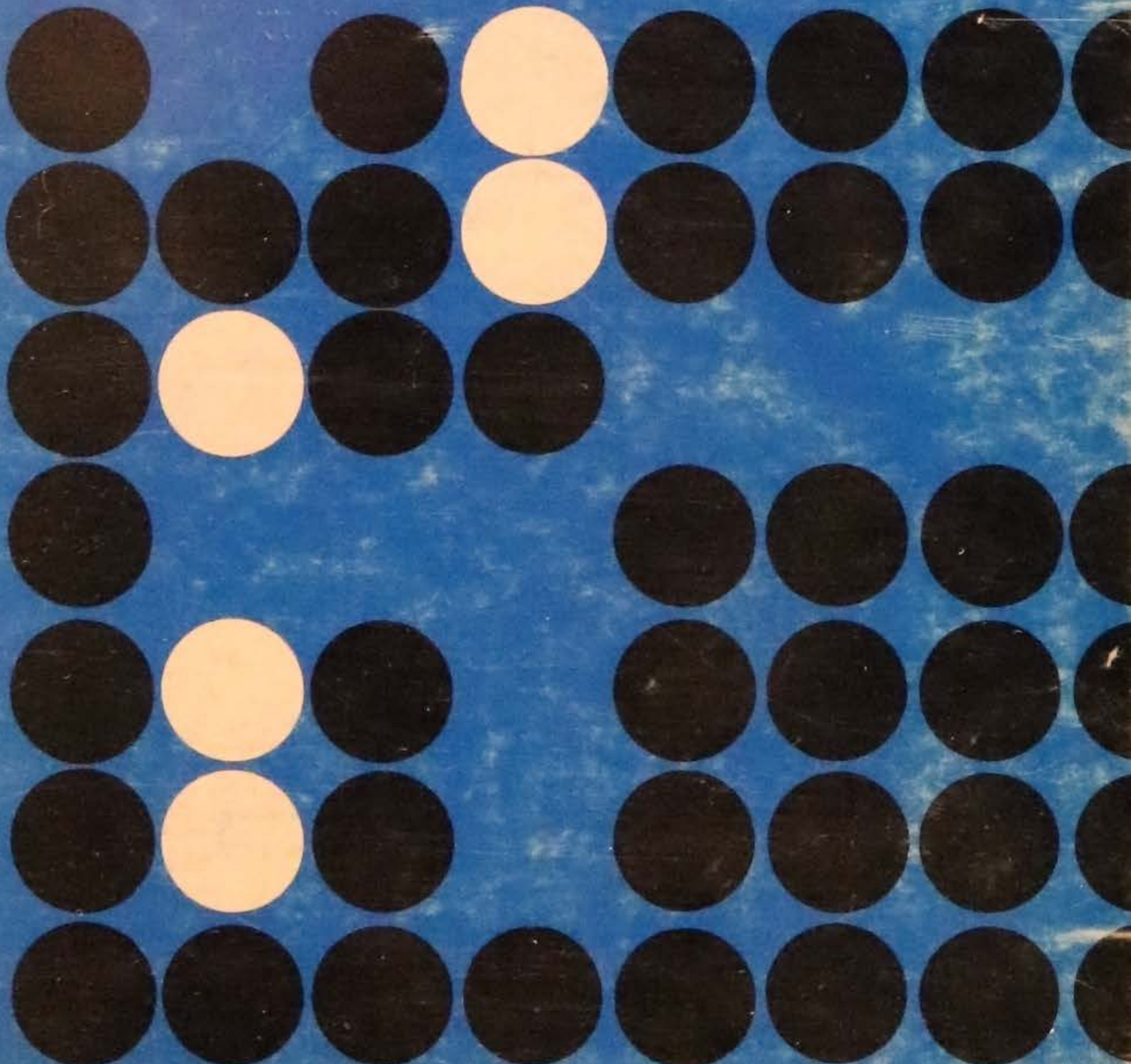


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# Selected Models of Worker Education in Europe

Research Series III, 1973

Center for Labor and Management  
College of Business Administration  
The University of Iowa  
Iowa City, Iowa





SELECTED MODELS  
OF WORKER EDUCATION  
IN EUROPE


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ROBERT E. BELDING  
Professor of Education  
The University of Iowa

Research Series III, 1973

Published by  
Center for Labor and Management  
College of Business Administration  
The University of Iowa  
Iowa City

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## Foreword

The 1960's and 1970's have witnessed renewed interest in sound manpower policy, particularly as it relates to worker education. The growth of community colleges, increased interest in vocational and technical education, credit for experience, open enrollment programs and a variety of retraining programs are all manifestations of a new emphasis on worker education and training.

In view of these developments the Center for Labor and Management is pleased to publish this collection of articles on worker education by Robert E. Belding, Professor of Education at The University of Iowa. Professor Belding has, for many years, been a student and scholar in the area of worker education and his writings are based on extensive travel and experience in many countries. His purpose in analyzing the European experience with worker education is to provide ideas that might be usefully adapted to worker education in the United States.

The Center for Labor and Management extends appreciation to Mrs. Vi Kuebler and Mrs. Sheri Russell for their assistance in preparing this manuscript and to those publishers extending reprint permission for sections of this publication.

It is hoped that this publication contributes to a clearer understanding of possible avenues for improving worker education in this country.

Jude P. West  
*Director*  
Center for Labor and Management



## Introduction and Overview

### *Can We Learn from Europe?*

In recent years we have been talking, vigorously and with gestures, of our country's need for the right training of workers. As we have contemplated the sorry mess of inadequate job qualifications we have demanded more adequate vocational preparation and done some experimenting beyond mere suggestions. Our words have been addressed to labor unions, expressing regrets that in earlier days our unions were more active than today in encouraging vocational education; other words have been spent on the ears of politicians. Occasionally our businesses have felt compelled to strengthen their worker's worth by in-service schooling of employees.

The posture assumed by the author of this study is that although our unions and governments and businesses have been making a few sporadic efforts to implement such worker training, too much of the effort has been expended in the past, and a lot more could be done today.

More specifically it is the contention of the writer that a look across the Atlantic, to selected European countries, may provide some ideas for our worker education—ideas which we might study carefully, then tailor to our size. Textbooks in educational history remind us that our educational heritage has been strongly European. But in recent years we have become complacent in our economic victories; indeed, within the past decades the very countries from which we have imported school ideas have been inclined to reverse the tide, looking to our own education—complete with its successes as well as its inadequacies—as though everything worked and as though we exercised little critical judgment against our schools.

### *A Sampling of Countries that Might Teach Us Lessons*

England may be having its economic troubles, yet that country's unions have been involved in a combined effort reflecting more concern than our own counterparts in the continued education of their workers. Some English industrialists have assumed their responsibility in further educating workers who, because of strongly traditional institutions, have failed to cull the advantages of a liberal education. Such management concern for its workers should contain lessons for us.

Most recently Britain has unveiled its so-called Open University, so that the masses who have been deprived of further education through the usual higher-educational channels may try for tertiary-level study. Its vastness



and innovative trends are reviewed, although it is still too early to determine its holding power or effectiveness. Samples of each of these apparently successful British involvements will be reviewed in the early portion of this study.

The countries of Scandinavia have gained, through the years, a warranted reputation for innovation and leadership in further education. Recently, under socialist government, unions and legislators in upper Europe have sensitively retooled their already famous continuing education to coordinate worker skills with economic demands. It might be challenged that these countries have achieved economic success as a consequence of their concern for using their precious manpower most effectively through the right training; most of us have not adequately answered the question as to whether education sets the pace for economic development of a nation, or whether a country's tradition-bound schooling belatedly comes in tune with economic advances.

None would deny that economy and education are intertwined. The overall extension of compulsory schooling, together with assigned trends for instruction in Scandinavia are reviewed as a prelude to the several chapters on labor-oriented education in several of those North-European countries.

Denmark's venerated folk high school have, in the past, constituted a factor in that country's economic evolution; today's folk high there has hardly withered, but has made major adjustments and concessions to the peculiarities of that nation's post-war economy. Sweden has imaginatively adapted its model, adult educational facilities, which embrace an enormous segment of its total population, to its enviously successful economy. And Norway has its special training problems, brought on by its odd geography, yet, it already reports successes in its rehabilitation of isolated populations and provides potential lessons for us, especially as we attempt to prevent further drifting of our population to urban centers.

