKING YOUTH ASSOCIATION MOVEMENT

In 1948, Finland's Swedish-speaking Youth Association was 60 years old. In 1888, the rules were approved and the Board appointed of the first real youth association in Finland, in the parish of Malax in Österbotten. The founder of the association was Johannes Klockars, a twenty-year-old student. One of the rules was that branch associations could join it. This rule became of vital importance during the calamitous years when the authorities refused permission for the founding of entirely new associations.

Why did a youth association movement arise in Swedish-speaking Finland, and why did it extend so rapidly?

The chief reason was, without doubt, that the youth in the country districts had degenerated in many ways during the 19th century. The authorities tried to improve matters by force, punishment and supervisors, but without any success. External force cannot change nature, only an inner conviction of what is right or wrong can do this.

In spite of rather strong resistence from the peasants — who considered the youth movement too worldly — the movement gained ground by its own strength and has become a very important factor in Adult Education. Within the Swedish-speaking districts along the long coast of Österbotten, in the Åland archipelago and Åland itself and the whole of South Nyland there are at present over 300 associations, about 280 of which have their own premises. The membership comprises about 10 % of the entire Swedish-speaking population. These figures show clearly the strength of Finland's Swedish-speaking youth association movement, the chief aim of which has been Adult Education and the improvement of spare-time amusements among the youth. Its sustaining ideals have been love of the motherland, their home district and their mother tongue, and the safeguarding of hereditary traditions.

What forms of activity have developed during the course of the years?

It must first of all be stressed here that, unlike most popular movements, the youth association movement has no more or less rigid rules regulating its activities. It has always been free to adapt itself to local conditions, and has from time to time been simulated by external events. Many have regarded this as a weakness, but in actual fact this very flexibility has been and still is the strength of the youth work among the Swedish-speaking people, it is this factor which has always kept it alive and up-to-date.

Most associations have during the course of years created their own libraries. The state and communal library system has now, however, become so efficient that the importance of the association libraries has diminished.

Study circles of various kinds are also rather numerous. They deal mostly with fiction, regional history and association technique. The discussion clubs may also be considered to belong to this category.

Lecture days have become established to a great extent, and

lectures subjects of current interest are as a rule given in connection with the monthly meetings and the organized festivals. These are sometimes followed by discussion.

Hand-written newspapers, produced by the members themselves, are both common and very popular. Amateur theatricals have been fostered more in the youth associations than anywhere else. One may say without exaggeration that every association with any pretence at ambition has performed full-length plays and numerous short ones. They have been chiefly comedies and farces, but even important plays have been produced out in the country districts. In Western Nyland they have gone in for regular theatrical contests in which the various associations compete, and they hope soon to extend the competitions to include the whole of Swedish-speaking Finland.

Recitations are an integral part of all organized festivals, and as a result of this interest in recitation is very great. In some associations, as in wider circles, highly popular recitation contests have been held.

Choir singing is perhaps the activity that has drawn the greatest number of people, and at regular intervals people gather together for vast song and music festivals, for other forms of music are also cherished in the associations. Community singing or singing in unison takes place with joy and energy at every meeting.

In folk-dancing one has been able to combine happily the joy of youth and a feeling for hereditary traditions. Even the old drawing-room dances and village dances have gained a firm foothold and compete hard with modern dancing. Singing games, ring dances and parlour games are at the movement experiencing a remarkable revival.

The Åland Youth Association also runs agricultural clubs for juniors. One or two associations have, moreover, so-called training schools for the youngest boys and girls. Their task is chiefly one of education, but the pupils also receive instruction in association activities, primarily in amateur theatricals. In a large number of

other associations the children are kept busy with games and small organized festivals, at which they themselves are responsible for the programme. Apart from these activities, the members are as a rule over 15 years of age.

Finally, it should be mentioned that sport still occupies a very prominent position within the youth associations. The village sports club is often a section of the youth association.

After this discription of their activities, a few words should be said on the organization of the movement. The main central body is *Finlands Svenska Ungdomsförbund* (Finland's Swedish-Speaking Youth Association), founded in 1906. Side by side with it are special independent unions whose task it is to foster certain branches of activity. Examples of these are Finland's Swedish Song and Music Union, Finland's Swedish Folk-Dance Circle, the Swedish Lecture Bureau (lectures and study circles). Moreover, an amateur theatre committee works within the central union itself. The work in the various provinces is led by provincial unions.

Wherever possible instructors are used to lead and further the work of the association — specialist instructors are in charge of theatricals and singing, but there are also general instructors. Starting in 1949, one provincial union is trying to find local talent in the associations themselves — youths who will then be used as special instructors outside their own home associations.

Nowadays the largest meetings are the all Swedish youth reunions, the Finland Swedish-speaking youth reunions, local reunions, song and music festivals, folk-dance reunions and so on. Midwinter assemblies and youth days are special forms of freer meetings, and the "culture" days are a healthy demonstration of country life at its best.

This account would be incomplete without mentioning that the Nyland Youth Union runs a domestic science school and a kindergarten, children garden and that the Youth Union of Swedish-Speaking Österbotten has a travelling Folk High School (Breidablick), which is very soon, however, to become stationary.

Since autumn 1950 Finland's Swedish Speaking Youth Association is the owner of Finn's Folk High School in Esbo and has started with line of youth leaders.

SOCIETY OF POPULAR CULTURE

(Kansanvalistusseura).

The Finnish national movement, which arose during the last century, aimed at awakening in the Finnish masses a feeling of national self-consciousness. When experience in Denmark had shown what an effective rôle the people's high school had played in arousing the Danish people, the question of the establishment of a people's high school created great interest in Finland, too. The matter was discussed by the Pedagogical Society in 1868, and at the same time the idea evolved of establishing a special society for promoting education for adults. As a results of the combined efforts of two towns — Jyväskylä and Helsingfors — Society of Popular Culture was founded in 1874.

The primary task of the Society was to publish simple, popular pamphlets and to spread other literature suitable for the mass of the people. But its activities extended in other directions. For example, much work was done to make the people familiar with the idea of people's high schools. It was also forced to take charge of library work as no other organization did anything about them. It was also this society — following the example of Esthonia — that arranged the first song and music festivals in Finland. The society also did pioneer work in the field of public lectures.

In the beginning the Society handled the entire field of Adult Education. As, however, the work gradually extended and became more varied — thanks to the activities of the society — new bodies arose in the various branches of the work. Publishing houses were founded to handle the publishing of literature; the people's high schools gained a firm footing in the country and no longer needed

the Society's help; the local authorities took over the free libraries; and popular festivals were arranged by a large number of educational organizations which had gradually arisen, and which also took over most of the provision of lectures.

But the Society of Popular Culture has not lost its hold on the Adult Education movement. It still maintains close contact with the people's high schools and the workers' institutes. Even now, it has its own people's high school and people's academy at Orivesi, which are to be extended into schools not only for pupils from the neighbouring districts but also for the training of competent teachers for such schools. And by means of its correspondence institute, it guides the private studies of tens of thousands of people.

The Society of Popular Culture aims at being a connecting link between the various branches — now widely disparate — of independent adult education. It therefore publishes, in collaboration with the Association of Adult Education, a periodical in which questions arising in adult education are discussed theoretically.

INSTRUCTION BY CORRESPONDENCE

The oldest organization of adult education in Finland, Society of Popular Culture *(Kansanvalistusseura)* worked as a pioneer on the field of the instruction by correspondence. Consequently the instruction by correspondence has continually and principally been carried on in Finland by the free educational organizations and little by little it has developed into an important and wellknown section of the work of adult education.

The correspondence institute of Society of Popular Culture started in 1920 with the aim to direct and encourage the work of the study circles and private studies at home and its first courses were of a general educative nature. Somewhat later courses comprising the program of the higher school and languages and still later of the schools of rural economics, of commercial and technical sub-

jects were taken up. Among the pupils of the institute of correspondence study circles have always been included in a certain extent, although the main part of the pupils are private students. At present the institute has more than 300 different courses. Up to this time a totality of 183,000 students have studied at these courses — the members of the circles are not included in this number. In the year 1949 123,500 solutions were received and 4,575 courses or subjects were duly finished.

In 1921 the Workers' Educational Association founded an institute of correspondence. It has worked successfully principally among the workers' study circles and by courses of the different branches of the labour movement. The central cooperative organization, Pellervo-Seura, started an institute of correspondence 1930. It organized courses principally of rural economics and cooperative activity. Up to the present time 35,000 persons participated of these courses.

Outside the sphere of the free educational work no institute of correspondence of some importance has appeared, although many private persons as well as associations have tried to work on this line. Among the more important enterprises of this kind the technical corresponding association "Tietomies" has to be mentioned, which started as a private association, but was taken over by some employers' organizations some years ago. Also the institute of correspondence of "the Institution for the Promotion of the Professions" may be mentioned in this connection.

Apart from the different development of the Finnish institutes of correspondence of public utility their work and methods of instruction do not differ from the work and methods of the institutes of correspondence of other countries with the exception of a couple of matters of an essential importance. As the institutes of correspondence are owned principally by organizations of public utility, the principles of these organizations are applied as well with regard to the activity of the institutes of correspondence with the consequence that e. g. the economical matters are dealt with in a

different way than by private "commercial enterprises". It is possible to maintain the charges of the courses at a moderate rate, pupils of small means may be assisted, the care of the pupils may be more efficient etc. The position of the institutes of correspondence in the educational work, the opinion thereof with the great public and also the attitude of the papers and other prints — all this being such matters which constitute very strong factors for a successful work of the institutes — are by the same reason not of the same nature as in other countries. The leading institutions of the public work of education as well are in a firm and good relation to the institutes of correspondence, t. i. generally speaking in the same relations as to the other educational institutes of the branch. For instance the institute of correspondence of Society of Popular Culture *(Kansanvalistusseura)* has applied a similar working program, confirmed by the government, as that of the corresponding educational institutes. It is under the inspection of the School Board and has regulations corresponding to those of the highschools in applicable parts. Also the parliament has some years ago treated the affairs concerning the regulations of the instructions by correspondence of the rural youth and expressed the hope of a further development thereof. Up to the present time the institutes by correspondence have received no subvention.

An other essential and important difference is connected with the method of instruction. It is of course essential to the educational organizations, that the results of the work of the institutes of correspondence are successful and valuable from the point of view of the work of adult education and consequently the pupils' work is especially carefully conducted for giving a real success. This comports that the courses must really be easely comprehensible, the teachers able and the instruction footed on a level as high as possible, that the pupils are aided by selecting the appropriate course and that they might get the most efficient help for overcoming occasional difficulties etc.

The Finnish institutes of correspondence have received a valuable

help for their activity from the great Scandinavian institutes of correspondence, for instance by experiences made on the different aspects of the work. In return it requests that attention may be paid to the experiences collected here by the instruction by correspondence among the spheres of the independent work of adult education in which its own principles have been practised. These experiences seem to be encouraging both regarding the level of the instruction and the extention of the work of the educational organizations.

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION

The adult educational activity of the University of Helsingfors began in the reality first in the beginning of this century after having been carried on duting the 18th century by students and clubs as a voluntary work. At the request of the Estates the Senate granted 30,000 marks for the year 1907 to organize continuation courses of elementary school teachers. With some interruptions these courses were maintained at the university up to 1939. In 1939 the activity was considerably extended and in addition popular lectures and lecturing and study courses were started at Helsingfors, university teachers were sent to the countryside when requested to lecture and to give instruction by correspondence as well. At the lecturing courses guidance was given also to persons working at the branch of popular education and at the study courses being lacking the formal requirements obtained the opportunity to do scientific studies.

The war stopped this activity and in the years 1941—47 no subvention for this purpose was granted in the budget. With the support of Finland Relief Committee and other outside organizations it was however possible to send university teachers to the countryside to lecture although in a limited scale. Only in 1948 a subvention of 300,000 marks was granted again for this purpose, for the year 1949 the corresponding subvention being 400,000 and for 1950 600,000 marks.

During the years after the war (1948—50) the activity was concentrated exclusively to lectures in the country owing to the scarcity of the subventions of the budget. At the request of the university teachers a special catalogue of lecturers and lecturing subjects was issued, a copy of which was sent to every elementary highschool of the countryside, workers' institutes and certain organizations of adult education. On the basis of this catalogue the orders of lectures are given to the secretary of the commission of adult education, who makes the definite appointments regarding the matter with the person concerned. The commission pays the travelling expenses, paying (year 1950) 2000 marks per the lecturing hour. The order-giver pays 500 marks only (1950) to the commission for each lecturer. The means, collected in this way, are also spended for the lecture activity. The principle that the same institute of instruction receives two lecturers per year at most has been practised. 10 % of the yearly subvention — that is 60,000 marks for the year 1950 — have been reserved for the lecturing work in Swedish, which work is conducted by the Swedish Lecture Bureau.

A totality of 107 lectures was delivered by the university teachers in the year 1949 and of this number 20 lectures dealt with subjects of theology, 3 of jurisprudence, 47 with subjects belonging to the historic philological branch and 37 with mathematic scientific and agro forestrial subjects. Lectures were delivered at 39 places and the total number of attendants was 10,000.

The work of the popular education at the University is directed by a special commission, the rector of the University acting as a chairman. The Council of the University elects 4 ordinary members and an equal number of deputymembers for three years and the School-Board, the Central Union for Study Circles, the Workers' Educational Association and the Friends of the Swedish Elementary Schools elect each one member and one deputymember. The commission appoints a secretary itself, who occupies himself with the practical matters of the work of the adult education.

The University of Åbo (the activity started 1922) has, beginning

from 1931, performed a work of popular education directed by a special commission of popular education, composed of 3 professors and 3 representatives of the educational organizations. Several different working systems have been practised. Thus lecturers have been sent to other places, where they have delivered 20—40 popular scientific lectures yearly. The lecturing series, delivered at the University itself, have been placed in the afternoon hours and announced in the newspapers giving the opportunity to attend also to other inhabitants of the town than to students only. A considerable number of citizens from different clases have taken advantage of these oppotunities. Sometimes it has been possible to organize 30 days' popular scientific lecturing courses at the University with two lectures every afternoon. These courses have comported 5 lecturing series treating different scientific branches, each series containing 12 lectures, and each course consequently 60 lectures. The lecturing series have been selected to be in a certain mutual relation and so to make a sort of a totality together. There have been highly positive experiences from these lecturing series. It has been rather striking to notice, that while at Åbo a handful attendents only has attended at the detached lectures 250—300 attendents have reported themselves as partakers of these courses and truly been present up to the very end of the series and attended to the repetition courses organized as a conclusion. The partakers have come from the most different professional groupes: from workers to physicians and managing directors of large firms.

The commission of Adult Education has organized even popular scientific lecturing series by broadcasting in some years.

Åbo Akademi arranges for popular lectures, inviting to Åbo prominent university lecturers from abroad as well as from home. The annual number of such lectures is about 10. The professors and lecturers attached to Åbo Akademi give similar lectures in other towns and places. The subjects of these lectures vary, and the total amount is about 20 annually.

A successful form of the work of the Universities is the "summer-university".

On the initiative of the university teachers of Helsingfors courses have been organized at Jyväskylä from 1912. The number of attendents has varied from 900 to 1300 and of this number 400—600 have been nonacademic citizens. The former vacation courses of the University had a duration of two weeks and were composed chiefly of lecturing series. The summer university has worked five weeks and up to two months, thus making it possible to organize training courses and longer lecturing courses demanding more time.

The University of Åbo has organized summercourses eleven years on the initiative of its commission of adult education. Of the number of partakers ariseing to 700—1000 persons 200—300 regularly belonged to the most different classes of the society: workers, waitresses, housewifes etc. the rest being students and teachers of elementary schools. In the connection with the summercourses courses for private persons have also been organized.

The University summer courses arranged by Åbo Akademi in cooperation with the association for Swedish primary school teachers in Finland are not held regularly. The instruction given during such a summer course is intended for students, primary school teachers, office people, and others desirous of a higher education. The last occasion on which a demand for a university summer course arose was in 1947. There where then four sections: a) art and humanities, b) sociology and economics, c) education, d) mathematics and science.

THE FINNISH BROADCASTING

The Finnish Broadcasting has been collaborating with the adult educational organizations already from 1930, these organizations

having delivered their own lectures by broadcasting. Beginning from the year 1933 the program of the broadcasting has included some series, in a certain degree connected with the working programs of the study clubs.

The popular educational work of the broadcasting obtained a firmer and clearer form during the listening period 1944—45. The Adult Education Commission of the Broadcasting was formed in the spring 1944. This Commission can be characterized as an institution of experts, the members of which change in some degree. The Commission has 8 members at present and the School Board is representented beside the more important educational organizations. The groundwork of the educational work performed by the Commission is composed of series of studylectures.

Two lecturing series were organized in the autumn 1944, namely "The social structure of Finland" and "General Biological matters". A series of rebuilding activity, called "Finland is rebuilding" was organized in the period 1945—46 and treated as well the economical as the spiritual reconstruction work, the saving activity, the professional education etc.

The way in which the last mentioned series were received has shown, that the share of the broadcasting in the adult educational activity would remain rather insignificant so long as a vivid connection was missing with the champions of the popular educational work. In order to promote this situation a week's course and deliberating days for studyleaders were organized among other things in the spring 1946 on the initiative of the broadcasting in connection with the Workers' Academy at Grankulla. Officials from 40 different adult educational organizations participated in these course. The purpose of these courses was partly to elucidate the possibilities of a contribution of the broadcasting to the work of adult education and partly to pick up experiences and critics. For making the course as practical and clear as possible sounddevices were put up to help. Beside the lectures the courses included a so called proof lecture corresponding to a series of study lectures during the coming winter.

After the delivery of the lecture its contents as well as the way of delivery were critizised. This system showed very practical and the critical judgment gave many valuable views.

The lecturing series of the winter 1946—47, called "Our century", treated the period between the two worldwars. The series was made up of 12 lectures related to different branches: economy, politics, technics and matter of the social and cultural life.

At this time the study club of the broadcasting was annexed to the lecturing series in order to discuss the subject immediately after the lecture. The members of the club represent different social circles and views. This system has proved suitable and useful, as, according to information received, the discussion following after the lecture has increased the interest of the lecture itself and stimulated the listeners sitting around their radioapparatus to a further exchange of opinions and views. At the same time these discussions have put the lecturer in the situation immediately to answer questions and to reply to objections made against the lecture.

Three study lecturing series were organized for the period 1947—48, namely a social series "The production and the society", a series of literature "Renowned social descriptions" and a series of music treating the practical education of choirdirectors. The objections of the studyclub had reference to the first mentioned lecturing series. The club participated under the lecturing period 1948—49 in the discussion concerning the series "The individual and the society" — the other series of this period was headed "Live a sound life". Under 1949—50 the lecturing series "The economical structure of the society" and "How the literature shall be read" have given stuff for the discussions of the club.

The listening period 1950—51 offers two study lecturing series. One of them is called "Psycology" and contains some lectures delivered by 14 different lecturers with discussions following after the lectures. The other series treat the present Scandinavian art and is based upon the collection of "art" of the broadcasting, which contains coloured reproductions and an instructive booklet in which

each of the Scandinavian countries is represented by 8 reproductions, the number of works of art embrasing a totality of 40 pieces.

Beside the series of studylectures a great number of other lectures and causeries in relation with the scientific as well as other branches of life must be included in the popular educational work of the broadcasting. Among other the series "The Nature and we" may be mentioned here, which treats matters of natural scientific, physiologial, medical and matters of other fundamental nature. This series is a combination of lectures and answers and explainations given to laymen's questionings. The trade union movement and moreover the whole activity of the organizations of the labour market are treated by the lecturing series "The professionel organization of the labourers and employers".

Although the study activity inside the compass of the free popular educational work, supported by the broadcasting, is still in the beginning of its development, the interest has increased continually and it is obvious, that this activity can be made still more effective. But the possibilities therefore are in a great extent depending on the further development of the collaboration among the organizations working for the free adult education and the broadcasting.

THE SCHOOL AND THE EDUCATIONAL FILM

Before the last wars the activity of the school and the educational film had taken a very promising beginning in Finland. After the wars the interest for it has increased continually, but the development has decidedly been retained by the present situation of foreign devices allowing no import of projectors of substandardfilm nor of materials for them. In 1950 the paper supporting the activity of the school and educational film in Finland — Opetuselokuva — has tried to further the idea. The school and educational filmdays organized by the paper and being the first ones of this kind in Finland were enthusiastically received in Helsingfors.

Although the production of substandardfilms is very large in Finland the production of specific instructing films has not developed in a corresponding degree. The reason thereof is chiefly, that the government does not support the local filmproduction. As far as the organizations, the industry etc. produce films for their own purposes, they have a tendency of the producer's own interest, of course, which as such will seldom be suitable for the aims of the school and educational film.

On the initiative of "Opetuselokuva" and in collaboration with some filmestablishments a large catalogue has been issued in which such substandardfilms are collected, which without any alterations are suitable for being exposes in connection with the instruction. For making an exchange of this kind of films with foreign countries possible a shortened issue in English has been composed.

The number of projectors of substandardfilms has been estimated to about 400 in Finland. Of these about 60 % are soundapparatuses. The greatest part of the projectors are owned by associations and organisations and some by the workers' institutes etc. In a certain degree the schools too organize performances at the normal theatres. The want of govermental subvention has decidedly made the activity of the schools by instructive films difficult.

THE EDUCATION INSIDE THE FINNISH DEFENSIVE FORCES

The compulsory service in the Finnish defensive forces is essentially education of citizens, the value of which must be highly estimated a!so when the security of the country is not menaced. The aim of the education of the conscripts has in view to develop the corporal, mental and intellectual hability and especially the character.

The army endevours to give impulses and regularity to the occupations of the leisuretime of the conscripts so far as it is possible

inside the compass of the servicetime. Among the subjects being of interest under the leisurehours it may be mentioned:

— *the informational activity*, which comports the listening on the broadcasting, reading of papers and journals and the redaction of the own papers of the unity,

— *the activity of the libraries*, which aims to promote the conscripts' professional and general studies and to give a good pastime.

The libraries are chiefly placed in the soldiers' homes.

— *studies by themselves and activity of the clubs*. The studies by correspondence depend on the student's own will and interest with the aid of the institutes of correspondence. These studies under the period of compulsary military service demand however more than an ordinary energy.

The study circles are an interesting and amusing kind of the voluntary instructing work. To this circle or clubb work the professional work also is attached. The most practised interest are the languages, the recitation, theatre, telegraphing and radiowork and the construction of miniature aeroplanes.

— the musical work, which has always been highly estimated among the conscripts. There exist small ensembles and soldiers' choirs almost in every unity. The choirs make their performances often together with the bands.

The sport is the most important object of the leisure time.

For the organization of the way to pass the leisure time the army has had a noticeable help from the educational organizations and institutions. The collaboration with the workers' institutes and the circles of the upper schoolclasses has given good results.

THE STUDY ACTIVITIES IN THE PRISONS

The prisons of Finland prisoners under 40 years of age have an opportunity to receive elementary education corresponding to the course of the elementary schools, but owing to the law respecting

elementary education such instruction has been necessary only in exceptional cases. But the continuation in the form of study circles, have been of increesed importance. The subjects principally belong to the sphere of general citizenhip. As to the direction of the interests if ought to be mentioned that the languages earlier used to attract more interest than other subjects but that social questions and questions regarding the conception of life now are in the centre. At discussions based upon books, lectures and statements it has been evident that the prisoners thus often get an outlet for their strained mental life. On one hand this can lead to a comprehension of the reasons for certain crimes, on the other hand to a sounder attitude towards society, an attitude which in prisons uses to be hostile to society.

Also the systematical professional training plays an important rôle in the prisons of Finland. In this connection the metal workers' school for young criminals at the central prison of Riihimäki deserves a special mentioning. These courses are of 4 months' duration.

The teachers and conductors of the courses are partly professional teachers, partly chosen among competent persons belonging to the staff of the prisons, but some are also chosen among the prisoners themselves. To some degree the prisoners also devote themselves to studies by correspondence.

Library work is common in the prisons of Finland. In 1949 the 18 prisons of the country with their 8000 prisoners handled 92,863 volumes and the number of book loans was 320,000.

Festivals, amusements and different forms of physical education constitute important elements in the general educational activities of the prisons.

In 1946 the committee for the renewing of prison discipline completed its report. Great importance is attributed to the study activities and study circles are considered the best form for such activities. The final realization of the plans and recommondations of the committee in different fields requires time and means, but

it is evident that the report already now has influenced the study activities in a positive direction.

ASSOCIATION OF ADULT EDUCATION

(Kansansivistysopillinen Yhdistys).

With the continuous expansion of the Adult Education movement at the beginning of this century, the need began to be felt for a forum where those working in this field could join together to go carefully into the problems arising during their work. To this end, Professor Zachris Castrén, the principal of the Helsingfors Workers' Institute, founded a study circle which was joined by a number of people interested in adult education and where such problems were discussed theoretically. In a way one might say that the activity of this circle was continued by *Kansansivistysopillinen Yhdistys*, which was founded in 1940 on the initiative of T. I. Wuorenrinne, Professor Castrén's successor at the Helsingfors Institute.

The purpose of the association is expressed in its rules as being "to discuss pedagogical questions relating to adult education, to spread knowledge of the aims of adult education, and to further scientific research in this field". Dr. Urpo Harva, the professor of adult education pedagogics at the School of Social Sciences in Helsingfors, once expressed himself as follows on the tasks facing the association: "There were two main ideas behind the founding of the Association: on the one hand, it was felt desirable to forge a spiritual link between the various workers in the field of adult education, or to borrow Wourenrinne's words, to create a spiritual centre for adult education work; and on the other hand, it was thought necessary to bring about more far-reaching scientific research in the field of adult education than had hitherto existed."