Just about any index of success applied to West Germany today would indicate that the Federal Republic is, economically, the most prosperous nation of western Europe. Until the First World War, Germany had been the proving ground for many school innovations. Our kindergarten, our elementary and secondary schooling, as well as strengths of our universities, came to us as variations on the German pattern, mainly during the eighteenth century. Vocational training, as invented and implemented in Germany during the past century, today warrants another look. There are facets of Germany's highly successful crash program to train union leaders that should be given more than a passing glance by those of us interested in the proper management of our unions.

It is possible that we have already applauded too loudly the Germans for their successes in providing apprenticeships with continued education and



for training youths relevantly for jobs. Despite its reputation for excellent humanistic education, France has supported a series of remarkably sound plans for vocational education.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, while Frenchmen arm-chaired technical schooling proposals at a theoretical level, Germany looked westward across the Rhine to its traditional enemy for ideas to implement in its own industrial revolution and years beyond.<sup>2</sup>

The Soviets have generously borrowed excellent educational practices from western Europe. Its mass effort to bring literacy to its population utilized effective techniques already proven especially in Sweden and, with that accomplished, it has retooled the machinery of mass education to bring adult job skills into full relevance to that society's industrial needs.

Today, the world's most extensive privately-operated training institution has still not received the attention it deserves. From a European base, the Organization for Rehabilitation through Training has extended its training survey and institutional resources into twenty-two countries on all continents, and in its warranted pride in non-stop adaptability, has geared its school resources to contemporary economic demands with special care to consider indigenous as well as late twentieth century cultural factors. This private mission effort has met with remarkable success and will be reviewed here for both its survey and training efforts. It operates, along with other world organizations, from a Geneva base.

### *Conclusion*

These are the countries and institutions which will form the contents of this volume. Hopefully, these transatlantic ideas should provoke those of us who are concerned with worker education into looking more deeply into these varied manifestations of European worker education. However, it is not suggested that we should import and apply concepts without adaptation to the unique qualities of our own economic demands. Our educational heritage from Europe has been rich, but in our pioneering spirit we have always tried to adapt that continent's academic schemes to our own peculiar needs. We should continue to abide by this commendable tradition of adjustment to our own environment.

Especially at present we need to reexamine our economic successes which seem less certain than they did a few years back. We need to search for possible solutions and answers—wherever we might find suggestions. We need to counter-act the isolationist tendency to solve all our domestic prob-

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<sup>1</sup> Frederick B. Artz, *The Development of Technical Education in France, 1500-1850*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT, 1966, pp. 160, 187, footnote p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> Robert E. Belding, "German and French Influence on American Education," *International and Cultural Exchange*, Winter 1970, p. 99.



lems from within. Let us look again to Europe for ideas to adapt to our union, government, or business-industrial contributions to worker education. The chapters ahead provide the fodder and are intended to stimulate discussion or argument on this vital topic.

Robert E. Belding  
Iowa City, Iowa  
November, 1972



CHAPTER I  
FRANCE  
The New-Type High School

Youths unable to find work or to hold jobs, school dropouts, insufficient training of teenagers, unemployment by automation—these are all recognized as problems of our own youth. One aspect of French secondary education may contain lessons for us in solving some of these enigmas.

*Vocational Education Has a History*

France's tradition of planning for vocational education has been full enough to spill into actual implementation in Germany, in England, and even across the Atlantic. By way of example, while the Industrial Revolution in most countries brought to a halt the well-established apprenticeship system created in the Middle Ages, France retained a respect for craftsmen and a residue of practical educational ideas sufficient to affect Ben Franklin and his academy, the first American institution created to educate other-than-college-bent students at the secondary level.

France's own Revolutionary Law of 1793 stipulated that there would be established in the Republic three professional "degrees" of education—providing for (1) the artisans and workers, (2) those entering other professions of society, and (3) those capable of difficult studies not within the capacity of all men. This has been recorded as the earliest, clearest, and most forceful expression of the vocational motive at distinct social levels. At about the same time, scholar Diderot suggested a scientific method for vocational teaching. It has since been utilized almost unaltered, both in France and abroad.

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in France, technical schools were developed with deliberation to meet the needs, first of established crafts, then of neophyte industries. Napoleon III's realistic Minister of Education went so far as to indicate how technical and humanistic education might be meshed. In doing so he recognized that there was a duality in educational purpose; this schism persisted until the time of the Second World War.

World debacles have had a way of intensifying the necessity for practical

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education. It was in 1919 that France's *Loi Astier* was promoted by a far-sighted group of industrialists and became what many have recognized as the Charter of Technical Education. That law made it obligatory for workers in an impressive number of crafts to undergo proper training, including theory; for this, employers were compelled to make adequate provision or pay a penalty (*taxe d'apprentissage*).

Youths were to be released by their employers on certain days for attendance at late afternoon or evening classes in their *métier*. The Law was formulated in France, but it was the more practical Germans who picked up the idea, implementing it in their *Berufsschulen* as well as in their later development, the *Fachschulen*.<sup>1</sup> While France sat back with theory and law, German vocational schools were being visited and observed as models.

The threat of war influenced further France's development of vocational training. Daladier returned to France in 1938 following the ill-fated Munich Conference, and in his belated effort to re-arm his country he identified a shocking deficiency in youthful, skilled workers. It was from this panic that the so-called apprenticeship centers (*centres d'apprentissage*) were created—the precursors to present-day vocational high schools in France.

France was one of the first countries to apply itself to planning postwar schools. In 1943 the Algiers Conference recognized the inadequacies of certain eminent educated Frenchmen in their treason, their corruption, and their inability to plan. M. Capitain, who headed the Conference, declared that "the renewed France will wish to give her youth an education less exclusively intellectual."

And in 1945 the master planner Langevin, whose ideas today are implemented in so many facets of France's postbellum education, indicated as one of his educational principles that manual tasks *must* receive more social esteem and that perceptual education must not be considered of less value than conceptual.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, especially since the war, the principal effort of those interested in a realistic vocational education has been to augment the prestige of this segment of education so essential to France's increasingly industrial economy. As will presently be seen, this has been done mainly through a balanced program of practical, theoretical, and humanistic offerings at the secondary level.

#### *Voc-Ed Fitted to Humanities*

Certainly, more than just the principle of vocational education has survived from the Langevin Plan. The 1945 Commission which worked over the plan suggested that five exploratory years, from ages 11 through 15,

<sup>1</sup> Ahmad, Zia-Uddin, *Systems of Education*, London: Longmans, 1929, p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> Dobinson, Charles H., "French Educational Reform." *Comparative Education Review*, June 1959, p. 6.



should be established as a common program for all children. Through extensive investigation of aptitudes and interests via exposure to a variety of courses, each student would be sorted into the most appropriate secondary school. This contemplative appraisal was intended to replace a single sink-or-swim examination to sort all children instantly into or out of secondary schools at age 11. For realistic reasons of economy, the DeGaulle regime has streamlined this into a two-year cycle to investigate each child's interests and skills. When children leave this "determination" block of years they are now ideally placed into the most appropriate type of secondary establishment.<sup>3</sup>

What was originally the apprenticeship center has now been relabelled as a high school for technical training (*collège d'enseignement technique*) and is intended for apprenticeship of the "least academically capable," or, as the Ministry of Education more gently phrases it: "for children whose aptitudes are not suited for long and abstract study and who find employment as specialized workers or employees in public service and private enterprise."<sup>4</sup> Other schools are for those of a higher order of technical inclination; still another type is for the intellectual but nontechnical youth bypassing university education. The final type of school is the traditional humanistic *lycée* for students bent on university admission.

The first of these groups comprises our principal concern here. Students of the technical high school enter a program of apprenticeship either under a skilled craftsman or in a school shop. Supplementing this practical aspect is a block in coordinated theory which may involve instruction in such content as professional design or technology. The third facet is readily identified with French respect for the humanistic tradition and includes a solid block of courses in the native tongue, mathematics, history, and geography. This reinforces work taken in elementary school, and at the same time is oriented toward life beyond school.

The traditional humanistic element is what makes this form of education increasingly respectable among the French citizenry. It is intended to assure injection of the human quality in each being who might otherwise become too much a depersonalized cog in the machine he operates.

The German vocational schools may have served as models for comparative educators to study, but the French would seem to hold certain advantages over the German. The three-pronged balance of the French program would appear better rounded than the narrower German concentration on a single vocation with a built-in neglect of general education and even, rela-

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<sup>3</sup> Fraser, William R., "Progress in French School Reform," *Comparative Education Review*, February 1964, pp. 273-278.

<sup>4</sup> Cultural Services of the French Embassy, "The French System of Education," Special Issue of *Education in France*. New York: French Embassy (nd), p. 13.



tively, of vocational theory. As the French high school for technical education is presently operating, the pupil's time is fairly evenly divided among the three facets, whereas across the Rhine four-fifths of the weekly schedule is in vocational apprenticeship, with only the remainder left for theory.

In French tradition, girls attend their own high schools for technical education. Whatever apprenticeship they may select, courses in home economics are added for all these future housekeepers. Whether for girls or for boys, all such full-time technical high schooling lasts for three years and brings each student to the school-leaving age.

This terminal education is climaxed in a publicly advertised examination open to any interested audience. The completed course yields a "professional aptitude certificate" (called C.A.P.); and its title reflects the public attitude that this school is abbreviated and that apprenticeship is by no means completed. Yet the amputated technical schooling is part of a design to ensure that virtually every manual worker, however lowly his skill, will receive both training and public education at the secondary level.<sup>5</sup>

During the late forties the technical high school suffered from a real shortage of funds and from difficulties in reaching far corners of a widely dispersed countryside where communications were still in a shambles. Today this system of practical high school has grown to embrace 268,000 full-time students, with about 22,000 part-timers. Presently this is slightly under a quarter of all secondary-school attenders, but by 1970 it is expected that enrollments will be close to half a million.<sup>6</sup>

### *What They Learn*

Since the war, France has abruptly changed its predominantly rural economy to one with a bustling industrial emphasis. Today's technical schooling is intended to help strengthen rural areas and at the same time smooth the transfer of country youths to the cities. In this new type of school, rural boys learn techniques they can take back to modernize their farms. At the same time their sisters are trained principally in home-making. French villagers persist in retaining a group of skilled artisans who turn out wooden shoes, church bells, bread, or carved clothes presses, either in small industries or at home. So there is craft training for village youths to assure the continuation of country artisans. Obviously this particular aspect of French economy sets the country aside as quite different, especially from the American way of life.

Despite the special effort to penetrate all corners of France with these types of apprenticeship training, metropolitan craft apprenticeships actual-

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<sup>5</sup> *French Government Decree*, Section IV, Article 32, January 6, 1959.

<sup>6</sup> Cultural Services of the French Embassy, *Education in France*, No. 16, January 1962.



ly touch three out of every four youths in the shorter apprenticeship schools.

Educational institutions in France are under a famously centralized school plan in which the Minister of Education in Paris runs virtually the entire academic show. Under his office are twenty *académies*, geographic school regions originally established by Napoleon and retaining the chain of command of Napoleon's army. Despite this table of organization, the apprenticeship program at the secondary level shows more local influences than do the more tradition-bound schools. If villagers are expected to overlook the lures of bright city lights, they must be given an education tailored to the community's needs. So there is a built-in feature of flexibility about the high schools for technical instruction.

Local boards, representing a community's industries, mainly determine the curriculum, and this is being constantly reappraised and updated in a spirit of reconstructionism. Actually each technical high has its own governing board, consisting of equal numbers of local employers, trade union members, and representatives of the Ministry. As a result, these schools would appear to have the enthusiastic backing of all sections of the community. This is far more than can be said of more academic channels of secondary education, for these continue to be thoroughly controlled by the Ministry office in Paris.

One additional feature reflects the elasticity and independence of these terminal high schools. Some apprenticeship programs are run by qualified journeymen in their home shops; others are operated by larger private industries. In either case the government subsidizes tuition costs. If a student must live away from home for this schooling, his family is responsible for paying board and room. Many of these schools are maintained by the national government; yet because of their loose identity with what is traditionally called an education in France, they are often labelled neither schools nor factories but something vaguely illegitimate.

One extreme example of adaptation to the local situation is seen in the case of an acquaintance of mine who lives so far out in Normandy that even traveler's checks are virtually uncashable. There 20-year-old Maurice used to bicycle daily to a cabinet-maker's shop, where he was thoroughly trained in cutting and fitting and smoothing wood surfaces. The shopkeeper normally provided what little theory of cabinet-making Maurice acquired.

The academic portion of his program was furnished by his foster parent, who had never received a day of secondary education but who had versed himself *à la* Rousseau in the classics and probably did a fair job of keeping the nose of his protégé, Maurice, in the works of Racine and Molière. Annually an inspector of schools dropped in for a drink of Calvados and to check Maurice's progress. France to this day requires its youths to be edu-



cated, but does not demand that a student should attend a formal school-house in order to gain this education.

Teachers for such a novel vocational enterprise have been in great demand but in short supply. Often they are graduates of normal schools, and usually they are holders of teaching certificates. Under the centralized civil service structure, teachers of academic subjects are being moved, frequently against their own wills, into the humanities branch of the technical high program. Principal qualification for teaching both the practical and theoretical side of vocational offerings is competence in the craft being taught.

Generally instructors have undergone a year of full-time special training, or its equivalent, to enable them to impart their skills in ways which research has shown likely to succeed with adolescents. In other words, updated methods, proven to work, are taught and utilized, and identifiable portions of human development are present in the course. Most often the techniques utilized contrast sharply with the "explication" and lecture method of more traditional French schools.

Some enthusiastic claims have been made by outsiders concerning the effectiveness of this secondary vocational training in France. For example, one professional educator who is sensitive to the climate of French education has indicated that this program has been the most successful and worthwhile development in low-level technical training that has been widely accepted anywhere within the past century. The same source goes on to say that it has been mainly responsible for the continued increase in French industrial productivity since the War.<sup>7</sup>

### *Conclusion*

Basic differences between France and the United States are obvious—differences in educational philosophies, in such things as accelerated rural-to-urban economy shifts, in persistent maintenance of craft industries in village or home. Yet a series of contemplations are here proposed, any or several of which might shed light on some of our own vocational-educational problems. Here are just a few samples of questions for further study, based on considerations included in this report:

(1) Are there lessons for us in the apparent local cooperation between unions, industries, and educators?

(2) Is the French public sold on this vocational education at the secondary level; does it actually reduce dropouts and alleviate concomitant school-and-youth employment problems?

(3) Does the balanced local advisory board which determines the curriculum of the French high school for technical education have a lesson for

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<sup>7</sup> Dobinson, *op. cit.*, p. 9.



us in assuring that our vocational education is pertinent to the area and to the time?

(4) Are two years of abbreviated, early apprenticeship, with continuing vocational training on the job and beyond school sufficient for American vocational demands?

(5) Is there merit in the practice of having responsibilities in training at the secondary level taken by industries, complete with government subsidies?

(6) Is the method of teaching apprentices based on and adapted from the venerated Diderot something we might utilize in our own vocational training?

(7) Finally, does our program need evaluation in terms of the benefits inherent in what humanities it now contains—for possible injection of *more* in the French manner?

Few would deny that we have already made impressive strides in helping our own youths adjust to urgent demands of our ever-shifting industry. Yet there may still be lessons from a country which has been sensitive to the needs of vast numbers of its industrially-oriented youths and has taken courageous action in their behalf.



CHAPTER II  
ENGLAND

Drop-Outs Plucked for Further Schooling

*During the past few summers, and earlier for an entire year, the writer has been teaching in England. As an educator searching abroad for ways to improve our own education he has become interested in how to continue the schooling of early drop-outs. He has visited the Cadbury facility reported in this paper, and went away feeling that there might well be lessons for American industries concerned with developing or refining a type of pertinent complementary education for young employees. This article comprises mainly the impressions gained from face-to-face interview and a personal tour with the school's principal. Content has been verified by reference to several publications which describe the school.*

*Experiment with Experience*

Certain educators in England are proclaiming that their chocolate-coated school is achieving maturity. For the past half-century the administration of Cadbury Brothers, candy manufacturer of suburban Birmingham, has perceived further education as its peculiar responsibility to young employees. Through the years their experiment has undergone its ups and downs, but generally it is a picture of educational provision far beyond what most other factory managements have seen as their responsibility; furthermore the enterprise has remained years ahead of the country's legislation encouraging the further education of early school leavers and other young employees. The overall Cadbury effort has been so successful a model that, since the war, other factories in the Birmingham area have been sending their young workers across town to the Cadbury-established institution for a day or two of secondary school each week.