To the Association belonged, and still belong, people from all branches of adult education. The most varied problems have been

discussed at its meetings. In some cases the discussions have led to practical measures.

The Association has published six Year Books, in which the lectures delivered at the meetings and the results of certain investigations have been included. In 1948, the Association started to publish the periodical *Kansansivistys* (Adult Education) in collaboration with the Society of Popular Culture.

In each number of this periodical a short summary of the contents is entered.

ADULT EDUCATION IN NORWAY

by *Jon Mathisen.*

PREFACE

The idea of adult education is common in all civilized countries to-day. The name varies — it may be called *adult education, folk education,* etc. Not only the word, but also the idea is different in various countries. Adult education in the United States is unlike adult education in Great Britain, and the *folk education* of Norway differs from that of Denmark. In a country with illiteracy among the adult population, the chief task of adult education is to teach people to read and write. In countries with a fully developed school system, its aims are different.

In the Scandinavian countries practically all adults can read and write. The school system is quite well developed, and organized on similar lines. The same is true also of adult education, for its methods and aims are identical in all these countries, although there are a number of other differences.

The Scandinavian word for *folk education (Folkeopplysning, folkbildning)* first appeared in the 19th century. It was created by university lecturers, students, teachers and others who wanted to bring their knowledge to the lower classes, that is, to *the people*. At first it was a kind of cultural mission work among adults, especially among the working classes. Some of these missionaries wanted to give their pupils the traditional classical education, common in the universities at that time, while others wanted to create a new sort of education.

To-day the *people* no longer constitute one single class, but comprise all the citizens of a country. Our social and economic policy has created better and safer conditions for most of the population. In most trades, work is less arduous than before, and the working day is relatively short. A majority of the people to-day have an

economic background which allows them to receive a better education than previously. Our problem is therefore to organize our work for a better use of leisure time. This work is no longer considered missionary work, but is a part of the social work in our society.

The first adult education organization in Norway was the Folk High school. Somewhat more recent are the courses organized by the University students and the lectures in the Folk Academies. The Folk High school assisted in the fight for a new education, the University students' courses represented the conservative element, designed to give a classical education, and the Folk Academies were planned as evening Folk High schools. The three methods were all parts of the philanthropic, class-directed education of the 19th century. Later came the study group, as a result of the demand for activity among the students.

To-day the work has been extended to drama, film, music, plastic arts and physical education. New methods are used: travelling theatres, concerts, travelling art exhibitions and correspondence courses, radio, wall charts and films. This extension of the work has made the term *Folk Education* out of date, but we have not yet succeded in finding a word which covers this work for a better use of leisure.

HISTORY TO 1939

A. *Methods.*

It is impossible to determine the date of the first adult education enterprise. Our first Folk Library came into existence more than 150 years ago, but that does not mark the beginning of adult education. Until the middle of the last century, Norway was mainly an agricultural country, and the greater part of the people lived under primitive economic conditions. Everybody was educated in his family or in his trade. Young people obtained their vocational training throught their work. The boy worked with his father on the farm, in the fishing boat, or learned a trade from his master and other

workmen. The girls learned to keep house, and to spin and weave from the older women. The day was fully occupied.

With the change in the social structure, there came also a demand for other kinds of knowledge, which could not be obtained in the old family or trade groups. The industrial revolution led to a greater demand for education, both vocational and general. The extension of the franchise helped in the same direction.

In the middle of the 19th century the first steps towards the organization of adult education were being made. The Norwegian labour leader, Marcus Thrane, who after the revolution in France in 1848 tried to organize the workers in societies, planned to make these societies the instruments of adult education as well, and the political conflicts in the 'sixties led to the establishment of clubs both in the towns and in the country. But these were only isolated enterprises. The work was unorganized, and its main aim was to further special interests.

The Folk High school.

The first organized enterprise was the Folk High school. This type of school had been developed in Denmark, where it had had an immense success. It was intended as a counter-balance to the High school, which at that time laid the greatest emphasis on classical education. The Folk High school is very little concerned to teach facts, but should be a source of inspiration, and its main task is to present a view of life to the students. The Folk High school therefore stressed the importance of "the Living Word" — the inspired lectures of enthusiastic teachers.

Grundtvig, the father of the Folk High school, had already in 1837 developed a plan for a Scandinavian Folk High school in Norway, and in 1850 some Norwegians tried to establish such a school. But not until 1864 was the first school of this type founded, and the next followed in 1867.

Most of the students at the Folk High schools came from the

country, and thus they came to be of great importance in the development of the economic and political life of the farmers. That is the reason why the Conservative governments from the beginning opposed the Folk High schools. The schools received no grants from the state, and at last the Ministry of Church and Education developed a rival system, the so-called County schools *(amtsskoler)*. These schools taught more facts and gave practical training, and they worked in the traditional way with lessons and marks. The first County school was organized in 1875, and for some years the courses were held in different parts of the county and did not have their own premises until later.

In 1871 a single Folk High school had applied for a subsidy, but it had been refused. The competition with the County schools forced more of the Folk High schools to apply and in 1875 the Norwegian Parliament resolved that they should have state support on condition that they were controlled by the County Councils and obtained grants from them. The Folk High schools were under fewer restrictions than the County schools, as they were allowed to choose their own teachers, but otherwise they were to be "supervised in the same way".

In 1898 some of the largest Folk High schools obtained government grants for "advanced education". Other schools were dissatisfied at this, and in 1906 they put forward a claim to direct grants for all schools. The Ministry appointed a committee of three members to investigate the matter. This committee pointed out that the students at the County schools were somewhat younger than those at the Folk High schools, but otherwise there were no marked contrasts or differences. The committee was of the opinion that some of the County schools should be Junior High schools, while others ought to become Folk High schools. The committee als proposed that all Folk High schools should have direct state support. The report was circulated among the County school councils and directors, the Folk High schools etc., and it appeared that their opinions differed very greatly.

In the meantime a third school of this kind had been developed, the Christian Youth school. The first Folk High schools had been under strong religious influence, even if religion was not taught as a special subject. Some of them were "Grundtvigian", others more orthodox. But from the 'eighties the national and political sides of the work were emphasized. The first Christian Youth school was established in 1893 as a protest against these tendencies. However, one of the best known Folk High school teachers was on the board of directors of the new school, which on the whole worked along the same lines as the Folk High schools. In practice this link between the older Folk High school and the new Christian school was unbroken. The same subjects were studied and the same methods used, although vocational training was more emphasized in many of the Christian schools. Many of the old Folk High school people thought this a degradation of the idea, but this belief has now changed. This became evident in 1934, when the Ministry made an inquiry on the subject. The name of the school no longer distinguished it from others, but the interest and views of the director or of people in the surrounding district.

Relatively more students have attended the Folk High schools in Norway than in Denmark and Sweden, and the number has been steadily increasing. This fact is strange, considering that the ordinary High schools also have relatively more pupils than in the other countries. In Denmark the number decreased in the nineteen-thirties, while it grew in Norway.

To-day the Folk High school is considered a part of the ordinary school system in Norway, and its later development will therefore not be discussed.

University Extension and Other Courses.

The University Extension courses organized by the students of the University of Oslo are almost contemporary with the first Folk High schools. As early as in 1830 some of the students had begun

to teach in the orphan asylums, and others were willing to give adult education lectures.

In 1864 the work became organized. According to tradition, the poet Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson was the father of the idea, but we do not know this for certain. In that year the president of the Students' Union broached the idea, and the students showed a lively interest. As a result the Students' Association for Free Education *(Studenternes Forening for Fri Undervisning)* was formed some time after. The aim of the association was "to give poor people, adults and children, free education, or instruction in the subjects necessary for general education, and as far as possible, the books needed for that purpose". To the students at the University, general education meant classical education, in contrast to the education of the Folk High school. In their opinion it was possible to raise the worker, craftsman or shopkeeper to their own level. The shortest way to this education was through the ancient languages, and we therefore find Latin and Greek in the curriculum. They also taught Modern Languages, Arithmetic, Physics, Chemistry, Italian and Religion, but very few were studying the four latter subjects. Norwegian was not taught.

At first the students had their pupils in their homes. But on Sundays the great hall of the Union building was at the disposal of the Association, and there the teachers and their students gathered to listen to lectures on general subjects.

Later on the Association started evening classes with a more modern curriculum, as well as the old subjects of instruction. In 1885—86 they taught Norwegian, German, English, Arithmetic, Writing and Book-keeping. But the teachers working outside this evening school still stuck to the classical subjects to a great extent, and even in 1902 they were teaching Latin. But as a matter of fact, the Association had given up the idea that it was possible to make their fellow citizens Greeks and Romans. The new education was devoted to the subjects needed by the students. In a report of 1897 it is said:

"The aim of our evening school is not to make the students dissatisfied; on the contrary, we want to make them somewhat more satisfied, and capable of helping themselves in ordinary circumstances without asking anybody else for assistance. We try to teach our pupils to obtain what the elementary school should give them, but in most cases does not achieve. The aim of our association is to teach the pupils to speak their own language well, write legibly and neatly, work out simple sums, learn as much English and German so that the apprentice, for example will not be at a loss if he goes abroad during his apprenticeship, or if he has to read a simple book in German or English; finally, to learn sufficient bookkeeping to keep his own accounts."

In that same year, however, the association had to stop its work because of financial difficulties.

In 1902 the work was resumed, but it was not conducted along the old lines. The students had received inspiration from other countries. In Uppsala there were two students' associations with adult education on their programme, and early in 1901 these two associations invited students' organizations from the Scandinavian countries to an Adult Education Congress in Uppsala and Stockholm.

The Norwegian delegates got fresh inspiration from what they heard about the work in Uppsala, Stockholm, Lund and Copenhagen. During the Autumn term the executive committee of the Students' Union summoned a meeting to discuss the possibility of organizing an association for adult education. A committee was appointed, and after some time it proposed the nomination of four commissions, one for the evening school, one for lectures, one for museums and one for social welfare work.

The commission for the evening school was the most important of the four, and to-day the evening classes are the only part of the programme from 1902 which still continues.

As a result of the experiences in Oslo evening classes were organized in Bergen in 1911. The courses were originally organized by

interested private persons, but conditions have now changed. In 1934 a Students' Union was established, and in 1935 it took over the evening school.

The students at the Technical University in Trondheim also followed the example of the capital. In 1914 they organized their adult education courses, and in 1918 this enterprise was taken over by the Students' Union there.

In the autumn 1948 a central organization was established, *Norske Studenters Friundervisning* (The Norwegian Students' Extra Mural Activities), consisting of the organizations in Oslo, Trondheim and Bergen.

The aim of this organization is to deal with common problems and to train teachers and students at the universities to take an active part in adult education.

Besides the courses in the three towns, the three organizations also arrange courses in other towns and municipalities. At places, where there is a need of leisure time activities, teachers with university-degrees who are trained in such work, are employed on full-time jobs.

Folk Academies.

The aim of the Folk High school was to give a new sort of education, a general education differing very much from what was usually considered to be the right one. The students' evening classes were in the beginning an attempt to present a classical education to people without university education. This of necessity failed from the beginning, especially since not all university authorities were agreed that a classical education was the only good one. One would expect that the students would have adopted their ideals from the Folk High school, but that did not happen. The courses were altered in a more practical direction.

Only a selected few could go to the Folk High schools, and the courses were long and relatively expensive. But those who could not

take part in the ordinary courses ought to have the opportunity of education, and for them the Folk Academies were organized.

The Folk Academy is a Swedish invention. In 1880 Dr. Anton Nystrøm founded a Workers' Institute in Stockholm. The enterprise was successful, and in 1884 he was invited by one of the Workers' Societies in Oslo to give a lecture on his institute.

The audience was attracted by the methods and the curriculum of the institute, and it was decided to summon the four workers' societies in the town, the Central Committee of the Crafts' Union, the Norwegian Craft and Industry Society and Young Men's Christian Association to discuss the organization of a Workers' Institute, or Workers' Academy, as it was called. The new organization obtained 500 members, and at the general meeting in 1885 it was decided that a course was to be held to "instruct men and women, especially from the working classes, about natural and social phenomena, teach them about the laws of nature and the development of human culture, both in the mental and physical aspects, and in general give them such knowledge as is necessary for the physical, intellectual and moral development of individuals for the good of the family, the nation and humanity. For this purpose systematic courses will be arranged where students without previous knowledge can learn these things in a pleasant and interesting way." The object was obviously to create an evening Folk High school.

In the capital, with its abundance of students and teachers, the plan could work. But in smaller towns and in the countryside is was not so easy. This became evident when the next Workers' Academy was to be organized, in Trondheim, on the initiative of one of the newspapers. In 1885 som people met to discuss the matter, and the following year "Trondhjems Lecture Society" *(Trondhjems forelæsningsforening)* was organized. The statutes were almost the same as those of the Workers' Academy in Oslo, but they allowed single lectures on general subjects to be held in addition to the systematic courses.

In Bergen "The Society for the Promotion of Science" *(Selskabet for videnskabelighedens fremme)* organized a section called "Lectures for Everybody" *(Foredrag for hvermand)* in 1887. The society was dissolved in 1894, and the lecture work was taken over by the Museum in Bergen. The Folk Academy in Bergen has since that time been under the supervision of this official institution, and this has been of great importance to the work and has kept the quality of the lectures at a high level.

By degrees Workers' Academies, or lecture societies, grew up in most towns, and later on others were established in the countryside. The first Folk Academy outside a town was founded in Ringsaker in 1895.

In 1898 the liberal youth organization, *Noregs Ungdomslag,* applied to Parliament for grants for lectures in the country. The Ministry of Church and Education agreed that such lectures were of great importance, and the youth organization was invited to arrange lectures, and if successful, was promised subsidies. This led to the formation of sections for lectures in many of the local youth clubs.

In the twentieth century the number of academies increased steadily. In 1914 there were 130 in the whole country, and in 1922 the number was 220. But in the middle of the 'twenties, the government began to reduce the grants for educational work, and consequently the Folk Academies had to suffer. After the budget of 1924—25. no grants were given for this purpose. A difficult time began for the Folk Academies, and one after another had to stop work, so that when the war broke out, only 70 of them were left.

It soon became evident that in most places it was impossible to have systematic courses. Single lectures became the main feature of the Folk Academies. They were not always of the best quality, and many of them were amusing instead of informative. During the discussion of the finance bill, members of parliament pointed this out, and as a result of their criticism the Ministry of Church and Education appointed a committee which had to prepare an annual

catalogue of suitable lecturers. Some years afterwards this cataloguing was taken over by the Ministry of Church and Education, and from 1921 the library adviser of this Ministry also became the adviser for the Folk Academies.

Study Groups.

The weakness of the evening schools and the lectures in Folk High schools and Folk Academies is easily seen. The Extension course developed into an ordinary evening school with all its disadvantages. Many of the students did not complete the courses, and the lectures were not very stimulating. According to a well known Norwegian educationist, the "Living Word" in large doses does not inspire; it is soporific. None of these methods demanded activity from the students, and indeed, methods demanding active cooperation would very likely have been impossible in the 19th century. Some fundamental knowledge is necessary before people are capable of independent thought, and courses and lectures were accordingly the most suitable methods at that time. But towards the end of the century new educational ideas developed. Students were no longer expected to follow their teacher blindly, accepting what was told them without reflection. They ought to find out things for themselves, and so the idea of progressive education gained ground. The ideas were not new, for they may be traced back to Rousseau and even earlier, but they had never before been systematized.

In Scandinavia the new methods were first used in adult education. Again the beginning was made in Sweden. The Swedish temperance societies had for some time been running evening schools lasting for 3 years, after the English pattern. They had the same experience as the University students in Norway. It was difficult to keep the students, partly because they lost interest and partly because so many of them had to move, and it therefore was important to find a more elastic method that could be adapted everywhere. Late in 1902 the first Study Group was organized in Lund by Oscar Olsson, who was then an assistant teacher. The Group

consisted of a number of friends with common interests in books and literature, meeting on certain days, to review books and discuss the problems and ideas in them.

The new method gained ground all over the country. It could be used for every subject, for the Study Group is, as Oscar Olsson puts it, "first and foremost a library association, but it is also a reading circle, a lecture society and a social club. It can without difficulty, under favourable conditions, be combined with courses. The method can be adapted everywhere."

In Norway the first Study Groups were organized by the International Order of Good Templars, but they soon disappeared, partly because the leaders had not yet learned the proper method and partly because of lack of interest in the organization.

The work was not revived until 1909. A member of the Order had been in a Swedish organization of the same kind, and when he returned he began working on similar lines. He founded several groups in the local clubs in Oslo and wrote a handbook about the method. This book was distributed all over the country, and many local organizations started groups. I 1911 the national Order appointed a special leader for the work, and whereas 21 groups were working in the first year, ten years later the number had increased to 200.

The Norwegian Youth Association *(Noregs Ungdomslag)* has always shown great interest in adult education work. It organized many Folk Academies, and in 1919 the problem of reading circles was discussed. At the annual conference in 1922 the organization agreed upon a plan for study groups, and since that time the work has been steadily progressing.

The Norwegian Temperance Association *(Det norske Totalavholdsselskap)* took up Study Group work in 1923, and the Norwegian Order of Good Templars followed in 1933. When the Workers' Educational Association was founded in 1932 it was natural for it to adopt Study Group work in addition to its other activities.

Later on this method was adopted by many other organizations,

both professional and cultural. The National Pedagogical Society started Study Groups in education in 1931. The Farmers' Association began to employ the method in 1934, the Association of Professional Women in 1935, and the Christian Youth Association in 1938. The Association of Women's Clubs has also being using these methods for some years.

To-day the methods has been adopted by almost all organizations, irrespective of their aims.

B. *Organization and equipment.*

Libraries.

Books are a first essential in adult educational work. But books have always been expensive, and not everybody was able to buy the literature required.

At the end of the 18th century the public libraries in Norway were organized as private "reading associations". There were many of them, particularly in the southern part of the country, where Bishop Peder Hansen was working. As early as 1800 there were 41 associations of this kind in his diocese.

At first the work was carried on by the clergy, but it was still rather haphazard and unorganized. A change came with the poet Henrik Wergeland and the participation of the National Society for Norwegian Welfare *(Selskabet for Norges Vel)* in this work.

Wergeland was indefatigable. He gave lectures and published articles and pamphlets. In 1831 he went on a propaganda tour and some years later he began to lend out books in his own home. He outlined his programme in these words: "There will be good books on the shelves of the workmen at Ruselökbakken,*, Piperviken* and Samuelskrogen*, and the people at Briskeby* will be found outside their dwellings on Sunday evenings reading newspapers."

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*) The slum districts of the Norwegian Capital in the early 19th century.

His work was successful. In 1840 there were 230 libraries in the country and the number was steadily increasing. But these libraries were working under difficult economic conditions until the end of the century. The government grants were far too small, and we had no good library system. But at the end of the 'hineties there came an improvement. The modern American library system was introduced, and in 1902 Parliament approved a plan for a reconstruction of the whole library organization.

In the Ministry of Church and Education a special office with an adviser and a secretary was established to advise and control the libraries. The office worked for the organization of new libraries, prepared lists of books suitable for libraries, and made an agreement with publishers to allow the libraries a certain discount. A central bookbinding depôt was established, where the books were bound securely and accessories for the books were also provided.

After this reorganization loans from public libraries increased rapidly. In 1904 900,000 books were lent, in 1912 this number had grown to 1,620,000, and in 1947—48 to 3,636,232. This is not much more than one book for each member of the population. But the Norwegian library system is to-day undergoing a rapid development.

Broadcasting.

The work of the libraries can at least to a certain extent be measured through the number of loans. Their utility cannot of course be measured in this way, but there is every reason to believe that they have been of great importance in adult education and will continue to be so. But sometimes we have perhaps overestimated their value. The same thing may be said about the radio. At the beginning many people thought that many methods in education would be superfluous if there were a sufficient number of radio receivers; schools, courses, lectures — the radio could replace all of them.

It soon became evident that the radio was not a substitute.

but a supplement. We can indeed hear music, lectures, dramas; we can have discussion groups on radio programmes, and we can listen to what is going on at home and abroad. But the radio has two obvious weaknesses: it lacks the valuable personal contact between the listeners and the lecturer, actors or orchestra, and it appeals only to the sense of hearing. It has not yet found the right methods to overcome this weakness. Just think how dead a drama sounds on the radio as compared with the same drama on the stage! The radio programmes have also to serve so many purposes. They have to give something artistic and useful to hundreds of thousands of individuals with differing interests. It is difficult to organize a regular scheme of work. The intervals between the different programmes on the same problem must necessarily be too long.

Yet we know for certain that the radio has been of great importance to the traditional kind of education work in two fields — lectures and study groups. The Norwegian State Broadcasting began very early to broadcast popular lecture series in collaboration with the University of Oslo and the Museum in Bergen. Without doubt these series have been of great importance, and many of the individual lectures have been of value. It was perhaps to be expected that the radio lectures would keep audiences away from other lectures, but experience in Sweden seem to indicate the exact reverse.

In 1934 the Norwegian State Broadcasting started special lecture series for Study Groups and Discussion Groups. Special pamphlets were published, and of the first one about 4000 were sent to listeners.

The National Association of Folk Academies.

At first the different adult education enterprises were not coordinated. The Folk Academies were the first to discover the value of cooperation. As long as they were allowed to choose their lecturers as they liked, they failed to realize what advantages cooperation would give them. But from the moment their choice

was restricted to a certain number of lecturers, it was evident that it would be an economic advantage to engage the same man for a lecture tour to a number of academies.

In 1898 the Academy in Moss organized this cooperation between some academies in the eastern part of the country. An annual conference was held to discuss common problems, and in 1905 the same Academy decided to try to organize a national association. A meeting was held in Oslo, and there the National Association for Folk Academies was founded.

This Association was of great importance. It agreed upon a scale of payment for lecturers and obtained free travel for them on the railways, and systematized the government grants to Folk Academies. Perhaps even more important still were the annual conferences, where individual academies came in close contact with one other.

The Association of Study Groups.

During the early years Study Group work was carried on by different organizations. But the need for cooperation and collaboration grew. The International Order of Good Templars had been the first organization to make use of the new technique, and now it led the work for a closer cooperation too. In 1931 it made contact with other organizations, and the same year a meeting was held in Oslo. Representatives from nine organizations came together, and they agreed upon the desirability of instituting an association for Study Group work. Next year a constituent assembly was held, and it drew up the following rules:

1. The Association for Study Group work will consists of representatives from various organizations using the Study Group method.
2. Its aim is to extend the use of the method, to encourage the work through cooperation between the interested organizations, and to obtain official and private grants for the work.

3. Each organization will appoint its own representative to the Association in the way it prefers. The representatives will be chosen for a two-year period.
4. The Association will elect its own president and other officers.
5. Each organization will pay an annual fee of 10 kroner.

Later on more organizations joined the association, while others left. In 1940 it consisted of 11 organizations.

One of the chief tasks of the Association was to extend the use of the method, and one of the best ways to attain this was to train study group leaders. The first year a five days' course was held in Oslo. In 1935 a course was held in Bergen, in 1936 in Trondheim, in 1937 in Kristianssand and in 1941 in Vadheim. Altogether more than 200 leaders have been trained in these courses. The students are trained in practical work, and in addition instructive lectures on practical problems are given, followed by discussion.

The Association has also raised the question of catalogues of books for study groups. In 1936 appeared a "List of books for Study Groups", published with financial support from the Library Office of the Ministry of Church and Education. In 1938 came a larger "Catalogue of Books and Plans for Study Groups", published with state support. In 1936 a list of additional reading and study group pamphlets was also published.

The Association has tried to supply Study Groups with boxes of books from the travelling State libraries, and this service is now very efficiently organized.

In 1936 the Association asked the National Union of Publishers for the same discount on books as the libraries received, and this was granted.

The Association has also been working with correspondence courses for study groups; it has applied for government grants for its work, and planned a press office, discussed the preparation of study group pamphlets, handbooks etc. Most of the plans could not, however, be carried out for financial reasons.

The State Council for Adult Education.

The various independent organizations were not alone in realizing the need for coordination of their work. At the beginning of the nineteen-thirties the authorities again began to show interest in adult education. In 1933 the Ministry of Church and Education sent a circular to institutions and organizations working in adult education and asked them to appoint representatives to a council for adult education. This council was to investigate the possibilities of co-operation among the different adult education organizations in the country and eventually to find ways of extending the work. For, as the letter says: "The economic crisis to-day, coupled with enormous unemployment, has throughout the world brought to the foreground the question as to what society can do to help citizens to make a better use of their leisure time and what can be done to raise the individual to a higher cultural and educational level. Machines are at an ever increasing speed making workers superfluous, and it is therefore more and more important to give people the possibility of intellectual development. Our task is therefore not only to solve material problems, but intellectual and moral ones as well. The crisis is not only material and economic; it is also mental and moral. To meet this crisis, nations are trying to take measures to create a high intellectual standard and to raise the people to a high cultural level.

"In this country much has been done to aid the development of the moral and intellectual life of the people. Many ways and means have been employed in the task of adult education. Some of the more important are the University students' courses, the Libraries, the Study Groups, the Folk Academies, the radio, film, travelling art exhibitions, museums and theatres. It is a weakness in the work for adult education in this country that these enterprises on the whole are working independently of one other, or rather, that they do not cooperate as they should."