Every year masses of youths enter Cadbury employment. Some are assigned menial positions, but a few would have been qualified university material. Some have left school as soon as legally permissible; others have taken school examinations, results of which would have entitled them to remain in university-prep courses at grammar school. Many youths fall between these two extremes. Whatever their intellectual competence or scholastic potential, it has been Cadbury's policy to free all young workers to attend the nearby Day Continuation College. The school is of secondary level and is maintained under standards by the local education authority, providing varieties in level of challenge for all its students.



Because the school is part of the system comparable to that of any British suburb, it is in a position to provide the usual educational facilities for students beyond the minimum school-leaving age and standard. Educational authorities have joined forces with Cadbury's and firms sending students from outlying areas, to tailor appropriate courses for the youngest group of students who have proven to be the most difficult to motivate for further education. Difficulties are built into provision of further education for this segment of day-school students, and considerable experimentation has been undertaken in behalf of these fifteen-year-olds. It is the purpose of this article mainly to review the present program for this group in particular—a program which has evolved from a half a century of experience and concomitant experimentation.

These youngsters are broadly characterized by possessing below ninety I.Q.'s, and the factory, in conjunction with the educational authorities, has deemed it vital to build for them curricular offerings which would equip young participants for extravocational facets of life along domestic, civic, social, physical and emotional lines.

### *Disheartened Encouraged*

Given the fact that the school exists as a continuing enterprise and that all young Cadbury employees *must* attend it the equivalent of one day per week, the first step in further educating the student-worker is that of selection of the proper courses. The school calls on the employer to provide copies of its own employment tests for each individual student. When a scholastic aptitude score cannot be provided by the employer, the school administers this on the morning of student registration. In addition, each new student takes an arithmetic achievement and an English competence test. By the afternoon of registration day all pertinent test scores are available so the student may be interviewed and guided toward the appropriate course.

The tests and subsequent interviews are intended in particular to assist in answering one question: Is the student capable of undergoing a sound academic program preparing him for advanced examinations offered traditionally at the end of secondary schooling, or should he pursue the general (non-academic) course? Benefits to both alternatives are outlined in conference with each student, and it is possible to shift course channels at the end of either the first or second school term. As might be expected, the main flow of changes in course direction has been from the academic to the general—from the college-oriented to the terminal course.

Years of experience in working out the appropriate sequence for non-academic students have shown that there should be a minimal elective offering for these particular individuals. The general course prescribed for



boys is intended to motivate each one to continue his work and schooling. Boys have often left school to enter the work force because they had been discouraged out of academic courses which seemed to them irrelevant to life beyond school. So they enter work as soon as possible, but with little confidence that they possess an aptitude for further schooling. With this discouragement in mind, the Day Continuation College's governing board has insisted its institution should offer courses in which these poor students would gain a feeling of accomplishment. Determination of the best course for girls has proven a relatively easy matter; as will be seen, they mainly take subjects preparing them for home responsibilities. Classes related to their work at Cadbury's have been generally bypassed, for the plant's internal apprenticeship program has been training its own secretarial staffs.

### *Prescription by Sexes*

Ever since 1913, the year of Cadbury's initial involvement with the further education of its young workers, the problem of educating boys has been far more complex than establishing parallel accommodation for girls. Most of those in the general course have been labelled incapable of apprenticeship-level training, and as many have experienced a dispiriting block of failures during their earlier schooling. Through the years the school has attempted to discover what combination of offerings would remotivate such premature school leavers and at the same time equip them with essentials for complete living. Experience has come up with a startlingly American sounding answer. Today, during the initial year at the Continuation College, there is emphasis on the social studies which are intended to arm the boys and girls with skills essential to leading responsible lives at home, in the community, as well as in their industrial commitments. All are required to take English, physical education, mechanical drawing, physiology, and a course in industrial safety which includes experience in fighting fire.

Shop theory has become a required part of the first-year course for boys, because in the following year these worker-students will move into the school's workshops maintained for providing hobby and craft experience. Driver training and car mechanics have become obligatory courses for general students at this second-year level. From here students advance into a variety of actual contacts with life through field trips. Service facilities are visited so that students become acquainted with the fact that lawyers, marriage counselors, local officials, theatres, art galleries and better-class restaurants do exist. Recent innovations include organized trips to the Continent and exchanges of comparable workers in European countries.

Before Cadbury-affiliated students are permitted to leave the three-year course they undergo an advanced orientation to their firm's organization. Instructors in the course are members of the Cadbury management who lec-



ture and discuss such pertinent topics as opportunities for promotion within the plant, how to get ahead, and responsibilities of, as well as skills necessary for, high-level positions within the concern.

Although this three-year sequence, moving students from theoretical and social studies offerings through manual shop practice to exposure to useful samples of the community may seem to be an odd succession, it has been brought on within the Cadbury-affiliated school mainly from lack of adequate machines as well as shop space. Yet the established plan is proving to be one of the best motivators for students who leave school early and are caught up in the discouraging and boring routines of a factory job.

Girls who are comparable in intellectual ability to these boys are also involved in a three-year general course. Their required English, lasting through all three years, contains exercises and problems to facilitate their communicative experiences in life; how to participate in community work, speech, and considerable practice in literary expression, with some exercise in writing letters, are all included. Commendable models of good writing taken from English literature are studied. Like the boys, they take courses in physical education which includes games, social hygiene and work on gymnasium equipment. Subjects taken along the way include first aid, nursing, musical appreciation, some social studies, and arts and crafts. Homemaking courses include units on cooking, dressmaking, upholstery, budgeting, home repairs, and "mothercraft." In the final year each girl is required morning residence and is assigned duties of ménage in a house designed for simulating homemaking experiences.

Admittedly this chapter has not been a complete picture of the Cadbury-inspired Day Continuation College's operation; it is an overview of the unusual aspect of a massive firm's effort to complement the education of all its late-teen employees. It has taken years to refine a curriculum suited to a segment of adolescent population known to be difficult to motivate, but the enterprise is paying dividends by strengthening the morale of young factory workers. Also follow-up studies demonstrate that the educational experiment is old enough to have proven itself in putting essential finishing touches on total preparation for each worker's adult life.

### *Lessons for Us?*

In our own concern for school drop-outs and the concomitant problems of juvenile adjustment, there may well be answers suggested by one British chocolate manufacturer. By way of starting to penetrate to possible applications a few questions might be asked:

1) Are American manufacturers convinced of the values to themselves, or are they ready to assume responsibilities for their floundering and discouraged young workers?



2) Are American youths discouraged out of academic institutions for the same reasons and to the same degree that British youths leave school?

3) To what extent is the incomplete aspect of American drop-outs comparable to the incomplete phases of English youth education?

4) What is the specific course content of the Britisher's study at the so-called continuation college; does it offer suggestions for parallel undertakings in the United States?

Answers to these and to other questions would have to be pursued and assessed thoroughly before any large-scale effort could be undertaken to adapt one candy manufacturer's benefactions to our own larger industries.



CHAPTER III  
ENGLAND  
Union Efforts to Educate Workers<sup>o</sup>

One honored English educator has indicated with conviction that the Workers' Educational Association is one of three original and outstanding contributions of his country to educational advancement.<sup>1</sup> And a duet of reputable educational historians has labeled the same association as "certainly the most important agency for adult education in the past century, not only because of its numerical strength, but because it has modified our ideas about the nature and methods of adult education."<sup>2</sup>

What are the ingredients of the English success which has earned these superlatives, and how can such an undertaking be turned to some use in our own renewed effort to supplement the basic learning of American workers with an armament of extra-vocational education? It is the aim of this paper to review this enduring union activity in England, placing special emphasis on the instructional methods, the contents and the aims which would be most adaptable to the peculiarities of stateside organized labor.

The Workers' Educational Association grew from the British sensitivity to a broadened responsibility for education. Within the past half-century it has served as a model for mass education in several countries, and has demonstrated such unusual cooperation between universities and union-level educational demands that higher institutions have seen the merit in techniques utilized in the instruction of workers, adopting the method for their own undergraduate teaching.

W.E.A.

At the turn into the present century Albert Mansbridge, a junior civil servant, became determined to give workers an opportunity to share with university students the fruits of a liberal education. His experiences with evening classes, with university extension, and with practical training, organized by the cooperative movement for which he worked, were all fitted to-

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<sup>o</sup> Reprinted from the Winter, 1965 issue of *Adult Education*, XV, No. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Roger Armfelt, *The Structure of English Education*. London: Cohen and West, 1955, p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> S. J. Curtis and M. E. A. Boulwood, *An Introductory History of English Education Since 1800*. London: University Tutorial Press, 1960, pp. 316-322.



gether as pieces of his personal background, and Mansbridge came up with the proposal for workers, in leisure hours, to partake in a liberal education. Early critics maintained that while aiming for the moon he had hit a haystack, yet within a decade he had founded the Association to Promote the Higher Education of Workers which was supported equally by organized labor and by the most venerated universities. By 1906 there were eight evening sections in operation, extending to all corners of industrial England.

### *Tutorials*

At the end of the First World War the organization with the unwieldy title was renamed the Workers' Educational Association, and at about the same time New College of Oxford made a grant to cover expenses for trying a new classroom method. Already lectures from university professors had proven popular among workers, and small-group discussions were growing to unmanageable proportions. A compromise took form, so that the first hour of each session was lectured by the borrowed professor, and the second was to be spent in discussion. These "tutorials" were limited to thirty students, and from the start they contained a healthily heterogeneous variety of political and religious representation. Discussion hours went way beyond schedule, ending in the streets outside darkened classrooms, or in a rotation of worker homes. In fact, the professors found the lecture-discussion technique so effective that they moved it from the "peripatetic university" into their university classes to become the standard procedure for undergraduate university work. What is more important to adult educational enterprises in general is that the lecture-discussion process found quick favor and today has come to mark successful extension classes around the world.

The Workers' Educational Association continues to bring learning to the people, maintaining as high an academic standard as possible while recognizing that workers are not and cannot be considered full-time students. No promotions nor Latinized diplomas are offered; reward is in more abstract yet usable form, with improved understanding of life and society and a cultivation of definitely cultural (rather than vocational) interests in association with other socially minded citizens.<sup>3</sup>

### *Varied Offerings*

Professors used to expect the same from workers who had quit school at fifteen that they demanded of their highly qualified university students, but today the programs, or professors, have mellowed into more realistic requests of full-time employees who have put in a full day on the job before

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<sup>3</sup> W. O. Lester Smith, *Education in Great Britain*. London: Oxford University Press, 1958 (third edition), pp. 182-183.



attending evening school. For example, W. E. A. participants were once asked to submit as many written reports as day students, but the number has now been reduced to three or four a year. Professors once demanded that workers maintain the same caliber of work as full-time students, but they soon discovered these non-academic individuals, although serious, needed painstaking direction in how and what to study.

Furthermore, there are today variations in the degree of involvement in courses offered. The featured attraction of the W.E.A. offering is the three-year evening sequence of classes. The would-be two hour meetings are held twenty-four times during the academic year, with the initial lecture hour considerably more relaxed than would be true for a comparable hour of university lecture. The informality of this initial hour sets the stage for discussion questions and a presentation of personal student views, fortified by extensive reading assignments. Book boxes have become a recognized sign of this serious effort, and centrally located libraries have been opened for worker use.

Nor are all students able to handle the perpetual challenge of a three-year commitment. While some take a single year, others try their hands at terminal classes. Still others are involved in intensive weekend programs, working into specialties related to the theory of their occupational betterment; a few fall into advanced tutorial groups where the challenge approximates that encountered by students at the university.

### *Three-year Plan*

Earlier it has been mentioned that the main attraction of the W.E.A. offering is the three-year course. Refinements that have been tested and proven in this most successful offering are passed on to variations on the three-year plan. Experience has shown that the course should remain as nonvocational as possible, and this in itself sets the enterprise apart from comparable efforts on the European continent. Tutors find themselves adjusting to workers within the confines of their professional knowledge, so the classes stand in marked contrast to those offered at the more populous evening institutes of adult education.

While literature and philosophy have been the most perennial offerings, modern injections have been made in the area of social studies where economics has been meshed with courses in political theory and institutions. Since the war both psychology and biology have competed for students until today they are in top popularity. The English association has also injected courses in international understanding in line with universal efforts to bring broader comprehension to the working classes.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, Oxbridge

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<sup>4</sup> Asa Briggs, *Workers' Education for International Understanding, a Study Sponsored by the International Federation of Workers' Educational Associations*. Paris: Educational Clearing House, UNESCO, 1954.



scholar Sir Ernest Barker, who is sensitive to the effectiveness of the Association's efforts, has recently indicated that the sweep of offering of the matured W.E.A. menu "is almost that of the university." He concludes that the spirit of the enterprise also "has been the university spirit of disinterested study."<sup>5</sup>

### *Trends*

While reports between the two World Wars on the Workers' Educational Association emphasized the institution's history,<sup>6,7,8</sup> writings within the present decade have underlined both tendencies and prognoses. At the same time that some British educators have declared that standards in the W.E.A. schools have deteriorated, some Americans would say the same evidences signal a healthy change to the pragmatic and democratic. For example, Curtis and Boulwood say there has been a deterioration in quality of written work as more poor journalism and television influence has replaced Biblical phrases. The same historians mention a lack of originality in recent essays written by students, but this might be questioned in the face of objective evidence.

There seems to be a change in the type of student who is attracted to the W.E.A. courses. Earlier membership was characterized by the trade union member, whereas today clerks and semi-professional individuals bring to the classes a more representative sampling of any community. One detects the implication that workers used to be more literary and imaginative than would be the more heterogeneous, present class.

Peterson<sup>9</sup> reminds the reader, however, that in such enterprises, no matter where or when founded, "it is the manual laborer whom the educational idealist wishes to attract, but it is not the laborer who comes." He notes that from the start there have been more half-way educated, "black-coat" individuals coming to W.E.A. classes than there have been manual laborers. Increasingly housekeeping and nurse females are taking advantage of this form of educational challenge, and a recent tabulation shows that of the 103,000 students registered only 39,000 are bona fide W.E.A. members. The shift from a labor appeal to a semi-educated type of individual can be ex-

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<sup>5</sup> W. O. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

<sup>6</sup> J. F. and Winifred Horrabin, *Working-Class Education*. London: Labour Publishing Company, 1924.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas William Price, *The Story of the Workers' Educational Association from 1903 to 1924*. London: Labour Publishing Company, 1924.

<sup>8</sup> Margaret T. Hodgen, *Workers' Education in England and the United States*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1925.

<sup>9</sup> A. D. C. Peterson, *A Hundred Years of Education*. London: Gerald Duckworth and Company, 1960, p. 205.



plained in light of the increased effort, especially since England's 1944 Education Act, to give all youths a daytime secondary education.

Undoubtedly the Workers' Educational Association has lost some of its appeal because it runs in competition with publicly supported secondary schools. And while the equivalent of school board (Local Education Authority) funds may presently support much of the W.E.A. undertaking, it is anticipated that the same local authority funds will be channeled ultimately to secondary school use. One authority<sup>10</sup> contradicts this view in stating that Local Education Authorities have, through their political and bureaucratic involvement, removed much of the spirit of free discussion and original thinking which earlier characterized tutorial discussions in the Workers' Educational Association.

### *University Responsibilities*

From the time of the very first Workers' Educational Association classes which date from 1907, the British universities have been an inseparable part of the cooperative effort. At the inception the most venerated of these higher institutions of learning were solicited by the W.E.A.'s founder to provide outstanding instruction, so that university-level techniques, content and overall philosophy have been guaranteed. Although laborers and university professors alike have generously exercised their famous British quality of adaptability, to this day the respectability of Oxford and Cambridge have helped to convince the public of the significance and standard of this workers' enterprise.