The Council began its work in 1934, and the same year it sent

a "Report on the Extension of Adult Education work" to the Ministry. It discussed the different methods and means — libraries, lectures, study groups, radio, film, art galleries and museums, schools and courses.

The Council recommended centralization of the work, both nationally and locally. It pointed out the lack of cooperation and suggested that all adult education work should be controlled by a central office.

It also pointed out that much of the adult education work was under the care of the Ministry of Church and Education, including libraries, museums, Folk Academies and broadcasting. It therefore recommended an enlargement of the Library Office in this Ministry as a first step.

The Council also recommended that the Library Office should lend lecture scripts, lantern slides, and projectors for slides and films. The State Film Control Office *(Statens filmkontroll)* which is in charge of the film censorship, should distribute the films. It proposed to increase the budget to finance the different enterprises.

The Council realized that there was a lack of cooperation between the organizations in the districts and that much work was being duplicated. It was of the opinion that the solution of this problem would be to hold District Councils for adult education.

These Councils should consists of representatives from the different adult education organizations, with one member appointed by the local authorities. The organizations were libraries, Folk Academies, Study Groups, Youth organizations, Temperance organizations, Schools, Museums etc.

The first task of the Council was to avoid competition and to provide a good foundation for cooperation between the different individual organizations. The State Council also pointed out the advantage of coordinated purchase of books for libraries, cooperation between libraries and Study Groups and between Folk Academies and libraries. It also recommended that it should be appointed as a permanent advisory council to the Ministry. The Ministry agreed

to this, but the financial and administrative recommendations were postponed.

The Temperance Study Groups Association.

In 1938 a special Study Group Association was organized by some of the Temperance organizations which employ this method. It has arranged courses, published pamphlets and other material, including correspondence courses on temperance. The Association has been very active and has done much to increase Study Group work within its organizations.

DEVELOPMENT AFTER 1939

The year 1939 marked a decline in Norwegian adult education. Then the war and the German occupation came. For five years the work stagnated. The Nazis organized a Ministry for Propaganda and Culture. Most of the adult education organizations were nazified. The number of students at the Folk High schools was more than halved, and in 1944—45 the leaders of the Resistance movement sent a message that nobody should begin courses, as they feared that the Nazi labour corps would conscript the students. Most of the Folk Academies had to stop, but some of them worked on without any interference, and all of these had larger audiences than ever before. Study Group work disappeared, and after the liberation everything had to be re-established.

The different organizations resumed their work from the point where they had to stop in 1940, but it then became clear how much had been altered in the meantime. The important new development was the ability to cooperate in the educational field as well as elsewhere. And cooperation was necessary, for the needs were tremendous. But the low educational standard, which had been falling steadily during the war, was a tragedy.

As the organizations began work anew, the state and the government also understood that vigorous steps must be taken. Budgets had to be increased, and a reorganization had to be undertaken. Even during the war, certain reforms had been prepared, and now they were taken in hand. The Library Office in the Ministry of Church and Education had its own section for the work with Study Groups, local Adult Education Councils and Folk Academies, and the name was altered to the Office for Adult Education.

Adult Education Councils.

The State Council for Adult Education had resigned, but after the war it resumed work. Originally it consisted of representatives from 27 organizations, but now it was considerably enlarged and to-day it consists of the following bodies:

Kirke- og undervisningsdepartementet
(Ministry of Church and Education)

Arbeidernes Opplysningsforbund
(Workers' Educational Association)

Det norske Totalavholdsselskap
(The Norwegian Temperance Society)

Folkeakademienes Landsforbund
(National Association of Folk Academies)

Folketeaterforeningen
(People's Theatre Union)

Folkets Brevskole
(a correspondence school owned by different organizations)

Forsvarets undervisnings- og velferdskorps
(Armed Forces Education Corps)

I. O. G. T.
(International Order of Good Templars)

Kommunenes Filmcentral
(The distribution agency of the cinemas owned by the local authorities)

Landslaget for Bygde- og Byhistorie
(Society for Local History)

Nasjonalgalleriet
(National Art Gallery)

Noregs Høgskulelærarlag
(National Union of Folk High School Teachers)

Noregs Ungdomslag
(Norwegian Youth Organization)

Norges Bondelag
(Norwegian Farmers' Association)

Norges Byforbund
(Municipal Council Association)

Norges Herredsforbund
(Rural Council Association)

Norges Husmorforbund
(National Association of Women's Clubs)

Norges Kooperative Landsforening
(The Norwegian Cooperative Society)

Norges Lærerinneforbund
(National Union of Women Teachers)

Norges Lærerlag
(National Union of Primary School Teachers)

Norsk Bibliotekforening
(Norwegian Library Association)

Norsk Lektorlag
(Norwegian High School Teachers' Union)

Norsk Musikerforbund
(Union of Musicians)

Norsk Presseforbund
(Norwegian Press Union)

Norsk Rikskringkasting
(Norwegian State Broadcasting)

Norske Kunstforeningers Landsforbund
(National Association of Art Clubs)

Norske Kvinners Nasjonalråd
(National Women's Council)

Norske Museers Landsforbund
(National Association of Museums)

Selskapet for Norges Vel
(National Society for Norwegian Welfare)

Statens Filmkontroll
(State Film Control Office)

Statens Teaterråd
(State Theatre Council)

Norske Studenters Friundervisning
(Norwegian Students' Extra Mural Activities)

Universitetet i Oslo
(The University in Oslo)

Vern og Velferd
(Safety First Association)

The Office for Art and Cultural Work in the Ministry of Church and Education is the secretariat for the Council.

One of the first tasks of the reorganized Council was to establish

local councils for adult education. After 1934 some councils of this kind had been organized, but most of them hat not managed to do any work, although a few of them had done well.

According to the original plan for these councils, the main task was to improve the libraries, but now the plan was altered and improved on several points. The State Council fully understood that it was impossible to fix rules which could be used everywhere, since conditions are so different in the various communities. But it sent a circular to the local councils, pointing out some problems which might be taken up.

The main task was "to organize better cooperation among those bodies in the municipality which carry on some kind of adult education work, and through this cooperation to improve the educational standards in the districts."

The State Council advised the local councils to devote themselves to the following special tasks:

"a. Support the work of the libraries. Where it is needed, the Council must work for better accommodation for the library. In places with more than one library, it must work for coordination in the purchase of books and in lending systems.

b. The Council must work for cooperation between the library on the one hand and Folk Academies, Study Groups and Radio Discussion groups on the other, and the library must adjust its purchase of books according to the needs of the other bodies.

c. If there is no Folk Academy in the municipality, the Council must try to organize one. The Folk Academy is to be a central, common educational organization, with collective membership from all the organizations and institutions in the place. The Folk Academy should cooperate with the other academies in the county, and where possible, they should form a county association to facilitate the arrangement of good lectures for the Academies. A county association with a joint secretariat will ease the work of the Office for Art and Cultural Work in arranging lecture tours to the academies. The task of the Academy is not only to arrange lectures. Study Group

work will be intensified through the organization of Study Groups in connection with the lectures.

d. The Council should work for the organization of Study Groups in places where this method is not yet adopted. The Study Groups should cooperate with the local library before they order books, and enquire which of the required books are there. When the Office for Art and Cultural Work has been more developed, it will be able to send study books and pamphlets to the groups. The Council should arrange courses for Study Group leaders to improve the work.

e. The Council should try to organize Discussion Groups in connection which lecture series on the radio. The Council should also try to obtain radio receivers for as many of the local organizations as possible.

f. The Council should cooperate with the management of the local cinema and ask it to show a certain percentage of educational films. It may be desirable that the Council should organize special performances of educational films.

In every district there should be one or more 16 mm film projectors for use in schools during the day, and in other organizations in the evening. The Council should try to arrange this.

g. The Council should try to organize evening schools in the municipality.

h. The Council should cooperate with the Youth schools in the district and try to organize travelling "Folk High school courses", after the Swedish pattern.

The State Council sent the recommendations about local councils to the local authorities, and in some cases to the leading educational organizations in the district. But generally the local authorities led the way. In a very short time councils were set up in many municipalities, and to-day there are about 300 of them out of a total of 744 municipalities.

According to the new rules, political organizations can also be members of the Councils. In most places, they have availed them-

selves of this opportunity, and this has given a new stimulus to the work. Many Councils have had excellent results, partly through working according to the recommendations of the State Council, and partly by finding local enterprises which they have considered more important.

The organization of local councils has brought better cooperation between the local bodies, in the same way as the organization of the State Council has improved cooperation on a national scale. But many of the organizations have also district organizations, covering a county or a part of a county. The first County Council for Adult Education was organized by a local council in the western part of the country in 1946.

The aim of this Council is:

"to work for adult education in the county and organize the work generally. It will organize local councils and help to coordinate them. It will work for the organization of Folk Academies, Study Groups and other undertakings of importance to adult education, and will foster intellectual development in our free democracy". In 1947 a new County Council was organized, and three more have followed till 1951.

Folk Academies.

The Folk Academies before the war had either been independent organizations with the object of arranging lectures, or special sections of other organizations. But as a result of the cooperation to be found among our people after the war, the postwar Academies have been founded on a new basis. They are now to be central educational and cultural organizations with the broadest possible basis. All organizations, including sport clubs, whatever their political opinions or vocational tasks, are cooperating with the Folk Academy, and they are institutional members of it.

The organization of Folk Academies is carried on in two ways.

The State Council for Adult Education mentioned the formation of Folk Academies as one of the main tasks of the local councils, and the Office for Art and Cultural Work is carrying on intensive propaganda work. Among other things, it has published a pamphlet on the organization of Academies. Local bodies also are interested. Political parties, local authorities, independent groups and individuals are engaged in this work, and many of the local councils consider this the first item on their programme. The result of this intensive work was a remarkable increase in the number of Academies, so that by now we have about 210 of them, compared with about 70 before the war.

The Academy is no longer merely a lecture club. It has many new tasks, which are laid down in the ordinary rules for academies, as follows:

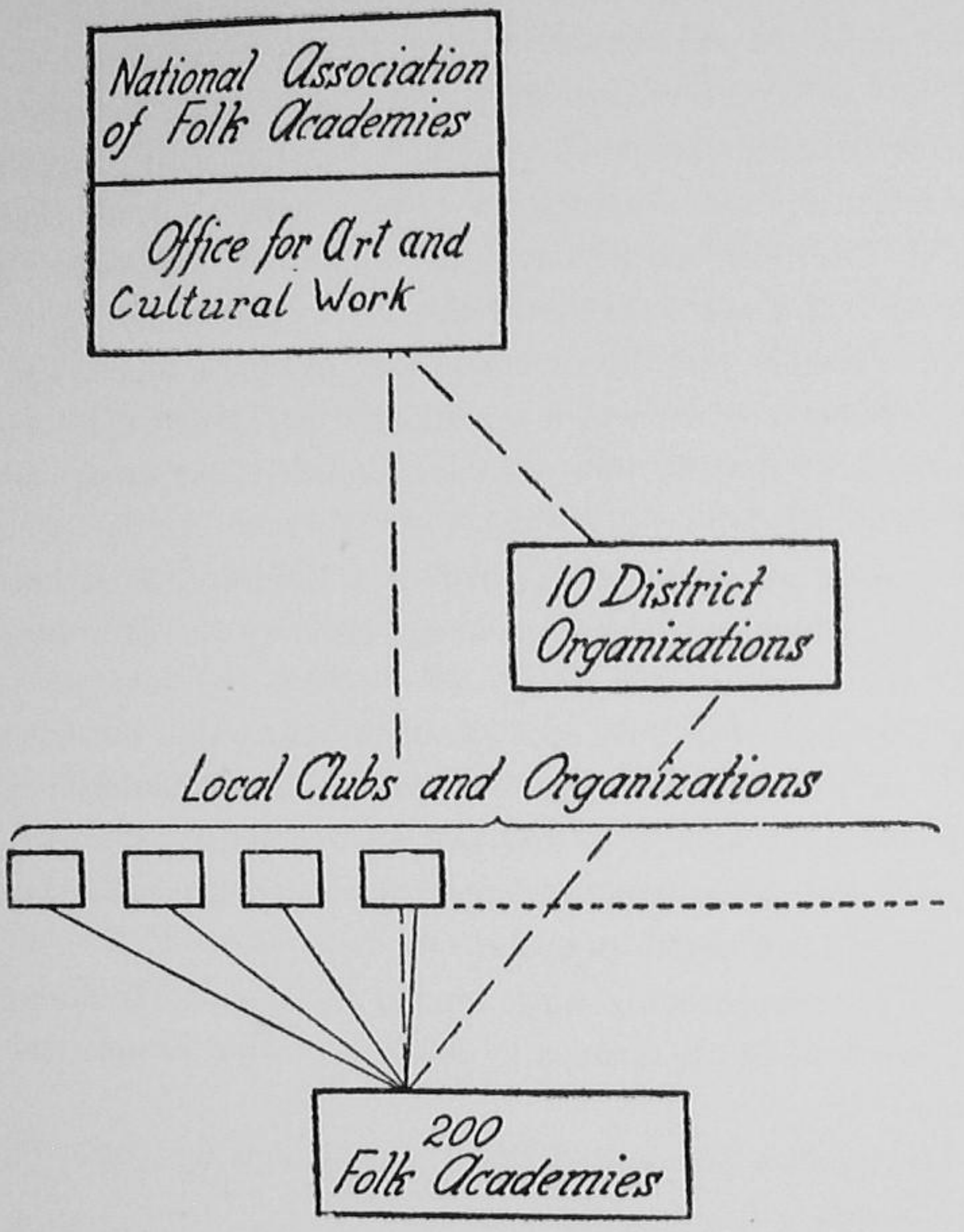
a. "The aim of ..... Academy is to give the adult population of the community general education and understanding of the structure of society in this and other countries through public lectures, films, theatre performances, concerts, art exhibitions, and other enterprises, where possible.

b. To encourage study work among the population through the organization of Study Groups in connection with lectures and other subjects.

c. To organize Study- and Discussion Groups in connection with radio lectures.

d. Through other enterprises than those already mentioned, to extend education and facilitate Study Group work, with the object of making our democracy a living reality."

It appears from this that the Academies to a certain extent have the same functions as the Local Councils for Adult Education, and this might be a disadvantage. But there has been no competition, though perhaps the number of Local Councils is less than it might otherwise have been. In communities with both types of institution, cooperation is good; the Academy is often a subdivision of the Council, and in these cases it confines its work to lectures.



The National Association of Folk Academies was reorganized after the war. The Association had a meeting late in 1945 and it was resolved that district organizations should be established in counties where cooperation among the academies was possible. District organizations had existed for a long time in a couple of places, but now this form of organization became more common, and to-day there are ten of them. Lecture tours have been organized, and these has been especially important for Academies with poor financial resources.

The work of the Folk Academies is thus based on a national organization, district organizations and local organizations, as shown in the following table.

Work in the Academies has increased considerably, and is to-day on the same level as it was in 1922, when there were 220 Academies. For the year 1949/50 we have reliable statistics. In that year about 1900 lectures were given in 210 academies, and the audiences consisted of 196,000 people.

Lectures were given on the following subjects:

a. General	370
b. Philosophy and Psychology	36
c. Religion	25
d. Political science, Law, and Education	253
e. Philology	7
f. Science	121
g. Useful Arts	38
h. Fine Arts and Athletics	98
i. Literature	124
j. Geography	493
k. History	89
l. Biography	56
m. Music and Recitals	159

Study Group Work.

After the war all organizations concerned were working hard to revive study group work. Local Councils for Adult Education, Folk Academies and libraries were invited to adopt this method, but their participation was of minor importance. The Study Group is first and foremost the educational method of free voluntary bodies, and it was their work that counted. They worked energetically, and within a short time more groups were in operation than before the war. The following table shows the post-war development:

	Number of Study Groups			
	1946/47	1947/48	1948/49	1949/50
Arbeidernes Opplysningsforbund (Workers' Educational Association)	948	1010	1173	1032
Bygdefolkets Opplysningsnemnd (Farmers' Educational Association)	82	86	84	209
Den Norske Godtemplarorden (The Norwegian Order of Good Templars)	31	35	29	26
Det Norske Totalavholdsselskap (The Norwegian Temperance Society)	100	53	152	66
Folkeakademienes Landsforbund (National Association of Folk Academies)	6	—	—	—
I. O. G. T. (International Order of Good Templars) ..	130	140	159	131
Internasjonal Kvinneliga for Fred og Frihet (Women's International League for Peace and Freedom)	12	11	21	9
Kvinnen og Tiden (A periodical)	390	182	156	—
Noregs Mållag (Society for the Norwegian Language) ...	—	—	22	43
Noregs Ungdomslag (Norwegian Youth Organization)	322	497	548	642
Norges Husmorforbund (National Association of Women's Clubs)	100	86	251	320
Norges kommunistiske ungdomsforbund (The Norwegian Communist Youth League)	271	265	—	—
Norges Kooperative Landsforening (The Norwegian Cooperative Society) ...		144	99	171
Norges Yrkeskvinners Landsforbund (National Union of Professional Women)..	45	48	32	49
Norske Studenters Friundervisning (Norwegian Students' Extra Mural Activities)		31	64	95
total	2437	2588	2790	2793

Before 1939 there had been a great diversity of subjects studied in the groups, ranging from literature to sociology, from music to business methods. But during the first post-war years, the low war-time educational and intellectual standards influenced the choice of subjects. Most of the young people had never been members of organizations and did not know how society existed before the war or how it was going to be organized again. Study group work was therefore concentrated on the subjects of organization and sociology.

The Association of Study Groups has also been reorganized and has now the following organizations as members:

Arbeidernes Opplysningsforbund
(Workers' Educational Association)

Bygdefolkets Opplysningsnemnd
(Farmers' Educational Association)

Den norske Godtemplarorden
(The Norwegian Order of Good Templars)

Det norske Totalavholdsselskap
(The Norwegian Temperance Society)

Folkeakademienes Landsforbund
(National Association of Folk Academies)

Folkets Brevskole.
(A correspondence school owned by different organizations)

I. O. G. T.'s studiesamskipnad
(International Order of Good Templars)

Internasjonal Kvinneliga for Fred og Frihet
(Women's International League for Peace and Freedom)

Kvinnen og Tiden
(A periodical)

Landslaget for norske jordbruksklubber
(National Association of Norwegian Young Farmers [4-H] Clubs)

Motorførernes Avholdsforbund
(Temperance Society of Motorists)

Noregs Mållag
(Society for the Norwegian Language)

Noregs Ungdomslag
(Norwegian Youth Organization)

Norges Fiskarlag
(Norwegian Fishermen's Association)

Norges Husmorforbund
(National Association of Women's Clubs)

Norges Idrettsforbund
(The Norwegian Sport Association)

Norges kommunistiske ungdomsforbund
(The Norwegian Communist Youth League)

Norges Kooperative Landsforening
(The Norwegian Cooperative Society)

Norges Studerende Ungdoms Avholdsforbund
(Students' Temperance Society)

Norges Yrkeskvinners Landsforbund
(National Union of Professional Women)

Norske Studenters Friundervisning
(Norwegian Students' Extra Mural Activities)

The Association has taken up many problems of common interest to the organizations and tried to solve them, and is still working efficiently. It has begun to publish Study Group pamphlets on subjects in which hitherto little interest has been shown. The Office for Art and Cultural Work issues a catalogue of pamphlets published by the different organizations.

Before the war the Association of Study Groups and the different organizations had held their own courses for Study Group leaders.

The courses were naturally influenced by the special aims of the societies, and ordinary study group work was often pushed into the background.

After the war, special government grants were given for this purpose, and in 1947 four courses were arranged in different parts of the country. In 1949 five courses were held, one of them being organized in cooperation with the British Council in Norway to inform Norwegian leaders about discussion group method in Britain.

Travelling State Theatre (Riksteatret).

Permanent theatres have only been in existance for about one hundred years in Norway. Before that time touring groups of Danish players and amateurs gave performances. Until the beginning of this century the permanent theatres were run by private societies and had no subcidies from the Government. The giving of Government grants to the permanent theatres in Oslo and Bergen (and later also to Trondheim and Stavanger) presupposed that the provincial population should also have the opportunity of seeing dramatic art. Some performances had earlier been given outside the towns, and many private companies had travelled throughout the country and given performances of all kinds. But little by little travelling theatres gave chiefly light entertainment, and the call for a travelling state theatre grew.

In 1935 a committee was appointed to discuss the problems of theatre in the country, and it made recommendations about a travelling state theatre.

The plans were fully worked out in 1940, but they were not made public to prevent the nazi authorities using them in their programme. Only after the liberation were they taken up again.

From 1945 a small Government grant was made for experimental tours by the permanent theatres. In 1948 the act concerning the Travelling State Theatre was passed, and in 1949 a board and a managing director of this enterprise were appointed. According to

the Act, the Travelling State Theatre will spread the dramatic art to all parts of the country, partly by tours organized by a special ensemble under the direct control of this theatre and partly by other companies.

For the first working year 1949/50 the government Grant was 200,000 kroner. For the financial year 1950/51 Parliament has raised the sum to 300,000 kroner. Some of the municipalities of the places in which performances are given, give a financial guarantee against loss on the performances, and similar guarantees are given by some counties.

The local work in the more important municipalities is carried on by special committees of 3—5 members. These committees prepare for the performances by local propaganda; they organize special performances for schools, factories etc.

In the first year of its existence the Travelling State Theatre gave about 500 performances in more than 250 places. In the small places only one performance was given, but some of the bigger places got from 4 to 14 performances. The repertory comprised Norwegian and foreign drama, classical and modern, comedy and tragedy and even a ballet. Both our official languages were represented.

The interest shown both in the press and among the audiences was promising for the future of the theatre. But it has a long way to go before it will fulfil its purpose — to be the theatre of the whole country and the whole Norwegian people. This is first and foremost due to the lack of suitable staging facilities. Much building should be undertaken as soon as the housing problem in the country is solved. The theatre has its own consultant who gives advice on the building of theatres and stages, and it has also published a pamphlet on this question.

The Travelling State Theatre also works for a greater understanding of dramatic art through lectures. One of the performances in the first year was prefaced by a lecture on the history of theatre from the classical Greek drama to the modern Travelling State Theatre. Cooperation with amateurs is also being developed.

The Travelling State Theatre has its main office in Oslo. From the autumn of 1950 it has published its own bulletin to local theatre committees, to the press and others.

The companies mostly travel by bus, but along the coast, especially in the northern part of the country, fishing boats have been used, and the actors live on board during the tours.

From 1950/51 the theatre has its own staff of actors. Other actors are temporarily released from their regular engagements. The permanent theatres will now, in return for the Government grants received, organize tours in cooperation with the Travelling State Theatre.

Travelling Cinemas.

In Norway there are many places where it is not possible to have permanent cinemas because of the sparse population. This may to a certain extent be altered when 16 mm entertainment films are made, and the price of the necessary apparatus is thus reduced. But for the present one can only serve these places by travelling cinemas. We have had some private companies carrying on such a service, and these are still in existence. But they have not considered their film work a cultural task, but have regarded it as a source of income. Many of their films have been of a very poor quality, both artistically and technically. Moreover, companies of this kind only want to give performances in places where they are certain of a profit.

The State Film Council therefore recommended to the Ministry of Church and Education that an official company should be established for this purpose. The shareholders should be the State, some of the more important free voluntary bodies which are members of the State Council for Adult Education, the National Association of Municipal Cinemas and the Kommunenes Filmcentral. The company was established late in 1948, and has been operating in the nothern part of the country since july 1950 with five mobile units. (Three 16 mm and two 35 mm). 100 places are being regularly visited and

performances are given one evening every 21 days. The company also plans to send projectors and operators to places along the coast in small fishing boats so that even the most remote places in future will have cinema performances at regular intervals.

Distribution of Educational Films.

The National Association of Community Cinemas has resolved that educational films are to be shown in connection with entertainment films in all their theatres. In Oslo there is a special theatre for documentary and educational films, and in some of the towns special programmes of this kind are shown once a week or more.

There is also a demand for documentary and educational films outside the theatres. Organizations, clubs and schools are to an ever increasing extent using films in their work. This is a part of their educational work, though films also come in their usual programmes. As early as 1919 the distribution company *Kommunenes Filmcentral* started the distribution of films for schools, and there is also a private company working in the same way. Both of these companies first and foremost try to meet the needs of schools, although they have films suitable for other purposes. The Workers' Educational Association also has its own company working both in the entertainment and the educational fields. It is in charge of the distribution of educational films to organizations, but the demand is by no means satisfied, and the State therefore established a special agency for the distribution of films under the Ministry of Church and Education on the recommendation of a ministerial committee. This agency, the Government Film Service, was established for the purpose of distributing educational films to schools, the armed forces, merchant navy, adult education organizations etc. The agency will also take charge of the technical aspects of the 16 mm films. In cooperation with the State School Film Council it will estimate the value of films from an educational standpoint, and work for the use of films in schools and in adult classes.

Film Production.

Production of films, whether for entertainment or for education, is a great cultural undertaking to-day. Norwegian film production has until now not been able to compete for many reasons with foreign producers. Most of the companies which have been producing films work on an insecure financial basis, and the studio conditions have not been of the best. Most of the companies have been forced to liquidate, and only the Norsk Film Ltd. has been able to hold its own. This company is the property of the National Association of Community Cinemas and the *Kommunenes Filmcentral*. It owns the only film studio in the country, but this is too small for the production we need to-day. Money was necessary for an extension, so the State decided to make loans to the company of 4 million kroner and to become a shareholder. The company also obtained the production unit for news-reels which had been established during the war, and which the State had been running after the liberation.