Today, in the name of efficiency and as the movement has spread, the outlying universities have assumed regional responsibilities for administering the movement. From the time of their founding, the municipal (other than Oxbridge) universities have been tuned to the practical needs of the industrial communities which launched them, and as these outlying universities have been expanding, each has taken on more and more of the responsibility of establishing W.E.A. offices on their own campuses and in all corners of Great Britain. Since the war universities have established Extra-Mural Departments or Delegacies which organize and administer evening classes and occasionally day programs for working adults.

### *University of Nottingham*

During the 1962-63 academic year the writer served as visiting professor at the University of Nottingham, one of the institutions which has been cited for taking the lead in administering a regional W.E.A. endeavor.<sup>11</sup> His

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<sup>10</sup> J. F. C. Harrison, "The W.E.A. in the Welfare State," Chapter I in S. G. Raybould (ed.) *Trends in English Adult Education*. London: Heinemann, 1957, p. 7.

<sup>11</sup> Curtis and Boulwood, *op. cit.*, p. 321.



work was with the Department of Education of the University, and some of his closest associates within the Department served as council members of the Delegacy for Extra-Mural Studies, the present body responsible for regional W.E.A. operations. Furthermore, the East Midlands regional office of the Delegacy was situated close at hand to the visiting professor. So a brief, first-hand report on Nottingham as a sample effort is selected to provide some insight, especially into the administrative aspects of the present-day Workers' Educational Association.

The Delegacy for Extra-Mural Studies at the University of Nottingham is responsible for providing adult education courses throughout the four eastern counties of the industrial Midlands. The committee most directly responsible for shaping the W.E.A. offerings has the lengthy title—The East Midland District Council of the Workers' Educational Association. This body is far more compact than the title, for it comprises nine individuals who represent the area's worker unions, and the Local Education Authorities which contribute funds for the support of the academic program and mesh the effort with public school offerings. Represented also are some of the professors who actually conduct the lectures and tutorial sessions.

Subjects embraced by the extra-mural program in the East Midlands area generally include the liberal arts, and the 1963-64 Calendar of the University indicates that the well-rounded offering lists such academic areas as History, International Relations, Economics, Sociology, Political Theory, Government, Education, Law, Philosophy, Religious Studies, Literature and Drama, Music, Art and Architecture, the Biological and Physical Sciences, Geography, Geology, and Local Studies.

The Nottingham effort, which has been publicized for its pioneering in post-war developments, includes the University Tutorial Classes which involve evening students for three years, Sessional Classes which take a single academic year to complete, Shorter Courses, covering six to a dozen meetings, and the Summer School and Brief Residential courses. Also under the W.E.A. and the Delegacy in general, special courses are provided for members of particular groups of a specialist or even a professional character.

### *Conclusion Through Questions*

It must be kept in mind that the effectiveness of the British undertaking has been based in close-knit cooperation between organized labor, the independent universities, and those responsible for local public education. Answers to the following questions might help us to determine to what extent this British success should be adapted to stateside liberal education of our labor force.

(1) It would seem desirable for universities to throw their facilities behind union efforts to help workers become further educated. But in a so-



ciety still more conscious of class distinctions than our own, are the university faculty, used to lecturing to the cream of British intellect, the right ones to be lecturing to early school-leavers with a non-academic background?

(2) If this works, on what criteria are faculty selected for such a task? The writer's impression while in England was that generally the younger faculty "volunteers" were expected to do this type of extra-curricular work.

(3) What are details of content for such union courses? Exactly what subject matter will elicit extended discussion from a batch of physically tired evening students? Do students base discussions thoughtfully on assigned readings (as they do at the British universities), or are "discussions" subjectively off the tops of heads?

(4) With all young teenagers now privileged to partake in a secondary education of sorts, how does the W.E.A. effort complement the work of the public schools?

(5) What are the most salable elements of the W.E.A. enterprise for American adaptation? Are our own unions comparably organized and interested in this nonvocational type of education for its members? Should they be?

Using the British experience as a model, what could American unions and universities together do to further the liberal education of workers so they will have a better understanding and appreciation of the community, country, and world in which they live?



CHAPTER IV  
ENGLAND  
The Open University

*Introduction and Cursory History*

On January first 1971 the "doors" of Britain's newest university were flung open. It had already been declared one of the few educational innovations of the century,<sup>1</sup> for its course work is presented by the latest media and assignments are linked to professors by mail, with seminars and tutoring sprinkled discretely.

The idea of an "open" university, appealing to the overwhelming majority of adult Britishers who never had a go at any form of secondary education, to say nothing of higher education, was a natural for a socialist-labor government to espouse. Even though England's Conservatives were back in the political saddle at the moment the university opened, it had been Laborite Harold Wilson who first mentioned the idea of the Open University in a 1964 election speech.

*How Is It "Open?"*

Lord Crowther, Chancellor of the Open University, spent much of his inaugural address on reviewing in what ways his university-to-be-launched would be "open."<sup>2</sup> First of all and most obviously, it was to be available to *people*, with priority given to those who had never had a chance at university work. Basically this meant a prime appeal to the vast body of British laborers who had left formal instruction upon attainment of school-leaving age. Secondly, Crowther indicated it was to be open as to locus, with no cloistered environment to be entered before the nocturnal gates closed; indeed there would be no formal campus. Thirdly, there would be no restrictions on who might be exposed to the university, even though people had not formally registered they could bask in professional erudition, for the main channel of dispatch was to be airborne. Crowther indicated it would be a part of the communications revolution, as the country's best instructors would address their vast class by radio or television. Fourthly, the newly

<sup>1</sup> *London Times Educational Supplement*, January 1, 1971, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Extracted from Chancellor Crowther's inaugural address, pp. 12-13 in *The Open University—Prospectus 1972*.



inaugurated Chancellor indicated that his university was to be patent in ideas—"not just a pot of knowledge, but a fire to be set alight."

### *Administration*

The most frequently convened administrative body of the Open University is its University Council. As executive governing body it is answerable to the overall conduct of all University affairs, yet it finds itself mainly involved in planning the finances of the institution. The Council's charter states that its responsibilities are broadly to advance the interests of the University, to maintain its efficiency, to encourage teaching, to help in its pursuit of learning and to prosecute research therein.

The Council comprises delegates from the academic staff, and as soon as the student body has been stabilized, will include ambassadors from the learners. Also represented are varied higher and further educational institutions.<sup>3</sup> Inasmuch as the BBC is heavily involved in media for putting across lesson materials, it is represented on the main gubernatorial Council. Noneducators serving are prominent citizens who have proven themselves as competent administrators who are lending their managerial expertise to the neophyte operation.

Responsibility for course development and other instructional matters has been assigned to the University's *Senate*. Delegates include both full- and part-time faculty members, tutors and the educational technologists who are accountable for development of methods for transmitting materials to be learned. The Senate has principal control over four central aspects of the University: its teaching, its research, its examinations and its granting of degrees.

### *Administrative Headquarters*

The University's method is so open that there is no physical campus for its total operation. However, as with so many new government installations in England today, the Open University has inherited an estate in a pastoral area in Buckinghamshire, to the northwest of London. There, on a seventy acre site, personnel in the headquarters offices are responsible for overseeing the ubiquitous establishment. Radio and television programs are planned in detail, and these are coordinated with locally held tutorials, and with all outlying instructional resources such as libraries and meeting places.

Also at this location, called Milton-Keynes, are the permanent writers for manuals, whether they be for television lecturers, for tutors, or for the critical syllabi for the correspondence aspects. Correcting clerks are assembled here, and their main responsibility is to check lessons mailed in by

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<sup>3</sup> Further education means other than higher, for adults.



students, although the operation is assuming initiative in computerizing lessons and answers. All in all the administration for the anticipated student body must be large, and Milton-Keynes is already assuming the proportions of a new city. Indeed, the population of the created city numbered 120 academicians and almost twice as many supporting technicians and administrators in the late fall of 1970 and before the courses had gotten under way.<sup>4</sup>

A body of researchers has been assigned the ongoing job of analyzing the objectives of each course as well as the effectiveness of methods employed.<sup>5</sup> This group which has been labelled the Institute of Educational Technology also devises exercises which will help each student to reach his own conclusions and become less dependent on the established machinery of a university's academic involvements. Thus the Institute designs self-assessment tests for the students, and, within a certain framework, progress is programmed according to a student's energy and capacity. The computer and other modern inventions are employed for scoring examinations and assessing the merits and advancement of each student. Thus the Institute's staff performs a central function and its offices are permanently established at the new administrative city.