Travelling Art Exhibitions.

In the beginning of the nineteen-thirties, the Norwegian section of the World Federation for Adult Education undertook travelling art exhibitions. A committee was appointed to prepare these exhibitions, and in the following years several were sent to different parts of the country. Everywhere great interest was shown, and many visitors came. It was evident that there was a great demand. After the war some more have been sent out, and the interest aroused has proved that such exhibitions form an important part of our cultural work.

Correspondence Courses.

In a country where the population is as sparse as in Norway it is evident that systematic adult education is not possible everywhere. In most places there are clubs and organizations, but not all of

them are working to promote culture. Yet in these places there is a demand, and an increasing number of people have therefore turned to correspondence courses for help. Correspondence schools above all aim at getting their students through some examination, and the courses are consequently adapted to the usual school curriculum. But today more of the correspondence schools have adopted subjects which are not taught in the ordinary schools, and subjects of general interest are in great demand.

Correspondence tuition is to a very large extent dependent on the initiative and energy of the student. Many do not complete the courses and in some subjects as many as 50 per cent drop out. To tackle this problem, some schools have been planning their courses with special regard to study groups, and such courses have been very popular.

During the Occupation many new Correspondence Schools were started, some of them obviously as a speculation. The pupils had no guarantee of the standard of the courses or of the teachers' qualifications. It was regarded as undesirable that these should continue without the possibility of official control, and in 1948 Parliament passed an Act regarding Correspondence Schools. A State Council for Correspondence Schools was set up, acting under the authority of the Ministry of Church and Education. New Schools now must apply to this council for authorization. All Correspondence Schools must send the State Council information about courses and the qualifications and salaries of the teachers.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

At the beginning the work of adult educators was not paid. Numerous courses, lectures, evening classes and study groups have been conducted without the payment of a single penny. The organizations naturally support as far as possible the enterprises in which they are interested, but on many occasions work had to be stopped because of lack of money.

At a time when adult education was "missionary work", it is clear that it might be done on a voluntary basis. But later on people began to consider it a social undertaking, and as such it must be financed by the authorities. From the time when this new concept of adult education was introduced the Government grants have been steadily increasing.

The first state subsidy was given to *public libraries*. In 1839 they received subsidies from a fund at the disposal of the Ministry of Church and Education. The Government grants were soon discontinued, but after 1876 there have been regular appropriations although the amounts offered were for a long period very modest.

At the beginning of the 20th century the grants were about 20,000 kroner, and for the budget year 1922—23 they had risen to 173,000 kroner. But during the period which in Norway is called the "cultural break" (*kulturpausen*) from 1924—25 onwards, they were more than halved.

In 1935 our first Library Act vas passed. It laid down that government grants were to be given to libraries for the purpose of working for education through the loan of books, and that the grant should vary according to the amount of local support. The maximum grant would be 3000 kroner. However, the Act had a paragraph which made the financial regulations rather illusory, for Parliament was not bound to grant sufficient money to provide the maximum amount. This, combined with poor local support, led to very difficult conditions for the libraries.

In 1947 a new Act was passed. The most significant feature of this new Norwegian Library Act is that it introduces obligatory public libraries, in as much as every one of the 700 municipalities of the country is compelled to support a public library within its borders by appropriating a certain minimum annual amount as fixed in the text of the library Act.

In a similar manner all public schools in the rural districts are obliged to establish and support by annual appropriations a children's library for the use of the pupils.

Another interesting feature of the Act is the provision for compensation to authors for the library distribution of their books.

The act even contains other points of interest to other countries and will be quoted in full:

Public and School Library Act.

Chapter I — *Public Libraries.*

1. Every municipality shall have a public library (in some instances with branch offices) having a regular minimum subsidy from the municipality for books and the librarian's salary. The municipal subsidy is to be comprised of at least 25 øre per inhabitant of the municipality.
2. Public libraries aiming to increase adult education by lending books, are granted Government subsidies under the rules which this law stipulates.
3. To be entitled to Government subsidy, a public library must fulfill the following conditions:

a. A city or county municipality must be the owner.
b. All inhabitants of the municipality shall be entitled to borrow books without cost.
c. The library must have a librarian with a regular salary who has attended a recognized library course or who has worked in a recognized library.
d. The rules and regulations proposed by any library must be approved by the Ministry of Church and Education before going into effect.
e. The municipality must provide for suitable premises at a convenient place in its area.
f. The libraries must follow the rules and regulations set up by the Ministry regarding housing facilities, supervision, maintenance, librarian's salary, and bookkeeping. The Ministry can, if it deems it necessary, stipulate more conditions.

4. As a rule, subsidies are only given to one public library in each municipality. If the municipality has more than one public library that might be entitled to subsidies according to this act, the libraries must work together according to plans approved by the Ministry in order to be granted subsidies.
5. Public libraries will receive subsidies according to the following rules and regulations:

a. If the library receives a local subsidy for books and salary of up to kr. 400,00 annually, the Government grants the corresponding amount to the library.

b. If the local subsidy is higher than kr. 400,00, the Government grant is stipulated according to the following rules:

If the local subsidy is between:

kr.	401— 600	The Government grants amounts to	90 %
„	601— 800	„ „ „ „	80 %
„	801—1500	„ „ „ „	70 %
„	1501—3000	„ „ „ „	60 %
over kr.	3000	„ „ „ „	50 %

c. The highest Government grants is kr. 3,000.00.

d. The Ministry can give larger grants than those specified in this paragraph, if the subsidy granted by the Storting (Parliament) is large enough to allow it.

6. If the Storting grants subsidies for additional grants or for other library purposes than those specified in paragraph 5, the Ministry distributes these grants according to the following rules:

A public library in a municipality which serves as a central library (a library with more than one municipality as working area) is entitled to receive an additional subsidy of kr. 8,000 plus 20 % of the local subsidy for books and salary, though not over kr. 10,600 without the consent of the Storting. Whether a library can be recognized as a central library is decided by the Ministry, which also decides its serving area.

Public libraries that have a collection of handbooks (books located in a reading room), in a municipality with under 10,000 inhabitants, are entitled to an additional subsidy up to ¼ of the local grant, though not to exceed kr. 500 to a single book collection.

Public libraries that are so well run and administered that they may serve as model libraries, and libraries serving connected study groups or other educational purposes, are also entitled to additional grants.

Chapter II — *School Libraries.*

7. Every public school in the country districts is to have a school library for the childrens' use. The school library is to have a local subsidy of at least 25 kroner pr. year.
8. School libraries intending to:
   a. obtain suitable books for free time reading for the pupils,
   b. provide suitable literature for teaching in accordance with the curriculum for the elementary school,

   are entitled to Government grants in accordance with paragraphs 9 and 10.
9. To be entitled to a Government subsidy, a school library must fulfill the following conditions:
   a. the municipality must be the owner,
   b. all children shall be entitled to borrow books free of charge,
   c. the Board of Schools is to appoint a committee representing the school libraries in the municipality,
   d. The Board of Schools must provide for equipment and personnel.
   e. The Board of Schools is responsible for the enforcement of the rules and regulations of the Ministry as to supervision, maintenance, bookkeeping and other rules and regulations which the Ministry might find it necessary to stipulate.

10. All school libraries situated in a country district that fulfill these conditions will receive a subsidy from the Government corresponding to the local grant, though not exceeding kr. 100,00 per year for each library.
11. If the Storting grants subsidies, the Ministry can under the same conditions as mentioned in paragraph 9 and 10 in this act, on application give grants to:
    a. school libraries at high schools, secondary schools, youth schools, continuation schools, and trade schools;
    b. a joint library for the entire municipality where the individual school libraries can borrow books which they themselves do not possess;
    c. school libraries at elementary schools in cities and towns with less than 4,000 inhabitants where the public libraries lack satisfactory junior departments.

Chapter III — *Royalties for authors.*

12. Every budget year, up to 5 % from the Government subsidy is to be subtracted for a royalty fund for Norwegian authors because of the yearly purchases of new books for Government subsidized public and school libraries. The Storting will decide on the percentage to be used. This fund will serve to give contemporary authors and widows of Norwegian authors a royalty for lending out books by these authors. The fund is under the administration of the Ministry of Church and Education who will decide on further regulations.

Renting libraries, that lend out books on a paying basis or on membership subscription, shall every year pay a fee to this fund. This payment shall consist of up to 5 % of the total yearly book purchase fund, which will be decided by the Storting every year. The payment can be collected by distrain. The Ministry will give further rules and regulations for payment and collection of the fee.

	1938/39	1945/46	1946/47	1947/48	1948/49	1949/50
Arbeidernes Opplysningsforbund (Workers' Educational Association)	1,865	11,200	14,000	20,000	23,400	22,000
Bygdefolkets Opplysningsforbund (Farmers' Educational Association)	1,238	5,600	4,000	1,500	2,100	12,250
Den norske Godtemplarorden (The Norwegian Order of Good Templars)		560		500	900	1,300
Det Norske Totalavholdsselskap (The Norwegian Temperance Society)	200	1,120	4,000	1,750	1,200	2,000
Internasjonal Kvinneliga for Fred og Frihet (Women's International League for Peace and Freedom)				250	300	600
I. O. G. T. (International Order of Good Templars) ..	555	2,800	4,000	2,000	3,000	3,500
Kvinnen og Tiden (A periodical)			6,000	7,500	4,200	

Noregs Mållag (Society for the Norwegian Language)					600	2,000
Noregs Ungdomslag (Norwegian Youth Organization)	1,200	5,600	4,000	7,250	11,100	17,000
Norges Husmorforbund (National Association of Women's Club) ..	150	560	2,400	2,000	2,100	10,000
Norges kommunistiske ungdomsforbund (The Norwegian Communist Youth League)				5,000	5,100	300
Norges Kooperative Landsforening (The Norwegian Cooperative Society)					3,300	
Norges Yrkeskvinners Landsforbund (National Union of Professional Women) ..	40	560	1,600	1,000	1,200	1,300
Norske Studenters Friundervisning (Norwegian Students' Extra Mural Activities)					900	1,000

For the financial year 1950/51 the Government grant amounts to nearly 2 million kroner for public and school libraries, and it is expected that the amount will increase gradually following the regulations in the new Act.

Even the earliest *Folk Academies* had state support. At first each one had to apply to Parliament and have its grant voted specially, but in 1914 the National Association of Folk Academies recommended that grants be given according to certain rules. By these rules, each academy received state support to a maximum of ⅔ of its expenses for lectures, i. e. fees, travelling and accommodation expenses. The maximum grant was 20 kroner if the lecturer was visiting, and 15 kroner if he was living there.

In 1922 the subsidies amounted to 85,000 kroner, but in the budget year 1923/24 no more than 38,000 kroner were voted, and in the following year no money at all for this purpose was included in the budget. The State Council for Adult Education recommended in 1934 that the Folk Academies should have grants to enable them to work, but nothing was voted by Parliament until 1945/46. In that year the subsidies were 30,000 kroner. In 1946/47 these had been raised to 45,000 kroner, in 1947/48 to 55,000 kroner, in 1948/49 to 70,000 kroner, in 1949/50 to 90,000 kroner. 90,000 kroner have been voted also for 1950/51.

During the first two years each academy got a fixed sum for each lecture, — 30 kroner in 1945/46 and 35 kroner in 1946/47. This form of distribution was disadvantageous for academies in outlying districts, and the National Association of Folk Academies therefore proposed a new procedure. Since 1947/48 each academy has received a fixed sum for each lecture, the size of which depends on the amount of the government grants, plus 40 per cent of travelling and accomodation expenses.

From 1935 state support was also given to *Study Group work*. In 1935 the grants were 5000 kroner, and in 1939/40 they had increased to 7000 kroner. After the war the conditions altered, and

the grants have been constantly increasing. In 1945/46 they were 30,000 kroner, in 1947/48 60,000 kroner, and the next year 75,000 kroner. In addition to these sums, 10,000 kroner have been voted for study group leader courses every year since 1946/47. In 1950/51 the total grants to study group work (leader courses included) are 146,000 kroner.

The organizations of the Association of Study Groups receive a lump sum according to the number of groups each of them has had during the previous year, and they are themselves in charge of its distribution. They have to guarantee that the grant is used for the purchase of books of a general educational nature and that competent study group leaders are employed. Study Groups connected to local clubs or organizations, and those independent of any organization affiliated to the Association of Study Groups, also receive support. The Office for Art and Cultural Work has control of the choice of books and leaders.

Grants to Study Groups are to be used for the purchase of books. A Group receives a maximum of 50 per cent of the whole amount spent on the purchase of books, but not exceeding 50 kroner for each subject in one year.

The Association of Study Groups includes practically all organizations working with study groups, and thus these organizations have most of the government grants for this work. Groups without any connection with these organizations are not important.

The table on page 206—07 shows the distribution of grants in recent years.

A survey of the government grants to other branches of adult education work is shown on page 216.

Profits of Football Pools.

The organization of betting in connection with sport meetings in order to allow sports organizations to have the profits was first suggested by the Workers' Sports Union in 1935. In 1937 the matter was discussed in Parliament, but the proposal was rejected.

To-day the need for subsidies for sport is more pressing than ever before. A far larger proportion of the people take an active part in sports, and our sports grounds have not been restored after the devastations made during the war. It is impossible to raise the necessary funds in the ordinary way. Parliament therefore passed an Act on 21st June 1946, allowing a public company to arrange betting in connection with sports meetings. The sports organizations, however, do not receive all the profits, and provision is made for science and the arts. The regulations for the distribution of the profits are as follows:

"An annual surplus up to 1 million kroner will be devoted to sports organizations, and, in addition, 80 per cent of the amount between 1 and 2 million kroner, 60 per cent between 2 and 3 million kroner, 40 per cent between 3 and 4 million kroner, and 20 per cent of any further amount. The rest is to be used for the encouragement of science and the arts."

Everybody agrees that our work for adult education is a social undertaking. The government's business is to create conditions which allow citizens to develop their capabilities and to be free and independent individuals. Even if the State subsidizes the enterprises, and even directs some of them, there will never exist in a democratic state the danger of uniformity. One of the chief aims of the democratic state is to secure the individual's freedom of thought and independence. Both the state and local authorities therefore have to share in the creation of good conditions for all organizations with legitimate aims.

The subsidies for cultural work are intended to promote a better use of leisure, and to provide an alternative to the misuse of leisure. We have every reason to believe that in this way we can check the misuse of alcohol and other harmful activities.

Large grants are to-day given to different enterprises, both by the state and the local authorities. A part of these grants is given to the organizations, and the other part is distributed by the government. We think that in future the grants will be raised considerably, and it is therefore important that the work should be organized as well and efficiently as possible. The state neither can nor will interfere with the work of organizations, and it is therefore their task to arrange their activities so that as many as possible can profit by them, while it is task of the state to adapt its administration to the demands of the times.

Sports Grounds and Community Centres.

In most places in our country the premises at the disposal of adult education are far too small, and from many quarters a demand has been raised for Community Centres, i. e., buildings where all aspects of our modern adult education work can be carried on. But sport is also a part of its activity, and it is therefore right to consider sports grounds and community centres as two branches of the same work. In most places it is possible to have the library, reading room, room for study groups, theatre for films and dramas, lectures, gymnasium and public baths all under one roof. In many cases it would be useful to cooperate with the schools too.

These problems have been approached in a very effective way since the last war, and in spite of certain difficulties good results have been obtained. Both local and central authorities have shown a great interest in the work, and the different organizations have devoted much energy to solve the problems. Shortage of material and manpower has been the greatest hindrance, but the latter has been solved through voluntary, unpaid work by members of the organizations.

The government gives far greater attention to the importance of the work than was the case in the 'thirties. As early as 1946 Par-

liament resolved to establish Government office for Athletics whose most important task was to plan the building of sports-grounds and centres all over the country and to establish a medical control of all athletes. In the work of this office some new ideas have been introduced, especially in regards to the sports-grounds. They must have a certain minimum size, to give room for all kinds of sports, and great attention is given to the appearance of the grounds. Where possible, the sports-grounds are built in connection with parks, schools, public baths, premises for organizations etc. Today these principles are being followed all over the country, and most of the new sports-grounds are being constructed according to these plans.

In 1950 Parliament resolved to extend the work of the office. The planning of community centres is taken over by the office. There are in Norway a great many buildings belonging to different organizations, but common to most of them is their age and their lack of sufficient space for modern adult education work. One of the tasks of the office is therefore to try to foster cooperation between the different organizations, and for the financial year 1950/51 a Government grant of 200,000 kroner is made to this work.

A secretary for youth work has also been appointed with the special task of aiding the youth organizations in their work and of being a contact between the organizations and the government.

Grants to Cultural Organizations.

Study Group Work.

Both the state authorities and the cultural organizations agree that the conventional method of subsidizing study groups is not ideal. They have therefore agreed to try a new method, and to make a single Central Library responsible for the distribution of

literature to Study Groups. It does not necessarily follow that this method will be adopted permanently, as that will depend on the results of this experiment.

Grants have until now only been made for the purchase of books of a general educational nature. This rule has been interpreted very freely, both by the state and the organizations in charge of the distribution of grants. In future the rule will be interpreted still more freely, for it is right that the members of groups should be given the opportunity of studying subjects which interest them, whether technical matters, sociology, organization, art, politics or religion. But to secure a high standard of books, the groups will still have to select them from catalogues and lists published by the Ministry of Church and Education.

Another matter needs improvement. Study group work has suffered through lack of competent leaders, and this is not surprising. The work of a study group leader has not been considered a skilled task, but a position of honour. No organization has therefore paid any salary to its study group leaders, and many of the best qualified persons have accordingly not been interested in the work.

In Denmark and Sweden they give grants towards the salary of a study group leader, and this has also been tried in Norway. From the financial year 1949/50 a state grant of 2½ kroner an hour was given to groups using qualified teachers, on condition that a total fee of 5 kroner an hour is paid to the leader.

Study Group Leader Courses.

The lack of study group leaders is due not only to the shortage of people with sufficient general knowledge. It is due just as much to the fact that most of the members do not understand the method and therefore decline to take part in it.

To remedy this, various organizations every year arrange several

courses, and the Association of Study Groups has now decided that courses arranged by one of the constituent organizations are to be open to members of all of them. The state is going to extend its work for courses, and after the recent decision of the Association, cooperation in this direction between the state and the organizations will be even better than before, and there is even a possibility that joint courses will be arranged.

Study group method is to a very large extent identical with methods used in schools, but teachers have usually refused to take part in study groups. This is to some degree due to the lack of payment, but still more because teachers do not know about the method. Our aim must therefore be to introduce study group technique into teachers' colleges and the University Department of Education.

Evening Schools.

Since 1936 evening schools have received Government grants. These schools have been considered a part of the ordinary school system; they have been organized by the local educational authorities, and the curriculum and the teachers have been approved by the Director of Education of the district.

Most of the students at the evening schools are the same as those attending study groups. In many cases the same subjects are studied, and the methods may be similar. To encourage the educational work of the free voluntary bodies, the Ministry of Church and Education in 1949 made new regulations for Government grants to evening schools. According to these regulations both the local school authorities and the independent organizations may run evening schools. The evening schools run by the organizations must be supervised by the local school authorities. The Government grant is 2½ krone an hour on condition that a similar amount is provided for by the organizations or local authorities.

Lectures.

The usual lecture fee in Norway is 75 kroner a lecture, and in addition to this there are travelling and accomodation expenses. It will be easily understood that many Folk Academies work under difficult financial conditions, especially in small places where there are few members, and where grants from the local authorities are rare. It is to be expected that more Folk Academies will be organized in future, and that more lectures will be given in each academy. Greater financial support for lectures is therefore needed.

Up to the present only lectures in Folk Academies have been supported financially, but in many country districts it is impossible to establish special organizations for lectures, especially in small places. But in these districts there are other clubs and organizations which would organize lectures if they received grants. To make such lecture activity possible, alterations have been made in the regulations for the distribution of Government grants for lectures.

Amateur Art.

In ordinary adult education work there has been a development from passive to active methods, from the old school and "the Living Word" to self-activity among the students. The same methods are to be found still, and we find them also in the new forms of adult education. Large numbers of people visit art exhibitions, concerts, theatres etc. But many also do more, and are active members of singing societies, choirs, orchestras, amateur theatrical clubs, art clubs etc. It is clear that this self-activity is the right way to promote a better understanding of art. It is a good use of leisure, giving great pleasure to those who take part. Amateur art should therefore have the support it deserves.

The Norwegian Amateur Theatre Union has about 60 clubs, and many of the Youth clubs have special theatrical groups. But they are in need of instruction and suitable plays. The question of

Government Grants for Adult Education.

	1939/40	1948/49	1950/51
Public libraries (including libraries on ships, instruction of librarians and the periodical "Bok og Bibliotek")	251,350	931,500	1,521,300
Study Group Work	7,000	85,000	146,000
Evening Schools	10,000	60,000	70,000
Folk Academies		70,000	90,000
Amateur Art			40,000
Travelling Art Exhibition	2,000	8,000	12,000
Miscellaneous		5,000	15,000
Films (Including dividends of the State Film Fund)		700,000	1,750,000
Theatres	340,000	757,500	875,000
Travelling State Theatre		150,000	300,000
Music	94,050	303,500	319,500
At the disposal of the Ministry of Church and Education for music, theatre and film ..		52,000	115,500
Sports*) (including the State Office for Sports)	400,000	966,800	765,000**)
Community centres			200,000
	1,104,400	4,089,300	6,219,300

teachers is also important to many musical and choral societies, and considering the great work they do to develop the appreciation of good music, they should have the help they need. A Government

*) In addition to the direct State support, the Sports Organizations also receive a part of the profits of Football Pools, for the year 1950 estimated at 3—4 million kroner.

**) From the financial year 1950/51 the State Office for Sports is part of the Ministry of Education and the employes etc. are paid directly by the Ministry.

grant of 40,000 kroner to singing and musical societies, amateur theatrical clubs and art clubs was therefore included in the national budget from 1949/50.

In the table on page 216 are details of Government grants for adult education work in 1939/40, 1948/49, and 1950/51.

Translated by Jon Mathisen and Ralph Ockenden.

ADULT EDUCATION IN SWEDEN

by *Ragnar Lund* and *Harry Ohlsson*.

INTRODUCTION

Democracy and adult education are in reality only two manifestations of one and the same thing. In Sweden, at all events, they are inseparably connected with each other; they have been mutually conditioned, they are both inspired by the same ideal of human values, and they have grown from the same soil. During the decades in which democracy has established itself in Sweden, adult education has also come into its own and taken root. It would be difficult to say which of the two came first. In some cases adult education has followed up and rounded off a democratic advance, in other cases it has paved the way for such an advance.

It is therefore quite understandable that those activities which in English are connoted by the term "adult education" should have become firmly established and widespread features of Swedish national life, especially during the last few decades. That a democracy should support its citizens' efforts in self-education is so obvious to all who have devoted a little thought to the matter that it is scarcely necessary to adduce arguments to that effect here. A free democracy must be maintained by knowledge, leavened with a sense of responsibility in solving problems which concern all the citizens. Discerning men and women in Sweden have always been aware of this fact. As early as 1868 Adolf Hedin, a prominent Swedish liberal politician, declared: "To those who complain of the dangers of democracy and who are so terrified of these dangers, we can recommend only one means of avoiding them. This means is infallible, and its name is Popular Education."

As a matter of fact, adult education in the broadest sense of the term has been carried on for a long time in Sweden, as will be

shown later. But the activity referred to in Swedish as *folkbildnings-arbete*, which is free and voluntary, is a child of the last few decades.

Definition.

What is meant by the Swedish term *folkbildningsarbete?* "Adult education", which refers to instruction or study arranged for and carried on by adult persons, does not adequately render the Swedish term, which conveys connotations of a somewhat different nature. In the first place, *bildning* implies that the pursuit in question does not consist merely of an intellectual study, but also aims to *cultivate*, to *form the character* of those who participate. Ellen Key, a famous adult educationalist in Sweden, once propounded the paradox: "*Bildning* is what remains when you have forgotten what you have learnt."

In the second place, the first constituent part of the compound term *folkbildning* makes it apparent to Swedish readers that this cultivating and formative work is not directed with the same force to all social classes, but is primarily designed to meet the desires and needs of the broader social groups. This interpretation of the term also applied at the time when the work of adult education was chiefly carried on by benevolently disposed persons from the upper classes in the form of charity among the lower. This philanthropic educational work has been replaced by activities which are carried on by the people for whom it was originally designed. In the course of time new groups of citizens have entered the movement, and it has become more and more a movement for the whole people, with a message for all who consider that they have a need for more knowledge and wider experience.

If one gives closer consideration to the facts of modern Swedish adult education, one finds that all branches of the activity — i. e., folk high schools, people's libraries, study circles and popular lectures — have developed simultaneously with the emergence of formerly retarded groups of the population and their claim for a share in the benefits of the community. The origin and development

of modern adult education in Sweden is thus intimately connected with the changes in economic, social and political conditions which have affected the Swedish social system since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The groups of citizens to whom the franchise has been extended and who have been admitted to participation in the government of the community through these changes have felt the need for better intellectual equipment to enable them to bear their new powers and responsibilities. As has already been pointed out, the different branches of adult education have thus developed parallel with the progressive democratization of the Swedish social system; and the big national popular movements which have been the organs for democratic advance have also furthered adult education in the country. The great popular movements have become powerful driving forces not only socially and politically but also educationally. The new demands which have arisen have required new methods of study, which, as we shall see, have been created by these movements themselves.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Some aspects of modern adult education in Sweden may be traced back to about the beginning of the 19th century. Until well into the 18th century the common people in Sweden had been illiterate, and book-learning had been the privilege of the few. As far as popular adult education was concerned, it was practically confined to church services. A number of bishops — and many priests — actively supported the endeavours of Pietists and Herrnhuters to make their followers also diligent and educated citizens.

Parish libraries and reading circles.

Such efforts can scarcely be regarded as direct prototypes of present-day adult education. Certain early "reading societies" and

libraries may, however, be so considered. In Stockholm, the printer *Lars Salvius* established the first popular library in the 1750's. This was attached to a book-shop, and it had many successors, in the capital as well as in other towns. The first real popular library in the country districts seems to have been the "Children's and Parish Library" established in the year 1800 in Lekeryd parish.

The Elementary Education Act of 1842.

Efforts to establish elementary schools in Sweden did not exclude thoughts and desiderata concerning educational activities among adults. The first motion in the Swedish Riksdag regarding obligatory elementary schools, which was brought forward in the year 1809, referred also to the idea of people's libraries. Not until 1842 was the time ripe for a move in this direction. It came in connection with the institution of the Swedish elementary school. In the first paragraph of the act which then went through the Riksdag the government gave its support to free and voluntary adult educational activities by emphasizing the desirability of parish libraries.

The idea of adult education gains ground.

The Elementary Education Act of 1842 was preceded, however, by a long and vigorous debate, both within and outside the Riksdag. At the beginning of the 1830's *Frans Anton Ewerlöf* visited England, where his studies included adult educational activities in that country. These enquiries brought him into personal contact with Lord *Henry Peter Brougham*, whose book, "*Practical Observations upon the Education of the People*" he translated and had published in Swedish in 1832. This book is an uncommonly far-seeing and suggestive programmatic essay on the subject. Ewerlöf was especially struck with the recommendation to procure and bring out good popular publications, and in the year 1833 he took the initiative of founding "*The Society for the Dissemination of Useful Knowledge*".

The activities of this society were pioneering in the real sense of the term. One of its most important contributions was the publication of the book-series "*Läsning för svenska folket*" (Reading for the Swedish people), while another consisted in its energetic attempts to found libraries.

In the year 1835, at a meeting of "The Society for the Spreading of Useful Reading Matter for the People", *Erik Gustaf Geijer* made a declaration of his "apostasy". In a review he writes: "For me, the best school system is that which extends the advantages of education to the greatest number of citizens; and in the same way I consider that government and that mode of government to be the best, which furthers the happiness of the greatest number. The former is a means for the attainment of the latter." With these words E. G. Geijer had very properly and incisively drawn attention to the importance of liberal ideas for the successful break-through of adult education. These ideas were of decisive importance in the victories scored for the cause of education in the 1820's and 1830's. Esaias Tegnér, who in other respects had a conservative attitude, writes in a letter from 1829: "In a country like ours, where the people participate in legislation and in the highest affairs of the state, brute force is unconstitutional and ignorance a traitor."

Study circles and workers' societies.

The champions of popular education during the first half of the 19th century clearly realized that their most urgent task was to procure good books and to make them accessible to the people. Libraries quickly became a growing institution. In the 1850's there was an especially noteworthy advance. By the end of the next decade there were 1437 parish libraries in the country; but after that there was a decline, the main reasons for which were lack of means and flagging interest on the part of both the authorities and the general public.

The abolition of the guild system in 1846, however, created the

need for new forms for meetings and educational activities. The most interesting attempt to meet this demand was the *study circles* of the period 1840—1860. The first of these was formed in Stockholm in 1845 on the initiative of the last senior journeyman of the Tailors' Guild, a journeyman tailor and poor-house physician, *Johan Ellminn*. The first meeting of the circle was attended by a senior journeyman tailor, four journeymen tailors, a journeyman goldsmith, a lieutenant, a soldier, a school-teacher, a student, a grocer and a doctor of medicine. It was Johan Ellminn who gave the name "study circle" to the little group. The aim was education, and, just as in the first Christian era, the pupils were to be assembled in a ring around their teacher. The "bad taste and the inclination for soulless pastimes" characterizing the lower classes were to be combatted, and admission to the circle was to be independent of occupation or social rank. The number of different callings represented at the first meeting shows a definite attempt to break the isolation of the guild system, and it proved that people from different social groups could really find common ground in pursuing a common goal. In the regulations of the circle the aim was stated to be "to provide a possibility for male persons in the capital, otherwise assiduously following urban pursuits, to enjoy profitable instruction, and according to our means to acquire a collection of books which members may borrow for a small fee."

The new form for meeting and for study met with many difficulties. There was a narrow guild spirit, a snobbishness and lack of interest; but the current political unrest seems to have been a still greater obstacle. Accordingly, in order to be on the safe side, the little group wrote to the Governor of Stockholm and had itself registered as a corporation aiming to impart knowledge which might be useful for members of the community and arouse interest in "nobler occupations in leisure hours".

At its sixth meeting the Stockholm study circle had as many as seventy members. It soon became something of a public institution, holding its annual meetings in the Stockholm Stock Exchange, with

an attendance of up to a thousand persons, and receiving financial contributions even from King Oscar I. The activities of the circle were extremely comprehensive, including lectures, tours, art-exhibitions, musical evenings both vocal and instrumental, etc. The many-sidedness of its program may be seen from the following list of subjects taken at random from the first year's lectures: The Need for and Aims of a Study Circle, Astronomy, Electricity and Polarity, Theories of Combustion, Main Points in the Education of the Swedish People, Work and Prayer, The History of Medicine, The Influence of the Natural Sciences and The People of Moses.

The example set by the capital was followed in the country districts. The Gothenburg study circle was formed in 1847. In its proceedings one finds a well-known name in the history of Swedish culture, *Viktor Rydberg*.

This intensive form of study was, however, short-lived. The Stockholm study circle was disbanded in 1861, and most of the others disappeared shortly afterwards.

The Folk High School.

During the same decades when the labour unions were growing up in the towns, the educational aspirations of the country districts, chiefly thanks to the practical interest shown by the farmers, found concrete expression in the *folk high school*. When the first Swedish folk high schools were established in 1868, the impulse had been provided from Denmark.

In connection with the national revival that swept over Denmark in the 1860's, Grundtvig, the father of the Danish folk high school, urged the need for a form of school that would give the people a national education, in contrast to the one-sided classical education provided at the grammar schools and universities. The Danish folk high school that grew from these ideas has since been copied in other countries in Scandinavia and overseas.

It is, however, as well to point out at the outset that the folk high

school in Sweden has followed independent lines, and has not been modelled on the Danish pattern. There has, for instance, been a closer association in Sweden with the universities and with university men than in Denmark. Generally speaking, moreover, the Swedish folk high school has undoubtedly been more successful in realizing the idea of a citizen's school for the whole people, without any discrimination in respect to social, religious or political groups.

In 1868 the first folk high schools were established in Herrestad in Östergötland, in Önnestad in the county of Kristianstad and in Hvilan, Åkarp. The Hvilan folk high school was the first to assume concrete form. In a report we find the following sketch of the projected school: "a school in which a youth may be given instruction for the improvement of his mind as well as for the practical affairs of life, a school in which he may acquire general knowledge, decide what occupation he is best fitted for, learn to respect work and to take pleasure in working himself, and gain the realization that it is not only as an official or an employee that one becomes a good and useful citizen. The school should be situated in the country, so that the pupils may attend it without being taken from their ordinary mode of life, and may return, on the completion of their instruction, with enlightened minds to their former occupation."

The first headmaster of Hvilan was Docent *Leonard Holmström* of Lund University. It was the proximity to the university and Leonard Holmström's connections there that enabled this contact between the university and the folk high school, which proved so important for the latter's development. The professors at Lund were very willing to make the trip out to the school. This contact between university men and popular education was valuable not only for the folk high school, but also for the future of popular scientific lecturing.

The establishment of the folk high schools makes the year 1868 a landmark in the history of Swedish popular education. It constituted one of the most invaluable assets of the movement for free and voluntary educational work.

Workers' Institutes and Lecturing Centres.

It was only natural that new institutions for adult education should develop from the labour unions and the folk high schools. In both, lecturing was a frequently employed and much appreciated method of instruction, paving the way for occasional lectures as well as for lecturing centres.

The first modern lecturing institute to be established in our country was the *Stockholm Workers' Institute*. This was founded in the year 1880 by *Anton Nyström*, M.D. In a prospectus issued by this radical Stockholm physician it was pointed out that the first aim of the institute would be to "afford a scientific, humanistic and aesthetic training" to interested persons who for one reason or another had not received any education after leaving elementary school. General humanistic education, not vocational training, was the aim. The institute was to turn out independently thinking human beings with a respect for life and its seriousness, and was to combat drunkenness and encourage a useful and worthy use of leisure. Prominent radicals joined forces with Anton Nyström, and found in the institute a forum for their activities. They endorsed views according to which the work of adult education should be anchored in a humanistic attitude to life, and which asserted the rights, freedom and worth of every individual.

The institute had, however, to overcome serious opposition. This came in the main from conservative circles, though it was also met with in the ranks of the workers themselves. A collection of funds had made it possible to open the institute, but when the Stockholm Corporation refused an application for a grant, personal support from the young labour leader *Hjalmar Branting* enabled it to carry on its activities. In the year 1885 a government grant was made, and since 1895 the institute has also been receiving a subsidy from the Stockholm City Corporation.

The work of the Workers' Institute has from the outset chiefly taken the form of lectures and courses, and through their collab-

oration a number of prominent scientists have made a comprehensive and valuable contribution to Swedish popular education. Anton Nyström was succeeded by Professor *Knut Kjellberg,* one of the most prominent champions of the idea of adult education in Sweden.

The above-mentioned controversy drew the attention of almost the entire country to the Stockholm Workers' Institute, and a number of towns established labour institutes modelled on the Stockholm prototype both as regards the aims and the mode of work.

Study circles and labour unions had both found the lecture to be a highly effective tool, and they sometimes proved the occasion for the foundation of lecturing societies. About one hundred such societies had been established before the year 1900.

The increasing number of lecturing societies and of lectures delivered at folk high schools and workers' institutes, together with the desire to contribute to the work of popular education, gave rise to the need for centres to which applications could be submitted, and which could act as mediators between lecturers and audiences. A proposal was sent to the South Swedish university town of Lund, and in 1898 there was formed there *The Lund Centre for Popular Scientific Lectures.* The former Chairman of the Centre points out in the 50-year jubilee publication of the centre that in order completely to understand the aims of the organization it is necessary to note two expressions contained in the constitution. The first of these is "utsträckt undervisning" (extended education), which emphasizes the connection with the universities, and which is taken from the term "university extension" employed in the English counterpart of the movement for adult education. The other expression is "*populära vetenskapliga föreläsningar*" (popular scientific lectures), where by separating the two first words it is emphasized that the lectures shall be scientific as regards their content, while the form shall be adapted to the audience. A further essential point to note is the definite connection between the Centre and the University, especially stressed in the sub-title: "Section for Popular Education at Lund University".

The Lund Centre was taken as the model for *The West Sweden Adult Educational Association* in Gothenburg, which was founded in 1901, and for *The Central Association for Popular Scientific Lectures* (afterwards renamed *The Adult Educational Association*) in Stockholm, which was established in 1902.

The academic contribution.

The formation of the Lund Centre was one result of the keen interest and the feverish work that was devoted to the cause of adult education in Swedish academic circles during the last two decades of the 19th century. It was considered to be nothing less than a duty for the universities to participate in the work of improving the general educational level. It was this spirit which gave birth to the Summer Courses of the universities, which were begun in Upsala in 1893, and which provided lectures on general educational subjects for those desirous of increasing their knowledge and improving their minds. The courses also propagated for the formation of lecturing societies. Solid and important contributions were also made by the student societies "*Verdandi*", "*Heimdal*" and "*Students and Workers*", all in Upsala. "*Verdandi's booklets*" were excellent and provocative purveyors of knowledge.

The contribution of university men to the work of adult education culminated with a great popular educational meeting in Stockholm in 1901. On this occasion *The Adult Educational Association* was formed, under the enthusiastic and indefatigable leadership of *Knut Kjellberg*, while *Uno Stadius* presented "the idea and mode of work of the ambulatory folk high schools" and new lines were drawn up for the library movement on the basis of impressions from Denmark. After this grand demonstration, however, there was a decline in the interest shown in academic circles. A new force was preparing to make a decisive contribution to the cause of Swedish popular education — a force emanating from the Swedish people's movements.

The early educational contribution of the popular movements.

In connection with the social, economic and political reforms that were launched in earnest in our country in the middle of the last century, forces were unfettered in the lower classes which, under the influence of the political and economic trends manifesting themselves all over Europe, and under the pressure of the people's aspirations in Sweden itself, gave rise to groupings and associations which were soon to spread throughout the entire country. These associations were able to grow freely, and were not only affected by, but were also able to affect, developments. In this way they avoided a feeling of alienation and early acquired a sense of cooperation and a share of responsibility. In the course of the years this temper has taken on the character of a truth that is not merely known, but is also recognized. The great popular movements have made and are making essential contributions to the shaping of present-day Sweden. Especially in evidence is the decisive part played by them in the field of education. Their constitution and aims have a leavening of character-forming elements, and through their direct contributions these movements have become decisive forces in the development of free and voluntary adult education, its organization and content.

The oldest of these popular movements is the temperance movement. The first great champion of temperance in our country was *Peter Wieselgren*, who as early as 1819 founded a temperance society in Växjö. The motto for his important life's work was: "Down with the distilleries, up with the schools! Out with strong drink and in with good books!" Sixty years later the first Swedish lodge of the Order of Good Templars (IOGT) was established in Gothenburg.

For many people the Order of Good Templars became a real school of citizenship. Not only problems of temperance have been dealt with in the Order, but lectures and courses have been held on citizenship and subjects of general educational interest, people's libraries have been established, and extensive club activities with

such diversions as singing and instrumental music have been carried on. At the meeting of the Swedish Grand Lodge in 1892 the idea of organizing systematic courses of study was propounded. A committee was appointed to draw up a detailed project, and in 1894 the Grand Lodge appointed a rector of studies and a special committee. This new activity took the form of courses, most of them dealing with temperance questions or ordinary school subjects.

Experience soon showed, however, that these courses of study were not so popular as could be desired. In connection with the efforts to find fresh and more suitable forms of work, *Oscar Olsson* took an initiative that was to mark an epoch in Swedish popular education. On the basis of a study and discussion club he formed, in the year 1902, a *study circle* in Lund, and within a year he had founded 15 study circles in Scania and Värmland. His great and enduring contribution was that he introduced the study circle in a great national movement and endowed it with a principle and with subject matter. It was to be a circle of comradeship held together by common interests, above all by interest in reading. It was to be at one and the same time a reading circle, a lecturing society, a library and a discussion club. It was through the study circle that the Swedish movement for adult education obtained what was to become its special characteristic.

The other temperance movements have followed the example set by IOGT in the interest and work they have devoted to such organized studies. Both the *National Order of Templars* (NTO), *The Swedish Blue Ribbon* and *Verdandi* (NOV) have been very active in this field, and have effectively helped to increase the number of educated and diligent citizens. All the temperance societies have joined forces in a common organization aiming at the systematic spreading of information on temperance questions. This is *The Temperance Education Board,* which was founded in the year 1901 and forms an important factor in our voluntary educational movement.

The idea of education and the will to study have existed in the

labour movement from the very beginning. To ensure the existence and the continued development of the movement it was absolutely necessary to launch a system of popular education that would reach the many. In a number of trade union programs from the 1880's we find the demand for better general education, better popular instruction, as well as extension schools and study courses of various kinds.

Certain systematic studies were thus a feature of the Swedish labour movement at an early stage. These were carried on in the form of study circles, lectures and the establishment of workers' libraries. *The Stockholm People's Library* was opened for the lending of books in 1892.

Two years have been inscribed in the annals of the Swedish labour movement and of Swedish adult education for all time, the years 1906 and 1912. The first of these saw the formation of the *Brunnsvik Folk High School,* while the second saw the birth of the *Workers' Educational Association* (ABF).

In the midsummer of 1912 *Rickard Sandler* delivered a speech at Brunnsvik in which he presented a plan for the formation of an educational association in the labour movement. In the autumn of that same year ABF was organized. This association, *the Workers' Educational Association,* national library and lecturing association, was joined by the Cooperative Union, the Federation of Trade Unions, the Social Democratic Labour Party, the Social Democratic Youth League, the Swedish Railwaymen's Association and the Swedish Typographers' Association, with altogether 271,000 members. The Association's first director of studies was *Rickard Sandler,* and its first instructor was *Yngve Hugo*. The result of the first year's activities was 57 study circles with 785 members.

The inception of ABF implied the supplementing in earnest of the two earlier branches of the labour movement — the political and the trade unionist branches — with a third, the cultural. It was intended to coordinate all the educational activities of the labour movement under one common head, and it was to agitate for and organize these activities. Perhaps the library statute of the year 1912

led to the formation of ABF in just that year, for it stipulated that the people's libraries should receive state subsidies if they combined in a national library association purchasing books for at least 6,000 Swedish crowns each year.

The temperance movement and the labour movement were not, however, the only great popular movements. There were others, and they were followed by still more. The early *nonconformist movements* and the *revivalist movement within the Church* introduced books into many homes among the peasant class at a time when it was extremely unusual for people to do any reading at all. Those who had any truck with books, especially the Bible, were referred to as "readers". The books that were chiefly read in this connection were, besides the Bible, the psalm-book, songbooks and mission literature; but travel books, popular stories as well as geographical and historical works also found their way into homes. *The Swedish Christian Educational Association,* a collaborating organization that was constituted in 1931 and contained a number of affiliated church and nonconformist educational and youth associations, may be traced back to this popular religious movement of the 19th century.

The Swedish Christian Educational Association was intended to be a forum for throwing light upon various topical problems of education from a Christian point of view. The organization was also intended to be an organ for common initiatives for the furthering of systematic studies among the affiliated associations. The director of studies or the corresponding functionary in the latter was in each case to organize the studies in his own movement with due regard to its special needs and interests. Special correspondence institutes were also organized in connection with certain of the affiliated associations. The Swedish Christian Educational Association was dissolved in 1947. Since then *The Joint Committee for Christian Educational Activities* acts as the coordinating organ for the different Christian educational organizations.

The oldest of the *Farmers' Associations* date from the 1880's. Gradually, as these increased in number, the question of collab-

oration became more pressing. About the turn of the century the agricultural associations began to cooperate in central unions, which in the year 1905 formed *The Swedish Agricultural Association*. On the pattern of the organizations of the labour movement, and with the aim of providing the youth of the country districts with possibilities of gaining a knowledge of the technique and routine of unionism as well as training in citizenship, *The Swedish Rural Youth League* (SLU) was started in 1917, and *The Young Farmers' Association* (JUF) in the year 1918. During the 1920's and the 1930's the political and economic association of the country districts had a period of vigorous development. In this connection there arose a new educational movement with the scope and character of a national organization. *The Swedish Rural Educational Association* (SLS) was constituted in 1930 as the organ of the movement. Among the sub-organizations of The Swedish Agricultural Association may be mentioned here *The Correspondence School of the Publishing Company of the Agricultural Association* (LTK).

Thus, in one popular movement after the other the idea of education has gained ground and educational associations have grown up. In the year 1935 the organizations of the Civil Service founded *The Educational Association of Professional Workers* (TBV); and five years later *Medborgarskolan* (The Citizens' School), an educational institute founded under the auspices of the Conservative Party, was established. The educational associations of the popular movements had earlier, to be precise, in the year 1936, become united in the *Collaborating Educational Associations*, for which the initiative was taken by Rector *Harald Elldin*, the first chairman.

The work of Swedish adult education has made great progress from the beginning of the 20th century. New groups have continually been enlisted — besides those already mentioned the university made a further contribution through the courses given at Stockholm University in 1933 — and new methods and media, such as the correspondence circle, the gramophone, film and radio, have facili-

tated and enriched the work. These new gains, however, cannot be regarded as isolated phenomena. They are intimately connected with the social development of the period as a whole.

Social development and adult education.

The cult of the personality and the social philosophy represented in Sweden by the celebrated historian and philosopher *Erik Gustaf Geijer* was based on the conviction that general education extended to all members of the community was an indispensable condition for the happy development of the community and the individual. He believed, however, that the pedagogical contribution must be preceded by political reform.

Development has shown that Geijer was, on the whole, right in this view. Certain changes towards a greater democracy of spirit were necessary to make possible a general free educational campaign; but once these had been effected, democracy and popular education were seen to stimulate each other's development. In the wake of Swedish democratic advances the work of adult education has been broadened and deepened. Even during the years when our elementary schools were being established, the idea of general popular education was ripening. After the municipal constitutional reform of 1862 and the franchise reform of 1866, when the class Riksdag was replaced by the two-chamber Riksdag, the first folk high schools were established in 1868. The possibilities of extended education were often adduced to motivate and defend the reforms.

Five years before the suffrage reform of 1907 the study circle was introduced into the work of the temperance movement, and five years after the same Riksdag decision the Workers' Educational Association was organized. The impetus was already a fact, and the forms began to be discerned. The growing social influence of the common voter entailed new duties and increased responsibility, both for organizations and for individuals.

Then, in the year 1919, resolutions were passed in the Riksdag which increased political democracy and brought in the eight-hour working day. These events gave the need, and also the necessary leisure, for intensified study among adults. Nor was the response slow in coming. The years immediately after 1919 saw the real break-through of our free and voluntary educational work. In the country districts a whole series of educational foci were formed under the auspices of the national movements, and in the larger towns measures were adopted to prepare for and ensure further advances.

During the 1930's the work of popular education was in a high degree affected by the unemployment crisis. Large numbers of the unemployed wanted to use their enforced leisure for study purposes, and the folk high schools were taxed to their utmost capacity. Since then, the movement has been characterized by an even and strong development. At the outbreak of the second World War the scope and strength of the various organizations were such that they were able to make an important contribution to our internal defence. During the war, moreover, important branches of the movement grew up within the various military forces, and instruction on a voluntary basis was organized to fit in with the leisure of the recruits.

Government support of voluntary adult education.

The branch of adult education that was the first to receive a state subsidy was the folk high school. This was in the year 1872. The next on the list was lecturing activity, for which government support was forthcoming in 1884, when the Riksdag granted a subsidy for "courses of lectures for the working classes". In the year 1893 grants were allowed both for the summer courses of the universities and for the lecturing institutes of the country districts; and at the beginning of the 20th century a government committee was appointed to enquire into the possibilities and means available for state support of popular lectures.

The people's libraries received state subsidies for the first time in 1905, and the question of grants for the study circle libraries came to the fore in connection with the library statute of 1912, according to which the grants to the communal libraries were to be increased, school and study circle libraries were to be entitled to grants, while two consulting experts on library questions were to be appointed. The latter were at first placed with the Ministry of Education, but were afterwards transferred to the Board of Education.

After the democratic victory of 1918 definite demands were made in various quarters for more economic support from the government for the rapidly developing work of adult education. A number of motions were brought forward in the Riksdag, and in the year 1920 five experts were appointed to make an enquiry. Their report was submitted in 1923. It included, amongst other things, a recommendation for increased grants to the libraries and the lecturing institutes, and suggested that, as concerned the study circles, grants should go not only to the libraries, but also to meet the expenses for teachers and lectures.

For various reasons — above all those connected with government economy — the recommendations of the experts were not carried out in their entirety. Certain of their proposals, however, were taken up and realized. State grants have also been voted for new branches of the movement for popular education, such as the work among seamen, the spare-time studies in the defence forces, as well as for study-homes and settlements.

But the growth of the movement, both qualitative and quantitative, was such that the problem of the community and the work of adult education had once more to be taken into consideration in connection with the debate over a general cultural mobilization during the last years of the war. In 1944 experts were appointed to go into the matter and to make recommendations concerning the basis for government support of free and voluntary educational work. The committee submitted a comprehensive and exceedingly interesting preliminary report, which led to a Riksdag resolution in

1947 concerning government grants to free and voluntary work for popular education.

Not the least important aspect of the Riksdag resolution of 1947 is the sanction and the recognition thereby given to the movement by the state. The report of the committee, its discussion in the Riksdag and the final decision all breathe a confidence in and an appreciation of the work that is very gratifying.

It is, however, not only through grants voted by the Riksdag that the community now supports the movement. Every year considerable amounts are voted for the same purposes by the county councils and the municipal authorities; and there is good reason to presume that as soon as circumstances permit both the state and the municipal authorities will show good will in helping the movement with what is in many places at present its most serious problem — the question of premises. It can now be ventured that the great majority of our people consider it a matter of course that the work of adult education shall be given the moral and economic support of the community for the simple reason that extensive educational work of high quality is one of the most effective ways of making our democracy a smoothly functioning reality, of ensuring its contiuned existence and its future development.

Swedish popular education on the threshold of a new era.

The year 1947 marks a milestone in the history of Swedish adult education. This was the year of the Riksdag resolution concerning the new grants to the movement. In the First Chamber, Oscar Olsson, who 45 years earlier had started the historical study circle in Lund, spoke on behalf of the educational organizations and expressed their thanks. He said:

"When the question of the cultural level of different peoples has arisen in international debate, there have been pronouncements concerning the reasons why the Swedish working classes have undoubtedly attained a remarkably high social, cultural and political

level. It has sometimes been asked how it has come about that the development should have taken this direction precisely in this country. One of the reasons which has naturally been very little observed, especially by foreigners, is to be found in the work of education and self-discipline carried out by the Swedish workers themselves. That this has been so little noted is due to a rather curious circumstance in connection with education in our civilization, namely, the circumstance that this free and voluntary work of adult education is carried out in such a way that the people themselves have the full right to determine what shall be studied, how they shall study, and what teachers and leaders they will have for their studies, if they consider that they need any. The work has gone forward under these — even for many persons here in Sweden — rather incomprehensible conditions without any supervising guardianship being exercised by the state or any other authority in any respect.