#### *Components of a Course*

The total package for any course comprises a variety of palpable as well as intangible materials. Basic to the course, and devised to tie its varied elements together, is the mailed correspondence package. Each lesson calls for an assignment to be done by the student who then posts it to Milton-Keynes where either the permanent academic staff lucubrates over it or where computers run them through. Student manuals also include an assortment of self-appraising devices so the student can gain some understanding of how he is progressing.

The correspondence assemblage is intended to be as self-sufficient as possible. Thus many of the required reading materials for each student are included in the mailed packet. Films or slides with appropriate projectors are included where necessary, records with turntables are sent, and any paraphernalia for home experiments are meticulously cartoned and transmitted to each student from the headquarters offices of the operation. In short, there is no assumption that any student might already possess such amenities, and no excuse can be offered by students that they were unable to acquire essential tools for the course.

A second element of the lessons, only slightly less essential than the correspondence bundle, is the programmed series of radio and television broad-

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<sup>4</sup> F. J. Olsen, "The Open University," *Education News* (Australia) XII, 1971, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> *The Open University—Prospectus 1972*, pp. 17-18.



casts. Lest any individual enrollee be deprived of a course because he does not own these electronic receivers, centers have been established where radio and TV are available for auditing or viewing each transmission. Radio is broadcast two evenings a week, and television showings are accorded equal time. Evening programs are repeated the following Sunday for any listener who missed his mid-week class session. Whether by radio or television diffusion, each foundation course is broadcast one evening a week, plus the Sunday repeat; upper-level courses are broadcast less frequently.

Television and radio emanations use selected university lecturers, and the latest media in the form of models and mock-ups and tapes from the Milton-Keynes planning studios are utilized. For the 1971 session, broadcasts started on January 3rd, and the final transmission for this year's courses will issue from the BBC studios on October 31st.

Enrollees commit themselves to attendance at certain weekend sessions together at centralized and nearby locations. However, an even stronger and more significant commitment is made at the time of registration for the foundation course, for a summer session lasting one week, which must be attended as part of the middle portion of the year's work. Correspondence syllabi as well as broadcast aspects of the course are built around this essential feature, attendance for which becomes obligatory unless a well fortified excuse is offered. There is a selection of dates as well as places for this summer commitment, for weeklong sessions in 1971 are operated throughout July, August and September; eight locales have been named for these seminars during the first summer of operation.

A fourth component for each course is the tutorial and counseling facility. Students must arrange to visit periodically with the assigned tutor either on week-ends or on some weekday evening. The tutorial is a tried and proven strength of the British system of higher education. The same centers provide counseling for each student. This additional service is available as often as every fortnight to each registered student, and like other Open University services, concentrates its available hours on evenings during the week and on Sundays. Students may use the counseling service for advice on bettering their study skills, yet its central function is to assist the student in making future course selections.

In addition, library facilities are being established to complement any reading materials which accompany the correspondence bundle. Readings are classified as "set books" or as "recommended for background." The former are required for the course and are often included in course materials. The latter are contained in each of the twelve established centers that are geographically situated within commuting distance of each student.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> F. J. Olsen, *op. cit.*, p. 5.



It is expected that the twelve centers will eventually form study groups where readings or techniques of self-application to course content may be discussed with knowledgeable leaders. Such circles for communal study, with especially trained leaders, have been effective in Sweden, and whether or not the English, in contemplating this aspect of their experimental university, have looked into the Swedish experience is conjectural.<sup>7</sup>

An article in the *London Times*<sup>8</sup> which started off the first academic year reminds its readers that the Open University is a pioneering, serious attempt to combine the use of the latest electronic media with time honored teaching strengths of the British system. Here for the first time, the cream from the air waves is being meshed with personal tutorial supervision plus the cozily social courses at residential centers.

### *Credits, Examinations and the School Year*

The very idea of an accumulation of university credits for course work has not been an established pattern of English universities nor their continental counterparts. Today while we in the United States may seek alternatives for course grades, Europeans look to us for devices to facilitate transfer of students between universities. Many of those applying for admission to the Open University already hold diplomas from institutes or colleges offering less-than-university recognition.

Each completed course at the new university yields a single credit, and for this a grade must be assigned. Half credits for course work may be gained by prescribed lessons at half pace, aired and submitted every other week.

### *Student Costs*

One feature, deliberately designed to attract the laborer to this novel university, has been the instructional fee for the student. It amounts to approximately a third of the usual cost for university attendance in England. Even then, the burden of cost comes gradually to the applicant, for the provisional application fee, submitted when the student applies for admission, is ten pounds (\$24). Students may take as many as two foundation courses the first year, and each costs ten pounds in addition to the application cost. Fee for repeating any fundamental course is ten pounds. The summer session, which is one of the few social amenities of the university and is conducted at various centralized sites across the realm, includes board, room and tuition and costs the student 25 pounds (\$60).

Provision of courses beyond the basic year become more expensive as

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<sup>7</sup> See Chapter XV, "Study Circles," in this publication.

<sup>8</sup> *London Times Educational Supplement*, January 1, 1971, p. 1.



laboratories and libraries grow in importance and mailed materials that accompany the correspondence lessons become more intricate. Thus an offering at the second level costs 20 pounds (\$48). In addition there are breakage deposits for certain courses such as those in science. This deposit amounts to ten pounds. A student who has been exposed to broadcasts but has not formally registered may take the final examination upon submitting a fee of 20 pounds. As with other facets of education in Britain, there are grants available from the central government but via the Local Education Authorities. However, these are not available to active workers, but are reserved only for students committed to this schooling as a full-time effort.

In the United States we are in a position to understand whatever fee philosophy exists in this English Open University. The mature student who must pay for his instruction is better motivated and more likely to stick with his course than the student who is provided tuition by his government. The English student has grown accustomed to easily acquired grants from the government; as in so many other ways, the Open University is thus doing something that is foreign to the usual pattern for those involved in higher education.

English universities have not been accustomed to accept transfers from other institutions. However, another way in which this university is open is in its encouragement for those who have not done well in one university, or who wish to transfer, to do so. Thus in several ways the Open University is built around the idea of providing a second chance to people who earlier, and often at a tender age, were not motivated to do their best. Despite the expensive involvements in new buildings at Milton-Keynes, the Open University is still an experiment. Like its students themselves, it is being given a chance which, under prior times or previous governments, would not have fitted the severe pattern for higher education.

### *Getting Ready for School*

Throughout the process of gathering students for admission to the Open University an effort has been made to minimize the student's trauma as he returns to—or perhaps enters for the first time—serious study. The University's *Prospectus* advises a certain preparation for this return.<sup>9</sup> It suggests that general courses in further education would help the student gain a running start into higher studies. These courses have been popularly offered for a number of years as a daytime or afterwork amenity of county seats across England. The same *Prospectus* also notes that courses in subjects related to the applicant's interests or talents might be taken before tasting the Open University. Further, the administration of the University sends relevant reading lists upon application from any aspiring student. Because the

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<sup>9</sup> *The Open University—Prospectus 1972*, p. 24.



new and often experimental media of the courses might be totally unfamiliar to the student, it is urged that courses already employing these media might be undertaken. In addition any hesitant student receives, upon application, a realistic guide on how to study.

Anyone contemplating entering the portals of the Open University cannot help but be impressed by the mature seriousness of the commitment. Inasmuch as entry is open to almost everyone interested, the institution must start immediately to weed out those incapable of assuming the challenge. Thus instructions may be intended to reduce the trauma of instant study, yet those who are scared away by these instructions may well be the ones who would be discouraged out in the initial weeks of dedication to the wearing, nocturnal tasks involved.

Thus at one point in the admissions process the student is again asked to appraise his situation with three questions. He asks himself if he has adequate *motivation* and *desire* to undergo the continuing pledge. A second question: Will you have the *time* to study, is followed with the reminder that it will take the student ten hours a week of carefully budgeted time, to be scheduled beyond his full day of working hours. There is a proper assumption that the student has either never truly studied in his life or has forgotten some of the essential amenities of study as the third question is posed: Do you have a *place* for study? In such a locus there should be few distractions; the spot should be honored as a study center and not as an alluring corner where the family may congregate.