"It is actually in this way that the work of popular education has during the last half century become what is perhaps the greatest national movement in our country, including groups from all social and economic classes and all political parties. The movement has become so nationwide that no national movement or political party can think of being without a special organ for general popular educational work at the side of its particular functions. In this way the entire Swedish people has been indirectly included in the movement for popular education, in the towns as well as in the country.

"The great merit of the resolution presented by the Minster of Education, in complete conformity with the philosophy of the movement, is that the necessary support is to be given without the creation of any unwieldy apparatus of control. The minister considers that the confidence which the movement for adult education has inspired is such that no extended control is necessary."

This last is tremendously important. The state grants must not entail any restriction of the independence of the work for popular education. Freedom is the breath of life for all cultural work. The national movements have always had a jealous eye on their right

of self-determination, and it is the free work of adult education as it has actually evolved that the state wants to support.

Not the least gratifying and important aspect of the Riksdag's decision in the matter of government grants to the work of the movements is the sanction of the activity as such that the decision implies. Thoroughly prepared and carefully discussed as it had been in advance, the form extends to all the branches of the movement. Besides the grants discussed in the second chapter, it is necessary to draw attention here to the funds which have been placed at the disposal of the movement for the purchase of cameras and wireless sets, for courses for leaders of studies, for educational propaganda in the country districts and for testing of new methods of work.

In order to deal with the questions concerning general adult education, a special section for adult education has been established in the Board of Education. The head of this section is *Ragnar Lund*. The section also includes two advisory experts on questions of general popular education and clerks. As advisory organ, a special board has been constituted, with representatives for the work of voluntary education from all over the country. The chairman of the board is the head of the section for popular education.

LECTURING

Independent lectures.

Gestures and the spoken word are the oldest means of communication, and in the form of conversations, lectures and readings the spoken word still holds an important place in all work of education and instruction.

When lecturing was introduced in this country in modern voluntary adult education, the intention was rather to coordinate lectures on nearly related subjects in the form of courses. "Series of method-

ical lectures on a limited subject" is a formula that well covers the early aims of the movement.

The hesitation felt in some circles in connection with the independent lecture is probably chiefly due to the view that the aim of the lectures is to impart direct knowledge. If well disposed and well delivered, a lecture may also meet this requirement, but it also fulfils other functions which may be just as essential in educational work. It brings the audience into contact with science and art, and gives them some orientation in general and topical questions; and it is a means of arousing interest in study and showing the way to books and reading. The importance of independent lectures in educational work must of course not be overestimated, nor should it be underestimated. The actual amount of knowledge conveyed is not always a reliable criterion of the value of the lecture. A single lecture on a certain subject presupposes a critical selection from the material and a concentration on essential points in the subject. The value of such a lecture is often quite comparable with the profit to be derived from a series of lectures, even if it is partly of another kind. Questions concerning the lecture considered as a vehicle of cultural entertainment, and the position of such entertainment in educational work have been thoroughly gone into by different committees. Entertainment with singing, instrumental music, public reading or dramatic performance which fulfils reasonable demands for artistic merit and is followed by an informative item that is suitable from the point of view of adult education may however have the same claim on government support as a popular scientific lecture.

To sum up: the course of lectures and the independent lecture supplement rather than exclude each other, and each has its own function in the present-day work of Swedish popular education. And the latter form is especially well-adapted to those who have neither time nor inclination to go in for systematic studies, yet at the same time desire to cultivate certain cultural interests, obtain objective orientation on topical questions and enjoy some sort of

cultural entertainment by attending various lectures. It is, however, important to see to it that contact with other educational activity is not lost. For this reasons it has been decided that "before the lecturing program is drawn up, the adult educational organizations in the municipality (people's libraries, study circles, local education councils) shall have be given an opportunity to submit proposals for lectures".

Lecturing institutes and associations.

The lecturing institutes are the local arrangers of independent lectures. During the study-year 1949—1950 there were 841 such institutes, under whose auspices altogether 10,347 lectures were delivered to average audiences of 86 persons. The attendance, like the choice of subject, varies enormously. For the attraction of a large audience the lecturer often means more than the subject. Among the most popular subjects are geography (accounts of travels') history, natural science, and music and public reading. As a rule, the lecturing institutes draw up their programs for a whole term in advance.

In order to promote cooperation, mediate lectures and arrange tours, the lecturing institutes in larger districts have formed lecturing associations. A beginning was made in 1902, and in 1950 there were 23 such associations or federations. The area to be covered by lecturing associations is determined by the Board of Education. The associations are amalgamated in *The National Federation of Lecturing Associations* (FRO), which publishes *Tidskrift för föreläsningsverksamheten* (Lecturing periodical).

Centres.

The Lund Centre for Popular Scientific Lectures, the Adult Educational Association in Stockholm and the West Swedish Adult Educational Association in Gothenburg are centres approved by the

Board of Education for the mediation of independent popular scientific lectures. It is the business of these centres to supply institutes and societies with lecturers and educational material, as well as with advice and information on questions connected therewith.

Regulations concerning state grants for independent lectures.

For the arrangement of independent lectures government grants are allowed to lecturing institutes, lecturing associations and centres. Lecturing institutes are "entitled to a government grant of at most 25 Swedish crowns for each lecture up to a number of 10 arranged in the course of one and the same budget year, and of at most 10 Swedish crowns for every lecture above this number arranged during the same budget year." Within one and the same district the state allowance can only be paid out to one lecturing institute, and among the conditions to be observed are that municipalities or private individuals shall contribute an amount at least equalling that paid out by the state, that the lectures shall be public, and that the lecturers and the subjects for lectures shall be chosen from the lecturing catalogue issued by the Board of Education, or be otherwise approved in advance by the adult educational section of the same board. Political and religious controversies or discussions are forbidden in the lectures, though this regulation does not preclude the arrangement of lectures on religious and political questions. These must, however, be of a clearly objective nature and they must not be delivered in a manner calculated to inflame the passions of the audience.

State allowances are paid out to lecturing associations for the arrangement, according to the above regulations, of lectures in places where there are no local lecturing institutes, or to other than such organizations. In certain cases the travelling expenses of the lecturers may be met with government funds. This is the case with all lectures arranged by lecturing associations and entitled to state

allowances. For local lecturing institutes this privilege is limited to at the most 30 lectures arranged by the institute in the course of one and the same budget year.

For the budget year 1950—51 the lecturing institutes have been in receipt of 236,820 Swedish crowns, distributed among 863 institutes with altogether 10,518 lectures.

Lectures in connection with locally organized studies.

The local sections of the adult educational associations make extensive use of the *lecture series* to supplement their other activities. Such series are not infrequently arranged jointly with other local organizations. The commonest form has consisted of four lectures, of which two have been delivered on a Saturday and two on the following Sunday. In some places, however, it is considered too strenuous for those attending the lectures to absorb the subject-matter in a course concentrated into two days, and of recent years it has been increasingly the tendency to distribute the lectures over a longer period. This possibility is open especially to places which have local lecturers or can get them from relatively near at hand. Examples of courses of this latter kind may be found in the frequently occurring series "Our Town", when visits to neighbouring towns are made by the participants in connection with the lectures. The participants here form a sort of ambulatory group for the study of municipal conditions in their district. Other popular series are "Three evenings with August Strindberg" and "Six evenings on safeguarding the worker". The subject "Swedish social services", with two hours of historical survey on the one day and two lectures on modern social service on the following day, is probably rather typical for the "week-end courses".

The series of lectures do not as a rule possess any great attraction to the general public. Those attending them are chiefly persons who are really interested in the subject. In a report there is given a table showing that 70 per cent of the courses attract fewer than

100 listeners. The commonest audience consists of about 50 persons, and the average number attending the course is generally between 85 or 90.

For the arranging of lectures in connection with locally organized studies government allowances may be paid out to the *National Associations for Study Circle Activities*. If the allowance is to be received, each of the courses or series must comprise at least three lectures, and if there is a local lecturing institute entitled to state allowance, it must be consulted. During the active year 1949—50 576 courses were arranged, with altogether 4,535 lectures. The list of subjects was headed by Education and Psychology, Social Science, Music, Current History with Foreign Policy, Theory of Trade-Unionism with Industrial Democracy, Economics. The total number of participators was 44,225, and the average number per course was 77. 52 courses attracted fewer than 25, and 9 more than 300 persons.

During the budget year 1950—51 the Riksdag granted 117,000 Swedish crowns for lectures of this kind. In addition to this, 20,000 crowns were granted as a government allowance for the arranging of lectures in connection with special central courses.

The *Central Office* for lecturing activities carried on through the National Associations for Study Circle Activities is *The Central Office of the Workers' Educational Association.*

State supported temperance lectures.

A history of lecturing in Sweden would be incomplete without a special reference to the state-supported lectures on temperance. For the budget year 1950—51 the sum of 125,000 Swedish crowns was granted to meet the costs of lecturing and instruction to promote the cause of temperance. This sum is to be spent for instruction and studies on questions of temperance and alcoholic consumption, and for educative material. The lecturers must be chosen from the

list of lecturers approved by the Board of Education. The central office is here *The Temperance Education Board,* and lecturers are provided for various temperance organizations, schools, courses for advanced training of teachers, temperance committees, trade unions, military units etc. In addition to this, the Central Association arranges courses of lectures county by county. In the budget year 1949—50 altogether 3,089 lectures were arranged, with about 440,000 listeners.

Other lecturing activities.

Besides the above-mentioned lecturing activities, a very great number of lectures are held annually at societies and associations of every kind. Some of these lectures are state-supported out of other funds than those granted under the head of lecturing allowances, many are arranged at the expense of organizations and institutions which have funds in trust, and others, again, are paid for by independent societies and associations.

It is not possible to classify all the lectures here referred to. Many of them deal with the affairs of the organizations themselves, while others are more propagandist in character. Some are intended to impart special knowledge; others, again, give occupational instruction in special trades or professions. Even subjects of general educational interest, or less serious subjects where entertainment is chiefly aimed at, are taken up.

Among the organizations and institutions engaged in this activity in one way or another may be mentioned the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation, the trade unions, the Cooperative Wholesale Society, the Retailers Institute, the Bureau of Industrial Information, the Northern Society, the Swedish National Defence Association, Association for Savings Propaganda, Institute for Foreign Affairs, the Society for the Preservation of Folk Culture, the National Federation of Swedish Housewives' Associations and political parties and youth organizations.

Adult educational courses.

Adult educational courses are an extremely valuable element in the movement for voluntary popular education in Sweden. They are of especially great importance for the cultural life of the country districts. They originated with the folk high school. When the young people in the country districts were not able to get to it, the folk high school went to the country districts. It was *Uno Stadius,* the Finnish champion of the folk high school, who organized the first *ambulatory folk high school course* in our country. With the support of public funds, but above all thanks to the interest and the concrete contributions of temperance and labour organizations, the movement developed rapidly. Special associations were organized, and the courses became still more of an established institution thanks to the regulations concerning the associations for adult educational courses issued by the government in the year 1928.

From the very outset the studies undertaken at the courses of the folk high schools concentrated on a few special subjects. The commonest among these have been on civic matters and local traditions, on questions of citizenship and ethics. The courses also often include instruction on elementary subjects such as the Swedish language and mathematics. The lectures form as it were the backbone of the courses, but they are supplemented with discussions, a reading of the literature belonging to the subject and work in study circles. The last-mentioned are not the least important. Their function is above all to stimulate the participants to continue their studies independently, and, like all other educational work, to point the way to interest in books.

The present regulations concerning government grants to free and voluntary adult educational work define two kinds of adult educational courses that are entitled to state aid. These are the *longer adult educational courses* and the *courses on special subjects,* and it is the aim of both to impart general and civic education. The longer adult educational courses must include at least 30 hours of

instruction spread over a period of at least three weeks. Each of these weeks must contain at least six hours of instruction in the form of lectures, exercises and study circle work, and the total number of hours given to lectures must be at least ten. Courses on special subjects include at least ten and at most twenty hours of instruction with at least five such hours per week. Apart from exceptional cases the longer adult educational courses must contain at most three different subjects or groups of subjects, while the courses on special subjects must deal with at most two subjects.

An adult educational course is often a great and unifying event in a country district. Different interested groups are for some weeks before the beginning of the course united in intensive educational propaganda, and are then brought together in common study with the lecture and the study circle as focal points. The series of lectures impart not only knowledge but also new impressions and broadened views. In many cases the courses are solemnly inaugurated, and wound up with a concert or with singing in the church or other public premises. During the active year 1949—50 there were 179 longer adult educational courses and 203 courses in special subjects.

Size of the state grants.

The government allowance for a longer adult educational course is 400 Swedish crowns for a 30-hour course, with an addition of at most 10 crowns for extra hours up to 60 hours. For a course on a special subject it is at most 15 Swedish crowns per hour of instruction. Lecturers at longer adult educational courses are entitled to reimbursement for travelling expenses for up to 10 lecturing hours. During the year 1949–50: 115,600 Swedish crowns were paid out by the government for adult educational courses.

Adult educational associations.

Government grants for the adult educational courses are paid out to the *adult educational associations*. These are organs with a coordinating function, whose chief task is to arrange adult educational courses within a certain area (district, county or province).

The adult educational associations were founded in connection with the ambulatory folk high school courses. For the organization and administration of the latter, *unions for folk high school courses* were formed. In most districts these unions have been amalgamated to form educational associations, which for the most part, as organs with coordinating function, are intended to serve other educational interests as well as the adult educational courses. The organization, methods of work and position in the adult educational movement of the educational associations vary greatly in different parts of the country; but in general one finds that all the educational organizations of a district are affiliated to them. Every state-supported folk high school situated in the district of such an association has the right to appoint a representative to sit on the board of the association. In arranging courses the adult educational associations must cooperate with the educational organizations of the district. This cooperation is generally organized through the formation of local committees in which all the interested local societies are represented.

The number of adult educational associations or unions for folk high school courses is now 29. Of these, 11 have permanent or part-time advisers.

The Adult Educational Association.

The Adult Educational Association in Stockholm was formed in 1903 by the amalgamation of "The Society for People's Libraries and Reading Rooms" and "The Central association for Popular Scientific Lectures". The founder of the association and its first chairman was Professor *Knut Kjellberg*.

The Adult Educational Association, which has carried on a comprehensive and important activity, providing lectures, supporting libraries and equipping and sending out ambulatory libraries, received its present constitution in the year 1945. Affiliated to it are the local adult educational associations, the National Federation of Lecturing Associations and the centres for popular scientific lectures. The association functions itself as such a centre, and also has the task of promoting cooperation between the different institutions of the movement for adult education. The association has long had a special committee for courses and a committee for lectures. The main function of the former is to promote activity in the local adult educational associations, to stimulate continued experimenting in the different forms of courses and to encourage fresh initiatives. The latter tries to stimulate lecturing activity by interesting suitable persons in making contributions to this form of educational work. The committee for lectures has also to report on applications submitted to the association for authorization as lecturers. During recent years, furthermore, special committees for music and art have been formed to meet the growing demand for contribution to the work of adult education in these spheres. According to the government decision of 1947, 30,000 Swedish crowns is to be granted to the association to pay the salaries of at least six advisers employed by the association, and the latter is enjoined to supply the adult educational associations with advice and recommendations concerning the adult educational courses and to encourage this activity through its advisers.

The present chairman of the Adult Educational Association is Dr. *Iwan Bolin.*

STUDY CIRCLE ACTIVITIES

What is a study circle?

Ever since the inception in the national movements of the form of work peculiar to Swedish voluntary adult education called the study circle, attempts have been made to provide a satisfactory definition of what a study circle actually is. *Oscar Olsson* once asserted that "the study circle is the organized form of self-education adopted by the Swedish working classes", and *Gunnar Hirdman* on one occasion expressed his opinion on the subject in the following terms: "The study circle is the fundamental principle of mutual help and cooperation applied in the sphere of mind improvement and education. It requires of each according to his capacity and gives to each according to his need. Every member should know that studies mean exertion, but that cooperation makes the exertion less, the reward greater, and gives into the bargain enjoyment, pleasure and stimulation in comradeship." Now, however, the study circle has been given an official definition in the Swedish Statute Book, 1947, as follows: "By study circle is meant in this section a circle of comrades (assembled) for common theoretical and practical studies on a given subject according to a plan drawn up beforehand."

This formulation includes a feature — comradeship — which is, and has from the outset always been, characteristic of the study circles, as well as two other features — the given subject and the plan drawn up in advance — which have grown up in the course of the years and become applicable in varying degrees to different types of study circles in different places.

The study circle is an enquiring communion of work and comradeship. It consists of a group of interested persons who have voluntarily come together for the informal study of a subject that they have chosen themselves. Its history is the history of the desire and endeavour of many thousands of people to acquire greater knowledge, and its aim is to help to turn out good human beings and

good citizens. In most cases it is the women and men from the practical walks of life who have chosen in this way, in the late hours of the evening, to foregather for intellectual work and mental recreation. They feel the comradeship of work and want also to experience the communion of study. This is why it is so essential for the atmosphere and results of the study circle that all the members are comrades. No one person may be above the others. All must help in the work, and each must do his or her bit. There should not be a master's desk in the literal sense, and there must not be one in the figurative sense. The leader of a study circle must be a comrade among comrades.

In connection with the gradual emergence of the given subject and the plan of work drawn up in advance there has been manifested a growing demand for the leader-teacher, who more and more tends to have the character of an authority and specialist on the subject. Many see this development with anxiety, and fear that it will turn the study circles into evening schools or evening courses. This, however, need not be the case. The tendency should be seen against the background of the improved teaching in the elementary schools and of the contribution of the movement for popular education itself. To this must be added the increased demand for expert knowledge that everywhere grows hand in hand with the tendency to specialization characteristic of our time; and perhaps one may see in this development a symptom of the nervous haste and the thirst for effectiveness of the times. It must, in any case, be regarded as self-evident that able leaders and well thought-out plans of study are naturally calculated to benefit the work of the study circles. The main thing is that no cut-and-dried truths should be served, and that the influence of the leaders and the printed courses should not become so weighty and authoritative that the circle of comrades seeking for mental improvement is pushed to one side and free and untrammelled discussion suppressed.

Different types of study circles.

The original type of study circle, which was for a long time also the most prevalent, was the study circle without a teacher. The members generally worked without any definite plan of study. They gathered in order to read from books and speak about books. *Reading circles* were formed where the members were not content simply to pass on the books from one to the other, but gathered to discuss the contents of the books they read. In many cases the gatherings took the form of a social evening, with reading aloud, games, singing and declamation.

From this form of work there developed the *reviewing* and *discussion circles*. The reviewing circle aims for the most part at giving a systematic survey of a certain subject-matter. For this purpose the study associations supply a variety of plans for study and standard books on different subjects. These plans and books generally contain detailed bibliographies, and thus as a rule determine the literature that will be read. Usually, the plan of studies or the standard book on the subject is gone through in the following way: each member of the study circle is in turn entrusted with the task of giving an introductory talk on a certain section of the course, after which the section in question is discussed. In the most advanced form of these study circles the introductory talk is sent round to the other members a certain time before the meeting at which it is to be given. This is evidently modelled upon a common practice of the Swedish university students.

The methods of the reviewing circle is found in a somewhat modified form in the discussion circles. Here the members do not follow a long-term plan. The subject is often decided upon from meeting to meeting. Topical events are taken up and questions debated that appeal particularly to the members' interests. In order to stimulate the discussion, two introductory speakers are in both of these forms of study circle not infrequently used for each section of the subject. In the *lecturing circle* the dominant feature is the

lecture itself, through which the subject-matter is imparted by a qualified lecturer, who also leads the discussion of the study circle.

Letter or *correspondence circles* have been introduced into the work of adult education by *The School of Correspondence*. This method of working is based upon study-letters received from the correspondence institute. These letters contain a number of questions, which the members must try to answer, firstly through private studies, and secondly through discussion on the occasion of study-meetings. When the members of the study circle have agreed on the solution of the tasks that have been set, this is posted to the correspondence school for correction by the teachers there, who reply with advice and further instructions for the work. If a study circle of this kind has a competent leader, the connection with the correspondence institute may be limited to the reception of work.

From the very inception of the study circles it has been the aim to procure leaders who might exert an inspiring and unifying influence, and who at the same time, if possible, have more knowledge of the subject to be studied than the other members of the circle. The latter demand has in the course of the years become more urgent and general. The *teachers' circle*, especially in the towns and more densely populated districts, has become the commonest type of study circle. Thus, teachers are now used not only for the elementary, so-called school-subjects, but also to a large extent for subjects like club and trade-union procedure and literature. In view of the increasing frequency of the teachers' circle there is reason to emphasize the function of the study circle as a group of comrades with the greatest possible degree of "self-government" and the deepest possible spirit of comradeship. The "teacher-pupil" relationship disappears in this atmosphere, and question and answer are lifted to a plane far above cross-examination and control. In this case the members of the study circle answer and put questions not because the teacher desires it, but because these are natural functions in a cooperating group.

The last addition to the different forms of study circle is the

listeners' group. The listeners' groups work in connection with series of lectures broadcast by the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation. The lectures are supplemented by suggestions for reading and study-letters, so that the listeners' group may be characterized as a combined lecturing and correspondence circle.

In the cooperative movement the *group activity* has developed its own method of working, the *instruction method*. On the basis of a course of reading for a certain subject instructions are worked out which treat the subject in the form of questions and draw attention to the essentials.

It is very difficult to draw a clear line of demarcation between the different types of study circle. The methods frequently overlap, and sometimes varying methods of work are used in one and the same study circle.

The type of study circle to be chosen in each case is dependent upon many factors. In certain districts, for example, the conditions may suit only one of the types, whereas in other places all possibilities exist. The chief deciding factors must be the subject to be studied, the availability or otherwise of study-leaders, of plans of study, correspondence courses and instructions, and finally, the type of study-leader and the opinion of the members of the circle. It is always unwise to force the latter to adopt a certain method of work. As regards the quality of the study circles, there are probably greater differences within the different forms of study circle than between them.

Choice of subject.

According to the reports of the national associations for study-circle activities for the active year 1949—50, there were in that year 31,668 study circles. It is obvious that these will offer an extremely interesting and varied picture of the interests shown. Sometimes a new subject may make its appearance and then vanish from the lists as suddenly as it came. But it may also happen that interest

may suddenly be evinced in a certain subject which retains its hold. Subjects that have been much to the fore may be pushed into the background, while groups of subjects that have earlier scarcely been accepted are later taken up in earnest. The former is the case with literature, which had occupied a dominant place ever since the inception of free adult education right up to the middle of the 1920's; and as an instance of the latter case one may adduce the growing interest shown in the occupational and more utilitarian subjects during recent years.

At first, the study circle was a special feature of the labour and temperance movements; but it has now become so widespread that it is an important element in all our popular movements. Naturally, the choice of subject in the different study associations is coloured by the national movements in which they have their roots. Thus, trade-unions procedure and the history of the labour movement are studied more within the Workers' Educational Association than elsewhere, questions of temperance and the consumption of alcohol are more popular in the temperance organizations, agricultural questions within the Swedish Rural Educational Association, and religious subjects within the Christian educational societies.

All boundaries, however, are crossed by certain combinations of subjects which are studied by all groups, and which in a striking way dominate Swedish study-circle activities. Among these, special mention should be made of foreign languages, club and trade-union procedure, topical economic and industrial problems, social questions, citizenship, singing, music, literature and the theatre. On the whole, it is possible in the choice of subject in the study circles to distinguish two main lines — one dealing with civic problems and club life, and one which seeks to satisfy general humanistic and individual interests.

Besides these two main lines there is also a third. This, however, is less marked, and refers to what are generally known as school subjects. Our work for voluntary adult education neither can nor will ignore such studies. At present, however, they absorb too much

of the time and energy that adults ought to spend upon the study of vital social and human problems. Perhaps the realization of the projected school reform may bring about a readjustment in the choice of subjects by the study circles leading from school to life. For it is in an eminent degree the function of the study circles to help educate the members in this latter sense. All those working in the movement for adult education must bear this constantly in mind. It should determine the character of both the methods and the aims of the studies. Only then can the study circles form the school of membership in the popular movements and citizenship in the community that they were orignally, and still are, intended to be.

How should a study circle work?

No final answer to the question as to how a study circle should work can be given. A methodical binding of the method of work to be adopted by the study circles would be neither desirable nor happy. Such a binding would be a contradiction of the most central idea of the work of adult education. For every study circle is a little world in itself, with special aptitudes, possibilities and requirements. Some of them work in modern premises eminently suited to the purpose, others have their meetings in committee rooms or cafés, while others again work in lumbermen's huts and ship's fo'cs'les. The supply of teachers and leaders varies greatly in different parts, and persons fitted to take the lead in organized studies are unevenly distributed in the country.

All study circles, however, have a leader or moving spirit, and the idea is that each member shall take an active part, for example by taking the minutes, giving a little introductory talk, reading a poem, participating in the discussions and, of course, by preparing himself for the different meetings. The demand for the participation of all members must not be relaxed. It implies a democratic call for consideration for different individualities and an appeal to encourage free and independent thinking. Everyone has a tendency

to fall back upon lazy and accustomed habits of thought. Many are much too often influenced by the opinions of others, and unjustified belief in authority frequently leads people's minds into the wrong channels. The work of the study circle should be so organized that differing opinions may be tested and discussed without prejudice.

The work of the study circle should have books as its point of departure. To develop the habit of intelligent reading is one of the most important functions of the study circle. But apart from this and the imparting of knowledge, the work of the study circles has something more to teach us — the art of comradely intercourse with each other. The working together is intended to teach us to show each other consideration, treat one another as equals, respect opinions not our own and appreciate every honest attempt to make a positive contribution.

The most attractive thing about the study circles is, apart from what has already been said, that they are free and voluntary, and thus a reflection of life that gives us life. The circle is often a community in miniature, where a few people gather in order to learn, in the little group, how better to serve the greater group which is the community. The work itself becomes a lesson in cooperation, consideration and decency, where talks and studies turn people from different groups in the community, with different experiences and opinions, into comrades and friends. All this helps to explain the great popularity of the study circle in this country. It must be evident to all that there is something great and significant in the fact that winter evening after winter evening tens of thousands of grown men and women come together of their own free will, after a hard day's work, to study subjects which have sometimes been chosen with the idea of improving their minds, while sometimes the choice has been dictated by the will to serve the societies and the community in which they are members better than before.

State grants for the study circles.

The year 1947 will as has already been said be accounted a milestone in the history of the study circles, for this was the year in which the Riksdag authorized grants from government funds.

From the point of view of government allowances the study circles fall into two groups: general study circles and young people's circles. By general study circles are meant those which "deal with elementary subjects of a fundamental character or subjects of general educative character." A young people's circle must deal with its subject in a manner adapted to youth and must have a majority of members, and at least five in number, who are aged from 14—18 years.

To be entitled to government allowances, both general study circles and young people's circles must have at least five members, and must complete at least 20 hours of study distributed over at least 10 meetings. Grants are made for teachers, leaders, correspondence courses and for instruction and textbooks. For the last-mentioned items the same amount is allowed viz. at most half the cost, though not more than five crowns per member. As regards the other items, the grants vary. A general study circle receives at most half of the actual costs, while a young people's circle receives at most three-quarters of the costs. Here, too, however, a maximum limit is set. For a general study circle the limit for teachers is 3 Swedish crowns per hour, for leaders one crown per hour and for a correspondence course 50 crowns. For a young people's circle the corresponding amounts are: 4:50 crowns, 1:50 crowns and 75 crowns.

Study circles belonging to national associations for study-circle activities approved by the Board of Education must apply for state aid through the association in question, which is also responsible for the approval of teachers, leaders, text-books and plans of study. Study circles not belonging to such an association are called *independent study circles*. They have the same right to government

allowances as the circles belonging to associations, and must apply for such allowances through the adult educational section of Board of Education, which functions as an association for them.

General study circles are entitled to take from the grants for lecturing activities, in connection with locally organized studies, contributions to at most two lectures in a working year. Only teachers can be approved for study circles who can prove that they have the necessary knowledge for the fulfilment of a teacher's duties, either by examination, by participation in educational courses or by practical experience, and who are in other respects suitable for the post. The person most suited for the position of leader of studies may be approved for the position. State allowances for either teachers or leaders may be made to general study circles or young people's circles. Correspondence circles may receive allowances from state funds to meet a part of the cost of the correspondence course and for leaders' fees. Contributions from government funds for the purchase of text-books may be granted on condition that the book is included in plans of study issued by national associations for study-circle activities, or has otherwise been approved. The amount voted by the Riksdag to support study-circle activities is 2,200,000 Swedish crowns for the budget year 1951—52.

National associations for study-circle activities.

The great majority of study circles belong to one or another of the big national associations for study-circle activities. In order to be approved as such by the Board of Education it is required that an association shall have at least 10,000 members, shall have as its main function the carrying-on of educational work of nation-wide character, and that it shall have expended during the previous year at least 2,000 Swedish crowns on adult educational work. The studies must, moreover, be under the supervision of a director of studies appointed by the association whose competence for the post has been approved by the Board of Education.

The term "association for study circles approved by the Board of Education" thus implies in the first place a quantitative appraisement. There may exist small associations for study circles whose qualitative level of activity is high, though they cannot fulfil the requirements for recognition.

Associations approved by the Board of Education are entitled to state aid to help meet the costs of administration and organization. Such state aid may amount to at most half of the expenditure of the association for internal study activities, including courses for leaders of studies arranged by the association and for instructors and advisers employed by the association. For the active year 1950—51 the grant for this purpose amounted to 562,700 Swedish crowns, which were apportioned as follows:

Workers' Educational Association	227,900	crowns
Swedish Rural Educational Association	77,630	„
Good Templars' Educational Association	46,000	„
National Order of Templars' Educational Association	28,150	„
Young Farmers' Association	22,620	„
Swedish Blue Ribbon Educational Association	9,060	„
Educational Association of Professional Workers	37,640	„
Educational Association of the Citizens' School	21,600	„
Liberal Educational Association	10,900	„
People's University	35,000	„
Swedish Ecclesiastical Educational Association	28,600	„
Educational Association of the Non-conformist Churches	13,500	„
National Educational Association for Y. W. C. A. & Y. M. C. A.	4,100	„

The Workers' Educational Association.

The Workers' Educational Association is the central organ for educational activities in the labour movement. It is the largest of the

national associations for study-circle activities and is an amalgamation of trade union, political, cooperative and cultural organizations within or allied to the Swedish labour movement. Seventeen national organizations are now affiliated to the Workers' Educational Association, with a total membership of 3,084,015. Those of the seventeen affiliated organizations with the biggest membership are the Federation of Trade Unions, the Cooperative Union, the Labour Party and the Social Democratic Youth League. The members of the Workers' Educational Association are, of course, also members of several of the above-mentioned main organizations, so that considerable overlapping is implied in the figures mentioned. If allowance is made for this double membership, the membership of the Workers' Educational Association may be estimated as about 1.7 million.

According to its principles, the Workers' Educational Association aims at educating its members for the labour movement and the community and making cultural values available to all citizens by means of a free and voluntary, non-party, non-denominational educational activity. The non-party line does not mean that the studies may not include, for example, the Social Democratic party program, the post-War program of the labour movement or other political subjects. It is, however, definitely laid down that such studies must be objective and not one-sided.

The activities of the Workers' Educational Association are implemented by the three classical educational aids of the Swedish national movements: the library, the lecture and the study circle. Here, of course, as may be expected, studies touching the labour movement or connected with the tasks and interests of the labour movement are more generally taken up than in other educational associations. They are, however, supplemented by a number of other subjects dealing with general civic problems and questions of trade-union and club procedure, as well as those dealing more directly with the special needs and interests of the individual. A prominent place is also taken by the so-called school subjects. During the

active year 1949—50 the Workers' Educational Association had on its books 13,369 study circles, to which 971,202 Swedish crowns were paid out in state aid. The membership of the study circles was 159,752, including 59,362 women, which amounts to 37,2 %. Among the subjects most studied were the English language, trade unionism and industrial democracy, trade-union questions, as well as singing, music and club procedure. Owing to the present process of centralization of library activities and the increasing extent to which these are being taken over by municipal authorities, the number of libraries decreased during the past year from 1,291 to 1,260. The total number of books amounted to 806.544 volumes.

Since the year 1923, when the first special courses for the training of leaders of studies were held at the Brunnsvik Folk High School in the subjects economics, political science and municipal government and trade unionism, the Workers' Educational Association has sponsored comprehensive and important courses for leaders of studies every summer. As a rule, about twenty courses are held every year. These generally last for twelve days, and they are still for the most part held at Brunnsvik. Last summer the courses were attended by 558 persons, 522 of these being from Sweden, 14 from Denmark, 13 from Norway and 9 from Finland. Among the subjects studied may be noted municipal government, trade unionism, social policy, trade-union and economic questions, cooperative ideas, and general ethical questions, as well as singing and music.

The Workers' Educational Association has published a large number of text-books and has also an educational series of its own, *W. E. A. Booklets*. The organ of the association is *ABF* (The W. E. A. Gazette). Mention should also be made of the periodical *Studiekamraten* (The Study Comrade), which has been published and edited by a study circle in the W. E. A. since 1919.

Among the activities of the Workers' Educational Association during the last few years, mention may be made of the efforts to encourage the study of the problems of democracy and the campaign

on behalf of reading during the War years. In 1941 a committee was appointed to make a thorough enquiry into the cultural tasks of the labour movement. The committee's final report was available in 1947, and together with Gunnar Hirdman's "Kanske ett kulturprogram" (Perhaps a Cultural Program) and the publication of Tage Lindbom's book "Arbetarrörelsen och kulturen" (The Labour Movement and Culture) it constitutes one of the W. E. A. contributions to current debate on these questions.

The organization of the Workers' Educational Association is based upon local sections and district organizations. The number of permanently organized local sections is 904. There are now 31 districts, and these generally cover a province. The cities of Stockholm, Gothenburg, Malmö, Hälsingborg and Norrköping constitute districts of their own. Each district appoints an instructor. The latter is the representative of the association in his district, and the executive member of the district committee.

The supreme executive authority of the association is exercised by its board of representatives, in which all the affiliated national organizations are represented, each contributing a number of representatives in proportion to its membership. The instructors of the association appoint ten of their number to represent them on the board.

Every third year a conference, attended by the instructors and by representatives for the district and the more important local sections, is held.

The board of the association is appointed by the board of representatives, and consists of nine members.

The current business of the association is dealt with at the central office of the W.E.A. Besides the officials employed there in various capacities, the association includes a number of committees of studies and special advisers.

The attitude and spirit which have dictated the activities of the Workers' Educational Association, and which still form the leaven of the organization, have been finely and eloquently expressed in

two valuable W. E. A. books — Rickard Sandler's "Mångfald eller enfald" (Diversity or Stupidity) and Gunnar Hirdman's "Synpunkter och meningar" (Viewpoints and Opinions).

Good Templars' Educational Association.

The order of Good Templars has been a pioneer in the work of voluntary adult education. Organized studies were taken up in the Order in 1895. It was within the Order of Good Templars that the study circles were first started, the first circle being formed in 1902. The Order has a director of studies at the head of the association as well as — for special branches of the work such as music, amateur theatricals, libraries and lectures — special leaders for the whole kingdom. The work in each district is directed by a district leader of studies, and local sections are formed in places where there are one or more lodges.

The problems of temperance and the questions allied thereto naturally loom large in the studies of the temperance movement. In the Order of Good Templars the study of the alcohol question occupies a central position. The order has had published a series of correspondence courses and plans of study in the subject, and strongly emphasizes that in the fight against the evils of alcoholic consumption increased knowledge and deepened insight form an important weapon. But other subjects, such as languages, literature and civic and club life are also given much attention. A lot of work is devoted to the formation of study circles in singing, music and amateur theatricals. Local culture is also extensively studied, and particular efforts have been made to bring about cooperation between photographic clubs and societies for the preservation of local culture, so that archives may be formed to illustrate work for temperance and education.

In the year 1949—50 there were in the Order of Good Templars 2,092 study circles with a total membership of 24,843. There were no fewer than 1,537 libraries, with a total of 911,527 volumes,

which figures show that IOGT is the educational association having the greatest number of libraries and the most books.

Every year the Order of Good Templars arranges training courses. These generally last ten days, and are as a rule held in some folk high school. As instances of courses held during the last few years, we may mention training courses for leaders of amateur theatricals, of musical clubs, study courses in social sciences, courses for instructors of youth, sports instructors, Good Templar courses and courses in public speaking. More than any other educational association IOGT has worked consistently for the training of public speakers. A folk high school is just being erected at Tollare by the Order of Good Templars. The educational association has no periodical of its own, but general educational questions and questions arising in connection with studies are given much space in "Reformatorn" (The Reformer) and in "Vi kan" (We Can). *The Youth League of the Swedish Order of Good Templars* (SGU) is affiliated to IOGT's educational association. It has its own leader of studies, and organizes, apart from the usual subjects of study, a number of courses and study circles for studies having more the nature of hobbies.

National Order of Templars' Educational Association (NTO).

The activities of the educational association of the National Order of Templars has much in common with that of the IOGT. The National Order of Templars is non-party and non-denominational, and concentrates mainly upon the abolition of alcohol and the promotion of peace. This is of course reflected in the studies pursued, which also give a large place to general ethical questions, in which connection the correspondence courses "Vårt livs förnyelse" (The Renewal of Our Lives) and "Vår livsväg" (Our Way of Life) have beeen very popular. The studies carried on in the National Order of Templars have for many years been directed from *Wendelsberg*, the folk high school of the NTO educational association itself, where the associa-

tion holds its annual meetings, its courses and culture weeks. In the active year 1949—50 the NTO educational association reported 1,188 study circles with a total membership of 12,196. The number of volumes distributed among the 554 libraries was 174,153. The National Order of Templars has his own correspondence school, "Brevstudio" (The Letter Studio), and its own periodical, *Ariel.* The central organ of the association is an educational committee of five persons, with the Order's leader of studies as chairman. The youth organization *Heimdal* was formed in 1901, and it is the oldest youth organization in the Swedish temperance movement.

Swedish Blue Ribbon Educational Association (SBF).

The Swedish Blue Ribbon is a religious organization. It is an indirect continuation of the Wieselgren temperance movement and is something of a connecting link between the temperance movement and the Christian Church. The organization started its educational activities in 1907. During the active year 1949—50 its educational association reported 235 study circles and 235 libraries. The membership of the study circles was 2,411, while the total number of books in the libraries was 84,530. The periodical of the Blue Ribbon Society is called *The Blue Ribbon.*

The Swedish Rural Educational Association (SLS).

The Swedish Rural Educational Association was constituted in 1930. It is a national organization which according to its program has as its aim non-political educational activities adapted to the rural populations. The association is based upon the principle of collective affiliation. Affiliated to it are the Swedish Rural Youth League, the Swedish Rural Women's Association and the agricultural group in the Cooperative Union. Annual grants are made to the SLS by the national association Rural Folk and by the Swedish Agricultural

Association. These are also represented in the association's *committee of studies*, which directs the national organization. The actual studies are directed by a *director of studies* for the whole country. The work is carried on in districts and local sections. Each district, as a rule, covers a county, and has its own *district leader of studies*. The number of local sections is 821.

During the active year 1949—50 the Swedish Rural Educational Association had 4,233 study circles with a membership of 36,759. The number of libraries was 703, with a total of 168,082 volumes. The subjects studied are on the whole the same as in the majority of other educational associations, though there is of course a certain preponderance of subjects which meet the special needs of the country districts and of agriculture. The association annually arranges training courses. It also issues its own plans of study and instructions.

The organ of the association is *Studiekontakt* (Study contacts).

The Young Farmers' Association (JUF).

The Swedish Rural Educational Association and the Young Farmers' Association have grown up as a result of the farmers' attempts to put organized club-life on its feet in the country districts.

The Young Farmers' Association is the older of the two. It was started in 1918, and it carries on activities that differ in several points from those of the other educational associations. They include both civic and occupational studies, and aim at the development of good citizens and effective farmers. Under the leadership of both women and men advisers in the young farmers' clubs and JUF-sections considerable practical training is given in various branches of agriculture, cattlebreeding and household work. Competitions in milking and ploughing are often arranged in the JUF-sections. The study circle activities are also of a more practical character. In addition to the ordinary subjects, agricultural matters like cattle-

breeding and poultry-rearing, barnyard-hygiene, milking hygiene etc. are studied. A prominent place is given to *studies of local culture.* In a large number of places so-called *bygdegårdar* (rural club-rooms) have been erected for studies and club activities. During the active year 1949—50 there were in the Young Farmers' Association 852 study circles with a total membership of 9,572. The number of libraries was 282, with a total number of 84,844 volumes. The organ of the association is *Jord och ungdom* (Soil and Youth).

The Educational Association of Professional Workers (TBV).

The Educational Association of Professional Workers was constituted in 1935. Its special task is to organize and direct all studies within the professional workers' organizations. The activities of the association are in part a consequence of the rather late national movement referred to as the modern movement for organized professional workers. It now has about 206,000 members belonging to about twenty affiliated organizations, of which the Swedish Association of Industrial Professional Workers, the Swedish Employers' Association, the Swedish Association of Municipal Officials, the Association of Commercial Workers and the Swedish Association of Banking Officials are the most important.

Organized studies in the Educational Association of Professional Workers developed from modest beginnings, and its growth during the first few years of its existence was rather slow. For many members of the middle classes, who had enjoyed a relatively good schooling as well as a technical training, the idea of voluntary participation in adult educational work seemed strange. This older view, however, has now disappeared. During the last active year the Educational Association of Professional Workers had 2,099 study circles on its books, with a total membership of 25,816. The chief subjects of study are those dealing with club procedure and occupational questions, and foreign languages. Besides the study circles courses of

training for leaders of studies and organizers are also arranged. These courses are as a rule now held in the *TCO-TBV-school in Bergendal* in Sollentuna.

Educational Association of the Citizens' School (Medborgarskolan) (SFM).

This association has about 125,000 members, collectively affiliated through the national organization of the Conservative Party, the Conservative Women's Organization and the Conservative Youth League. The association was given its present organization in 1941, and is in accordance with its program a non-political national organization which endeavours to interest citizens from all groups in the community in studies and educational activities.

The Citizens' School has its own correspondence institute and publishes the periodical *Gimokamraten*. Like the TBV, it has no library of its own. The number of study circles during the active year 1949—50 was 1,078, with a membership of 11,551.

The People's University (FU).

The People's University, which was started in 1942, is an expression of the students' desire to take an active part in adult education. During the 1930's special sections were started in the four university and college towns. These still represent the main part of the active work of the People's University. Each such section is in itself a students' association in which all students interested in the work of adult education may be enrolled. Each such association is under the direction of young students.

Study circles and lecturing courses are organized in the different university towns. In addition to this, resident courses are arranged during the summer in various places both at home and abroad. Among the subjects of study the most prominent are foreign languages, psychology, literature, music and art. In order to improve the results of instruction in foreign languages, native assistants are

employed; these also give instruction in towns other than the university towns. In the autumn of 1949, for example, study circles in French were arranged in 57 different places. In addition to this, a number of language films are "edited" every year and shown to the participants. The activities of the People's University are independent of political, religious, class or group interests, and all the study circles and courses are open to all who wish to study. Besides the practical experience of adult educational work which the students obtain in the course of these activities, the People's University endeavours through courses and conferences to initiate its members into the different problems of adult education and give them a general orientation in the different organizational branches of the work.

The People's University consists of the above-mentioned sections and the central offices for lecturing activities. The different sections constitute independent associations, and their common business is dealt with by a central office.

During the last active year the People's University had 1,511 study circles on its books, with a total membership of 23,939.

Christian Educational Associations.

When the Swedish Christian Educational Association was dissolved in 1947, this organization was replaced by three new associations: the Swedish Ecclesiastical Educational Association the Nonconformist Educational Association, and the National Educational Association of the Y. W. C. A. and the Y. M. C. A.

Swedish Ecclesiastical Educational Association is the united organ for the free and voluntary educational work carried out within the different organizations of the Swedish Church. The association has altogether over 121,000 members. During the last active year the association reported 2.921 study circles. The association publishes a series of booklets and draws up plans of studies on various Christian educational questions. It has also for a long time carried on library and lecturing activities and arranged courses.

The Non-conformist Educational Association is an amalgamation of the Youth League of the Swedish Missions Association, the Youth League of the Swedish Baptists, the Youth League of the Methodist Church, the singers' association in the Swedish Missions Church and the Methodist Church and the Non-conformist Students' Association. The association, which has 95,000 members, has as its main object the physical and spiritual education of youth. Bible studies head the list of subjects, after which come singing and music, general ethical questions and foreign languages.

The National Educational Association of the Y.W.C.A. & the Y.M.C.A. is an organization which works mainly in the towns. The study activities are liveliest in those places where the main organizations have club-rooms of their own. The number of study circles is at present rather small; but educational work is also carried on in the form of lectures and in certain clubs etc.

The Liberal Educational Association is only three years old and functions on the basis of membership from various organizations within the Liberal Party. In 1950 the association had slightly more than 400 study circles. Special attention is given to social problems and an effort made to stimulate interest in that field by the distribution of study guides.

Other Associations.

The national associations for study-circle activities are, with the exception of the People's University, united in the *Collaborating Educational Associations*, which was formed in 1936. This body is a collective forum where the associations can meet and discuss and plan certain common business. Especially in the fields of music and the theatre, extensive collaboration has been established. The Collaborating Educational Associations publish *Folklig Kultur* (Popular Culture), the joint periodical for the affiliated associations.

Besides the approved national associations for study-circle activities, a number of other organizations carry on such activities.

Among these may be mentioned the Educational Association for Swedish Fishermen, the National Association of Swedish Housewives' Unions, the Organization for Swedish Handicrafts and Small Industries, the Society for the Preservation of Local Culture, the Fredrika Bremer Association, the courses given under the heading "Our Economy", etc.

The university circles.

The first study circles to receive state aid in Sweden were the university circles. On the initiative of the committee of experts on adult education in 1920, and with the help of funds forthcoming from private courses, two university circles were arranged in that year. One of them was held in Stockholm and the other in Malmö. They were rather in the nature of an experiment, and national economy was the subject taken up by both.

The experiment was evidently a success, for in 1924 the Riksdag granted a special subsidy to make possible an extension of these activities. During the first few years state allowances were granted only for circles sponsored by the lecturing centre at Uppsala University and the Lund Centre for Popular Scientific Lectures; but at the same time as the grants were increased, the right to state aid was extended to university circles with the Stockholm and Gothenburg Universities as centres. Unfortunately, the government was for financial reasons obliged to withdraw this grant after the budget year 1938/1939. State aid had then been paid out to 53 university circles, in which economics, political science, economic geography, social psychology, the history of literature, history, the history of art and the history of music had been studied.

The idea of state support for the university circles was taken up again in 1947. For each budget year since 1947—1948 the Riksdag has voted 30,000 Swedish crowns to help meet the costs of arranging university circles. These funds have been placed at the disposal of the Board of Education. One of the stipulations connected with the

grants is that the circles shall be directed by university teachers or other qualified teachers with academic degrees. Furthermore, the studies are to extend over two years and must include at least 24 double hours per year. The number of participants attending each meeting must be at least ten.

According to the decision of the government, a university circle may receive government aid towards meeting the costs of teachers' fees at the rate of at most 60 Swedish crowns per double hour, while the allowance of help to pay for plans of study and text-books amounts to at most half the costs, with a maximum amount of 10 crowns per head. In addition to this, travelling and boarding expenses may be paid out to teachers.

The university circle is a form of work in the movement for voluntary adult education that is better adapted than most other forms of work for personal contributions by university men. The method demands much from both teachers and participants. The latter must be prepared to make very considerable contributions of their own, both as regards the assimilation of the instruction received and as regards oral or written reports made by themselves. But the benefit may also be great. Contact with scientific research and real familiarity with a subject always imply great advantages for every person seriously interested in study. The university circle may be an important instrument for the realization of that deepening of educational activity which is as desirable as its quantitative extension. The university circles may prove a useful counterpart to the many shorter courses. During the years that the new grants have been paid out, circles have been arranged at different places. The subjects most studied have been psychology, economics, economic geography, religion, sociology, industrial economy, art, literature and music.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES

As we have seen, the public libraries can look back on more than one hundred years of history, in which the years 1842, 1905 and 1930 are milestones. In 1905 the first Government grants were made. The Library Statute now in force is dated 1930, and it led, inter alia, to the establishment of the first central libraries. In 1949 a special committee advanced a proposal for a new organization of the public libraries. The committee recommended considerably increased Government grants to enable every municipality to provide well-stocked libraries coming up to a certain standard of quality.

The public libraries are now supported and run by the municipalities and by the different educational organizations. These latter, which manage the so-called study-circle libraries, have of recent years restricted their activities, as the educational organizations have tended more and more to leave the management of their libraries to the municipalities, which administer them together with already existing municipal libraries or use them as the foundation for new municipal libraries.

Two thirds of the municipalities in Sweden have municipal libraries. In the cities and larger towns the municipal libraries are organized on a broad basis. They are as a rule provided with special children's sections and in about 15 of the larger towns they have local branches. In about 100 places there are libraries with full-time staffs.

In all but two counties there are central libraries. The central libraries lend out single books within their county to libraries and private persons, they send out travelling libraries to permanent libraries, study-circles, associations and private persons and they give advice and guidance to the local libraries. In the year 1949 a couple of the central libraries organized libraries on wheels.

Public library activities are also carried on in hospitals and the defence forces. In the case of the hospitals this work is often taken over by the municipal library. A special central library has

been established for the sanatoria. The libraries for the defence forces have of recent years been very considerably extended. A special advisory body for them is attached to the defence staff.

Library activities among seamen are carried on by the Swedish Seamen's Library in Gothenburg, which sends out travelling libraries to Swedish merchant vessels and provides the bigger boats with stocks of reference books. The Swedish parishes abroad also receive grants for their library activities. Government allowances are also paid out for seamen's reading rooms.

Finally, it may be mentioned that in the northern border area, where a large part of the population speaks Finnish, a special library, Tornedalen Library, keeps the population in touch with Swedish literature.

State aid to public libraries is paid out on condition that the owners of the libraries contribute at least the same amount as the state. For the municipal libraries and the study-circle libraries the Government's contribution has been fixed at a maximum of 10,000 Swedish crowns per municipality per annum. The maximum support for hospital libraries is 1.50 crowns per bed. A defence-force library may obtain at most 1,500 crowns per year. The special grants for the central libraries amount to 25,000 crowns per library per annum. The 1950 Riksdag has voted altogether about 3.5 million crowns for public and school libraries.

During 1949 the municipal public libraries lent out 11.9 million volumes. In the same year the study-circle libraries lent out 2.2 million volumes, the hospital libraries 0.7 million and the defence-force libraries 0.4 million volumes. The total number of volumes lent out from libraries of a public-library character amounted to 15.5 million volumes or somewhat more than 2.2 volumes per head per year. If one includes loans from school libraries the figure becomes 3.55 volumes per annum.

THE FOLK HIGH SCHOOL

After the starting of the first three folk high schools in 1868, about twenty of them were established in the course of the following decade. These all had the same structure. They were centres in country districts, and it was above all the country people who were drawn to them. The municipal laws of 1862 had given the peasant class increased influence, both in the state and in the municipality. This increased their responsibility and the need for added knowledge and understanding of citizenship. The folk high school, with its ideals of the *human being* and the *citizen,* was for many of the young people from the country the road to civic knowledge and interest in the community.

Despite the similarity in structure and aims, the folk high schools were from the outset schools with an individual character. Each one of them acquired, as it were, a profile of its own and its own special features. Most of them have been started on private initiative, with associations formed for the purpose of their foundation; and each has been coloured by the interests of its initiators and the spirit of the locality in question. As their activities have from the start been chiefly maintained by the collection of funds and by the fees paid by the pupils, these schools have never been forced into our official school system, so that they have avoided the standardization in respect of form and syllabus that must result from being fitted into any official system. Some schools were established by the county councils. In the course of the years several county councils have taken over folk high schools, so that quite a number of them have the county council as their sponsor. State aid has been paid out to the folk high schools since 1872. These grants are now considerable sums, but they have fortunately not entailed any encroachment worth mentioning on the freedom of the schools. The folk high school still represents the freest and most self-determining school form in Sweden.

At the end of the 1870's the formation of folk high schools

entered upon a period of stagnation. The enthusiasm of the pioneers perhaps cooled somewhat; in the 1880's agriculture went through a crisis and the country began to undergo a change. Industry pushed to the fore, workshops and factories attracted more and more of the young people, and the youth of the country districts began to move into the towns and the more thickly populated parts. During the 1890's only three new folk high schools were formed, and by the turn of the century their number was 29.

With the new century, however, the folk high school began once more to come into its own. Twelve new schools were started during the years 1900—1909. New groups were now confronted by the need for instruction in citizenship and civic knowledge, and schools began to be formed by and for the national movements.

The first school of this kind was *Brunnsvik Folk High School,* which was established in 1906. When *Karl-Erik Forsslund* and his collaborators founded Brunnsvik, however, they had other aims. They had intended to establish a country school for Västerbergslagen (a mining district). But fate willed otherwise. Karl-Erik Forsslund had shown sympathies for the labour movement; he had attacked the Church. This was enough to cause the government to refuse the school state support, a resolution that Hans Larsson, a leading Swedish philosopher, described as "one of the greatest injustices in school policy that we have seen for a long time, and one of the greatest stupidities into the bargain". The state grant came in 1911, but what had taken place made of Brunnsvik an educational stronghold of the labour movement and of the young workers.

The second school of the kind was started by the temperance movement in 1908, when the National Order of Templars founded *Wendelsberg.* This school has become perhaps the most characteristic instance of the type, as it is both owned and directed by a popular movement. *Birkagården Folk High School,* which was started in 1918 with the Stockholm W. E. A. section as associate partner, was an urban counterpart to Brunnsvik. Other schools started by the national movements have followed in quick succession.

Viskadalen, Marieborg, Jära and *Medlefors* are all firmly anchored in the labour movement. The two last mentioned owe their origin to W. E. A. initiative. The folk high school closely allied to the cooperative movement is called *Jacobsberg,* and among the schools with Christian orientation *Sigtuna* is the oldest. The Order of Good Templars is now establishing its school at *Tollare,* while the Swedish handicrafts and small industries organizations direct the folk high school in *Östra Grevie.*

The folk high schools which were established in 1948 — all more or less under the auspices of one or another of the national popular movements — are, besides the above-mentioned Jära School, a school for Lapps in *Jokkmokk* and a school in *Kungälv* with a Scandinavian program. The folk high school of the Lapps, however, is in part to be regarded as a country school. *Medlefors* started in 1949.

Many feared that these schools sponsored by the national popular movements would become extreme party and sectarian schools. This has not been the case. They have as a rule become first and foremost folk high schools, and many of them have helped to inspire and further the development of the folk high schools. They have incorporated new groups of the population into the world of the folk high school, and parallel with democratic development they have themselves tended to encourage the establishment of new country schools.

The internal activities of the folk high schools.

In the folk high school the spoken word plays a prominent rôle. The instruction is based upon the lecture, the textbook, the study circle and discussion. In the statute dealing with folk high schools, the purpose of the schools is stated to be "to impart to young adults a general and civic education, the main stress being put upon stimulating instruction calculated to promote and further individual thinking and moral strength, and which ensures that the pupils shall

be made familiar with their local conditions and traditions and with their country, its historical development and present social conditions, its spiritual and material resources". Obligatory subjects are: Swedish, history, social science, geography, mathematics, natural science and hygiene as well as singing and gymnastics. Singing plays a very important rôle in the folk high school. The statute does not give any prescriptions concerning the courses or the methods of instruction.

To begin with, the folk high schools catered only for young men; but summer courses were soon initiated for young women. The schools began to try out a second year's course in 1905, and in the middle of the 1920's experiments were made with an unofficial third year's course. The majority of the folk high schools now have during the winter a first-year course and a main second-year course for male and female students and, during the summer, independent courses for women. At three schools there is a section intended primarily for those desiring to apply for enrolment at social institutes. During the last few years state-aided continuation courses lasting 4—12 weeks have been arranged. Here the studies are concentrated around a small group of subjects. The number of pupils has of recent years been constantly increasing. During the year 1949—50 it amounted to 8,500, including 5,600 women students. A large number of applicants have had to be refused owing to lack of space.

The folk high school builds upon the courses of the elementary school and is examination-free. It does not aim at any direct preparation for any occupation. It attracts young people from all social groups and occupations and becomes something of a home for them. The general atmosphere is one of comradeship, work and freedom. Its comradeship embraces both teachers and pupils; the work, at its best, becomes an intensive cooperation by all in common studies and character-forming; and freedom finds its most living expression in the frequent discussions, where people holding different opinions may speak their minds with complete freedom. The

daily personal intercourse is one of the most important of the things the folk high school has to give. People from different social classes and fields of work with very different opinions in political and religious questions meet and learn from one another. Above all they learn understanding and tolerance. The pupils become a community. "The folk high school spirit" is a reality. This is perhaps best shown by the many associations of pupils and by the solidarity with the school felt by the pupils long after leaving.

The folk high schools have become important foci for the work of adult education in other respects. All sorts of conferences and courses are held in them, and it is from here that a very great number of adult educational courses are arranged. Here the pupils have occasion to meet and to try study-circle work and to come into contact with teachers who are often active as lecturers and organizers of studies. Through their teachers the young people also come into contact with the academic world, for the teachers at the folk high schools are as a rule university men. In order to qualify for the post of teacher at a folk high school one must have passed an academic examination in the combination of subjects to be taught, or else be able to certify that one has the requisite knowledge, acquired in some other way.

The state aid is a contribution to the running expenses, intended to cover all the costs for teachers' salaries. During the year 1949—50 the government allowances paid out to the 71 schools amounted to 3,490,000 Swedish crowns. To pupils at folk high schools the government provides scholarships of varying amounts up to a maximum of 115 crowns per month of study according to the individual need. About ⅔ of all the pupils are in receipt of scholarships of varying amounts. During the year 1949—50 2,170,000 Swedish crowns were paid out in government scholarships. A number of county councils as well as towns and parishes also award scholarships. This is likewise true of certain organizations, such as, for example, the trade-union movement and the Cooperative Union.

The folk high schools come under the administration of the adult educational section of the Board of Education. Since 1912 there has been a special government inspector of folk high schools.

THE COURSES OF THE FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS AND THE TRADE UNIONS ASSOCIATIONS

The studies carried on within the trade-union movement are for the most part included in the activities of the Workers' Educational Association. The Federation of Trade Unions, however, carries on extensive educational activities at the Federation of Trade Unions School in Brunnsvik. The courses arranged by this school cover chiefly economic history, economic problems, national economy, trade union questions, social legislation, the Swedish language and bookkeeping.

Furthermore, the trade union associations arrange courses at the Federation School. Among frequently recurring subjects one may note the history of the trade union movement, legislation concerning the protection of workers and working conditions, industrial democracy, business economy and the cultural tasks of the labour movement.

In each trade union there is a *secretary of studies* who is responsible for the study circle activities and courses in the union; and in each district the organizational net is now being extended by the appointment in each trade union of leaders of studies or study committees.

CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOLS

An extremely important part in the voluntary educational work carried out in our country is played by the correspondence institutes.

The institute which introduced correspondence courses in the

educational activity of the national movements was *The Correspondence School* (Brevskolan). This school was established in 1919, and during the first years of its existence it experimented with courses in the cooperative movement. The work was extended rather rapidly, and at the beginning of the 1930's had become a general feature of the movement for adult education. During the present decade the intimate connection between the Correspondence School and the studies carried on by the national movements has been further stressed. The school is owned by the Cooperative Union, but its supreme authority in questions relating to studies is invested in a committee of studies, on which many educational associations are represented. Some of the most successful courses of the school are those published during the war years 1939—1945, which were commissioned by and worked out in collaboration with the military authorities. About 90,000 persons were enrolled in the course on Home Defence, and an emergency course on national defence found about 50,000 interested persons. "Den svenska livsformen" (The Swedish Way of Life), which was issued in collaboration with the State Information Board, had 35,000 participants. The number of study circles which had been entered on the books of the Correspondence School up to 1950 was 66,436. The courses of the school now cover all fields, such as the problems of trade union and club life, social science and economics, mathematics, natural science, foreign languages and the Swedish language. Of special importance are the courses in subjects dealing with current problems, where it is always difficult to procure the material for the studies and the teachers with the necessary qualifications. Among those which have of recent years attracted much interest are the courses on industrial committees, in business economy and in economic and trade union problems.

As has already been mentioned, the National Order of Templars has its own correspondence school, *Brevstudio* (The Letter Studio), as has agriculture in the *LTK-School*. The latter aims especially at providing a program to meet the requirements of those wishing to

supplement their practical experience in agriculture or farm-management with theory. Successful experiments with combined written and oral teaching have been made in agricultural correspondence schools; and high school courses have been worked out in collaboration with the Correspondence School. The advisory organ for high school teaching is a committee of studies in which rural associations are represented.

Correspondence institutes of a somewhat different kind are *Hermod's Correspondence Institute* in Malmö, which was established in 1898, and the *NKI-School* in Stockholm. These big institutes are connected through study-circle courses with the work of adult education; but with their richly diverse subject-matter they are chiefly designed for private teaching in practical subjects and the passing of examinations.

The cooperative group activity is a kind of teaching by correspondence that has proved extremely popular in the cooperative movement. These "groups", which study especially economic, gastro-physiological and cooperative subjects, are attended by more than 50,000 participants every year. The method of work employed is the so-called *instruction-method*. This implies that the courses are based upon a set of books for which a key-manual has been worked out more or less in the form of questionnaires. This contains questions for completion and questions for discussion. The former are intended to bring out necessary facts, while the latter are designed to stimulate talks and discussions. In other respects, the manual has the character of a correspondence course. Each section thus contains final main questions which are to be answered in writing and sent to the group-section of the Cooperative Union in Stockholm for correction.

During the last few years attempts have been made to stimulate interest in studies and discussions among housewives and young people with the help of discussion pamphlets. These are intended to be discussed in one or a couple of evenings, and deal with such

problems as household budgets, children's pocket-money, and whether corporal punishment is character-forming.

The group activity trains group-leaders on a big scale by holding *group-leader weeks* and *group-leader conferences*, most of which have been held at *Vår Gård*, the school of the Cooperative Wholesale Society.

EDUCATIONAL WORK FOR SEAMEN

In the year 1932, in answer to an appeal by the Workers' Educational Association and the Swedish Seamen's Association, the government made a grant for courses for unemployed seamen. These were organized in about fifteen different places. The work was in the main carried on along three lines, with occupational courses, courses in citizenship and folk high school courses.

The arrangement turned out well and was repeated for a number of years. Special courses of instruction for future leaders of seamen's studies were also arranged. At one of these in 1936, *the Seamen's Educational Association* was formed.The thoughts underlying the working program and aims of this association agree in important points with what the English pioneer of educational activities among seamen, the Rev. *John Harris*, said one hundred years earlier. He emphasized that "what sea-faring people want is not charity but justice", and in a book of the subject for which he was awarded a prize he suggested "the establishment of normal schools to produce seamen who might be qualified to instruct their comrades while they are at sea".

At present, a state grant is paid out to the W. E. A. for the arranging of courses of instruction for seamen and for the employment of educational instructors for seamen. Government allowances are made to study circles on board ship according to the same regulations which hold for other study circles, though with some modifications concerning the number of participants and the number of meetings.

Educational work among seamen is connected with special difficulties. On vessels which run on short routes the conditions are less favourable than on boats going on long voyages. Watch-duties and the signing-on of new hands interfere with the continuity of the work. These problems render the correspondence circle a very well-adapted method of study on board. Those who are prevented by their duties from taking part in a meeting may nevertheless tackle the problems or answer the questions, and those who sign off may take their study-material with them and continue the studies on another vessel or ashore. The teacher or leader must be chosen from a rather restricted group of individuals. Some member of the crew who is qualified or one of the officers who is interested must be prevailed upon to undertake this task.

Among the subjects studied by seamen, foreign languages are especially favoured. But other subjects, such as mathematics, social science and trade unionism appear.

The *library* is of course also a feature of educational work among seamen. Travelling libraries are sent out either direct from the seamen's library in Gothenburg or from one of its branches in ports in Sweden or abroad. Government support has been granted for permanent text-book libraries on larger vessels, whose crews thus always have text-books, dictionaries and works of reference at their disposal.

Instructors' and study-circle activities among seamen are also carried out by the Seamen's Welfare Board of the Swedish Church for seamen's welfare in the home-country, which obtains a special state allowance for its work. In a number of places, e. g. Gothenburg, Malmö, Hälsingborg and Gävle, there are diocesan curates appointed by the government with the special task of devoting themselves to seamen's welfare. At the Seamen's Institute in Stockholm there is held every winter, amongst other things, a complete course of folk high school character. By means of a special library-van which visits most of the vessels in the port of Stockholm efforts are made to see that the small travelling libraries on board ship are kept up to date.

MILITARY EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

In 1940 the Defence Staff began to organize educational work among the regiments in the field. It quickly became necessary to adapt the work to the conditions obtaining in the state of emergency defence and to extend it accordingly. A more permanent organization of military welfare work was effected in 1942. When emergency defence was wound up, there were about 155,000 volumes in the field libraries, and during the last year of the war about 2,000 field lectures were delivered. Here, too, teaching by correspondence showed its suitability and strength, and the form of the study circle found a certain use.

After the years of field service during the period of emergency, the peace-time organization has taken over the educational activities among the military regiments. At the *Defence Staff* there now functions a *section for staff welfare* with a special *educational department*. The military regiments each have an officer for staff welfare and an *educational committee* with an assistant as active member. The educational committee is an advisory organ for general educational questions and a library committee.

As a directing and supervising organ for staff welfare and educational activity in the Defence Forces there is a special board, the Educational and Staff Welfare Board of the Defence Forces, which is directly accountable to the government and consists of representatives for military and civil interests.

The practical studies carried on in military regiments follow in the main two lines. These are spare-time teaching and lecturing activities. The purpose of the former is to give the recruits and the permanently employed members of the Defence Forces the opportunity of becoming familiar with the methods of voluntary education, and through these to increase their knowledge. Participation is voluntary, and the work is as a rule carried out in the spare time of the recruits. The activity is based upon the study circle, though lectures are also given.

As from 1944 the Defence Staff has arranged a centrally organized regimental lecturing activity which is paid for by the government. During the budget year 1949—50 government grants for this purpose were paid out to the amount of 28,800 Swedish crowns. The number of lecturing arrangements for the same period was 703, of which 116 were in the way of entertainment. The audiences were on an average as many as 353 men, which may be partly explained by the fact that the lectures were generally held during the hours of duty. The subjects treated were for the most part those dealing with Swedish citizenship and international problems.

For some time past military sponsored experimental teaching has been given in citizenship. Military teachers have charge of this teaching, which is obligatory. It now comprises about fourty hours, and besides citizenship it deals with the economy of the citizen and the temperance question. The idea of this work is to strengthen in the recruits an understanding of Swedish individual and community life, and in connection with this to impart information concerning the rights and obligations of the Swedish citizen.

This obligatory military training may become a good connecting link with free and voluntary educational work, and a means of deepening the contact between military and civil educational activities.

ADULT EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES ON THE RADIO

The radio is the organ of adult education which has the greatest possibilities for reaching the many. It can reach groups and individuals in the cities, in the country districts and at sea. The Swedish Broadcasting Corporation endeavours as far as possible to make a good educational contribution.

The restricted broadcasting time necessarily entails a rationing of the different types of program. It is thus not possible to have so many of the regular programs of a clearly adult educational character at definite times. There are as a rule two series of lectures per

season that are directly addressed to groups of listeners. In order to facilitate studies in connection with the series the Broadcasting Corporation publishes text-books and booklets with instructions for work and suggested reading. Examples of such series are "Poetry and Ourselves", "The Great Labour Novels", "Six Writers and Their Counties" and the series "We Look at America". The latter may be taken to illustrate the planning of these series. Nine of the most prominent Swedish experts in these fields speak on nine Monday evenings about American capitalism, democracy, religion, social policy, social economy, constitution and parties and the racial problem. Besides the lecturer himself there are on each occasion a couple of interlocutors, who supplement and criticize what he has to say. In connection with the series a richly illustrated text-book is issued with the title "America in Focus".

Among the Broadcasting Corporation's adult educational programs language courses have proved extremely popular. Such courses have been arranged in non-Scandinavian languages — in English, German, French, Spanish and Russian. Texts and grammars have been published beforehand. Other valuable and popular items are the "study-letters" and specimen plays that are broadcast to theatrical circles in connection with plays broadcast by the Broadcasting Corporation, and the programs with "study-letters" that are provided for musical studies.

Certain broadcasting times are reserved for direct exploitation by educational organizations. Such times are generally disposed in such a way that early on Sunday morning those programs are broadcast which deal with the internal affairs of the organizations, while at midday on Sunday are given programs of more general interest and of a more "outward" character.

The educational contribution of the radio is by no means restricted to programs in the form of courses. For those interested in studies there is much else to choose. The long list of lectures and talks on art, music, literature and the theatre as well as numerous descriptive summaries offer a wealth of educative and instructive matter.

As an organ of education the radio calls for its own method and its own technique. It is probably not possible to get an adequate idea of its extent or of the value of its contribution from the reports of groups of listeners and the number of "study-letters" sold. Many listen in groups, but probably still more listen alone.

THE WORK OF ADULT EDUCATION AND SPORT

Sports and athletics constitute one of the biggest national movements in Sweden. In the National Athletics Association many courses are held for the theoretical schooling of the members in different branches of sport. In certain of these courses room has been left for other than purely athletic subjects. Even general cultural subjects have been taken up. In some courses representatives for temperance and educational organizations have taken part. The *Swedish Gymnastic Association* started an educational section in 1942. Its best expression of the ideal of combining physical and mental culture is *the Gymnastic Folk High School at Lillsved*. Courses are also held by *the Promotion of Skiing* (Skidfrämjandet) and *the Swedish Association for Outdoor Athletics* (Svenska Frisksportförbundet). The latter is connected with the W. E. A. through its national organization.

The first really positive expression of the will to cooperate between athletic circles and other national movements is a special collaborating committee, which consists of representatives for athletic and gymnastic organizations and for adult educational, temperance and youth movements. The State Church and non-conformist congregations are also attached to the committee. The handbook "Idrott och Folkbildning" (Athletics and Adult Education) and "Mötes- och sammanträdesteknik" (The Technique of Meetings and Conferences) published by the Correspondence School are examples of these endeavours. Together with the W. E. A. the committee has published a propaganda pamphlet containing, inter alia, the challenge: "Mental fitness is as necessary as physical fitness. You who are active, combine your athletics with studies."

CONCLUSION

Swedish adult education has not allowed itself to get into a rut. New forms of work have ousted old forms, and new subjects have drawn attention to themselves. This is still the case to-day. During the last few years it is especially the fields of music and the theatre that have come increasingly to the fore, and necessitated the formation of new sections in the collaborating educational associations. In the sphere of the fine arts a special organization, "Art Promotion in the National Movements", has been formed in order to promote the spreading of good art in various ways. In the fields of music, art and the theatre the endeavour is to train and develop understanding of the different branches of art; but amateur exercises in art which aim at deepening the sense for artistic values are also regarded as studies. It has been suggested that the state should undertake special measures to support the work of adult education in these spheres. These proposals aim primarily at procuring more active government support for the training of leaders and for the different study groups; but they also aim at reaching the small communities and the sparsely populated districts through tours and exhibitions in various forms, with concerts, theatrical performances and art exhibitions.

It is obvious that in the work of adult education in the fields of art we are only at the beginning of a new period of development. In the majority of the other fields, however, there is room for development. Much, too, remains to be done before the work of adult education can be made to embrace an ever increasing number of individuals. Attention may here be drawn to the good foundation that will be laid by the new national school of the future, both for the participation of young people and of adults in the work of popular education.

The richly diverse scheme of studies has grown up in freedom, with no orders either from the outside or from above. A certain influence, of course, has been exercised by the ideas of the groups within which the different forms of study and the study-organizations have been started and have developed.

But the work of free and voluntary adult education in Sweden has always been at great pains to maintain its freedom and its independence. It is in the spirit of freedom and of democracy that educational work among adults has found its form in Sweden. This must be regarded as a very important ideal at a time when freedom and truth are finding it increasingly difficult to maintain a foothold in large parts of the world. It is also a sure way of teaching the individual to think for himself and to stand on his own legs. It is in this spirit that free and voluntary adult education has made its advances in this country, a spirit that has been expressed in the words: "A clear line of demarcation must be drawn between propaganda and teaching". It is the task of propaganda to give people opinions; it is the aim of teaching to give knowledge. It must be significant that these ideals have dictated the main lines in our educational and character-forming work among adults. They have shaped both Swedish adult education and Swedish democracy. It is our desire that the same ideals may leaven and inform Swedish adult education in the future.

Translated by Donald Burton.

SWEDISH TERMS
AND THEIR ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS

Folkbildningsförbund
(Adult Educational Association)

Flyttande folkhögskolekurs
(Ambulatory folk high school course)

Korrespondenscirkel
(Correspondence circle)

Ämneskurs
(Course on special subjects)

Truppförbands bibliotek
(Defence-force library)

Diskussionscirkel
(Discussion circle)

Tjänstemännens bildningsverksamhet (TBV)
(Educational Association of Professional Workers)

Studieförbundet Medborgarskolan (SFM)
(Educational Association of the Citizens' School)

Folkhögskola
(Folk High School)

Godtemplarordens studieförbund (IOGT)
(Good Templars' Educational Association)

Fristående studiecirkel
(Independent study circle)

Föreläsningförbund
(Lecturing association)

Föreläsningscirkel
(Lecturing circle)

Föreläsningsanstalt
(Lecturing institute)
Liberala studieförbundet
(Liberal Educational Association)
Bokbil
(Library on Wheels)
Centralbyrån i Lund för populära vetenskapliga föreläsningar
(Lund Centre for Popular Scientific Lectures)
Riksförbund för studiecirkelverksamhet
(National association for study-circle activities)
KFUK:s och KFUM:s riksstudieförbund
(National Educational Association of the YWCA & the YMCA)
Föreläsningförbundens Riksorganisation
(National Federation of Lecturing Associations)
Nationaltemplarordens studieförbund (NTO)
(National Order of Templars' Educational Association)
Frikyrkliga studieförbundet (FKS)
(Non-Conformist Educational Association)
Folkuniversitetet (FU)
(People's University)
Folkbibliotek
(Public Library)
Läsecirkel
(Reading circle)
Referatcirkel
(Reviewing circle)
Studiecirkel
(Study circle)
Sveriges Blåbandsförenings studieförbund (SBF)
(Swedish Blue Ribbon Educational Association)
Sveriges kristliga bildningsförbund
(Swedish Christian Educational Association)

Sveriges kyrkliga studieförbund (SKS)
(Swedish Ecclesiastical Educational Association)
Svenska landsbygdens studieförbund (SLS)
(Swedish Rural Educational Association)
Lärarcirkel
(Teacher circle)
Folkbildningsförbundet
(The Adult Educational Association)
Centralförbundet för nykterhetsundervisning (CFN)
(The Temperance Education Board)
Samverkande bildningsförbunden
(The Collaborating Educational Associations)
Jordbrukare-Ungdomens Förbund (JUF)
(The Young Farmers' Association)
Västra Sveriges Folkbildningsförbund
(The West Swedish Adult Educational Association)
Vandringsbibliotek
(Travelling Library)
Folkhögskolekursförening
(Union for folk high school courses)
Universitetscirkel
(University circle)
Arbetarnas bildningsförbund (ABF)
(Workers' Educational Association)