As a final self-check to students registered for entrance at the Open University's doors, the *Times Educational Supplement* carried a helpful article in its mid-December issue, two weeks before the first broadcast.<sup>10</sup> Such introverted examining as it offered might be considered a sample of the type of self-appraisal questions which the student would face throughout his work and with the various materials of his course. The three sobering questions are simple and direct, but may perhaps presuppose too much knowledge on the part of the student. The first is double-barreled: Are you *prepared to tackle* the course and to *benefit from success*? The second demands some insights from students into the nature of his present employment: Does your *occupational group need* an improved educational standard? The third inquiry is based on strengths and possible loopholes in the neophyte University, and could indicate how far the student had become acquainted with its available personnel: Can the Open University *provide tutorial help* in your desired area?

#### *Analyses of Applicants*

Much of the Open University's history is reflected in its program of stu-

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<sup>10</sup> *London Times Educational Supplement*, December 18, 1970, p. 5.



dent admissions. Before the initial broadcast which heralded the start of 1971, registering students was the most visible part of the institution's operation. Once the curriculum was established, the publicity, which appeared extensively through two years prior to the start of courses, was centered on the registering of students for their anticipated courses.

The Open University idea was constructed around the hope that the laboring classes would be most stimulated to apply for entrance, thus giving them a first chance at higher education, no matter how slight a formal preparation they had undergone. Thus results of the analysis of applicants made seven months before the January opening came as a shock to the planners and the public alike.<sup>11</sup> It appeared at that time that laborers—the very individuals that were expected to apply—were shying away from interest in the institution devised especially for them. Of the twenty-five thousand applications surveyed at that time, ten thousand were from teachers, three thousand from professional workers, one-tenth from housewives, and sixteen hundred from administrators and managers, with about as many from scientists and engineers. Only 601 workers had registered interest.

Planners recognized that many of the applicants they wanted might be living in the heavily industrialized midlands. Thus another surprise emerged in a geographic analysis conducted at Milton-Keynes in August 1970. The area within commuting distance of London, mainly to the south of that capital, had demonstrated most interest in entering the Open University.<sup>12</sup> Admissions officers could hardly be accused of exercising bias toward that area, for it had been the acceptance policy from the start to accommodate students in the order of application. Indeed, only two percent of all applicants had been declared unsuitable for acceptance.

An instant student body of 25,000 admissions does not appear to be a restricted one, yet it had been decided to admit only the first twenty-five thousand "qualified" applicants. Five months before the University started, 40,000 had applied, and lists for all applicants were kept. Planners anticipated and were braced for a 20 percent withdrawal of students even before the University would get under way. The figure was determined from experience with part-time students applying for studies in the past. Sure enough, a week before Christmas in 1970, approximately a fifth of the enrollees had been dropped, and the lengthy list of interested individuals had been tapped.<sup>13</sup> Many others dropped over the year-terminating holidays, and when the University actually got under way, it was expected there

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, May 22, 1970, p. 6.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, August 8, 1970, p. 5.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, December 18, 1970, p. 5.



would be further attrition of an additional fifth of the registrants who would drop from the rolls by the end of March 1971.

### *Patent Curriculum*

One of the more obvious ways in which the new University door is ajar, especially by contrast to more traditional English universities, is in the matter of curricular offerings. Most undergraduates in England pursue two specialties throughout their university years. The Open University, by contrast, has a broad curriculum with a multitude of electives available. As in the case of the several universities rising during the 1960's, the courses are multidisciplinary with subject matter crossing the usually severe content lines. For example, here a combination of subjects in the sciences and the arts would not only be available to students but planners and instructors would be prodded to experiment in a variety of areas that might seem incompatible.

Although taking courses across disciplinary lines is encouraged as part of the University's overt nature, restrictions have had to be enforced as to the number of applicants any particular program can at first hold. Thus mathematics and sciences can accept only seven thousand students apiece, whereas the arts and social studies can each contain eight thousand. By early August 1970, applicants for admission had favored the social sciences and arts two-to-one over the math and science preferences.<sup>14</sup>

### *Course Levels*

Ultimately the Open University will grow into four distinct levels of course offerings. The foundation or first level is broad, with an array of courses in the humanities (arts), mathematics, sciences, technology—the theme of which is the manmade world—and the social studies which stress understanding society. Educational studies are not introduced until students have been advanced in level. One or two courses are entered at this fundamentals level, for it must be remembered that the individual applying for admission to the Open University usually has a full-time job and that most cannot undergo more than two evening courses a week.

The most apparent feature of the second level is that course opportunities and electives fan out into an open array of selections. Course names also become more specific. For example, under the Humanities umbrella a student moves from his fundamental introductory course into either Renaissance and Reformation or The Age of Revolutions. One more generalized second-level course, tailored to attract students from at least two disciplines, is called Science and the Rise of Technology since 1800.

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, August 8, 1970, p. 5.



Social Studies course opportunities expand to six, and students for the first time are allowed to enter educational studies which offer a choice of three introductory courses in educational philosophy or psychology. At this level, two courses are available in mathematics, both more interdisciplinary than purebred. Science—an encompassing term to start with—moves at second level into three selections in physiology, as many in chemistry, and four in geology. It is expected that courses in Design Methods and Integrative Studies will be broadly appealing to students from all disciplines.

Throughout the program there is a built-in pattern to keep courses attractive so that part-time students, who with good reason have a reputation for dropping out, will be lured to ever higher goals. Thus offerings at the third and fourth levels grow even richer so that a reward for staying with the school is catering specifically to a student's needs, talents or interests. Thus the arts program moves to six subjects, while educational studies grow more specific, opening administration as a possible area. Mathematics expands to five offerings, with as many in technology. The social sciences spread to nine selections and the science lines add physics while each broadens and appends definition to its offering.

While there seems to be some move in the United States to abandon course credits for alternate means of assessing student progress, the Open University is doing something quite un-British: assigning course credits for completions. A single credit is issued for one course pursued for one academic year of thirty-six weeks; a few courses, meeting every other week, are assigned one-half credits.

The only basic degree planned for the present is the B.A., and this is reward for undergoing two basic courses plus four at upper levels.<sup>15</sup> Ultimately other degrees offered will be the Bachelor, Masters and Doctorate—all in Philosophy. These upper degrees will be distinguished by research and specialized study in depth in the selected field of competency.

As in traditional universities in England, the honors program will demand more extensive work from the student than will the ordinary degree program. The ordinary degree could be gained in three years, with six courses taken, whereas the honors degree will take an additional two credits, involving another year of study.

### *Labor Appeal Predominates*

The new University's built-in attractions to the laboring classes are especially pronounced and warrant highlighting here by way of concluding remarks. The preparation of registrants is thorough. Initiation is replete with cautions as to what's ahead, and just as plentiful are advantages gained

<sup>15</sup> *The Open University—Prospectus 1972*, p. 38.



by attending and completing courses and achieving the degree.

From its inception it has advertised its second-chance qualities. Employment of many of today's media started as devices to put across learning to the average man. For example, extensive use of comparable media was originally developed for use on G.I.'s. The very novelty (in England) of offering credit for courses, and facile transfer of credits and diplomas from other institutions, is heartening to the man who has tried once but now wants a go at a university degree. There are few loop-holes in this appeal to the average worker.

While the Open University's curriculum would appear to be as challenging as that of any other English university, the overt aspects of it, with interdisciplinary studies and an abundance of aids, are designed to interest, retain and advance the worker who has already perspired through a day's toil before "attending" class.

The enterprise is less a shock to Englishmen than it might at first appear. Through its 1944 Education Act, the country assumed much of the European initiative in assuring that *all* youths would be involved in a relevant secondary education. Later England took the initiative, copied by several European nations, in creating a single, comprehensive school to contain all youths. It now shifts this democratic concern to the adult level, where it, of all European countries, has insisted that adults in general *can* be taught by selected university professors, while continental countries at the same time, have been inclined to resist the idea.<sup>16</sup>

It must be kept in mind, however, that this particular try at popularized higher education for mature adults is experimental. Here there is no enormous investment in a new campus; already established television facilities are used, and whatever is invested and learned in the way of developing broadcast media can be applied to improved television, whatever happens to the educational experiment.

Indeed, the institution as well as the students enrolled are being given a fair chance. It will take a form of patience and stick-to-itiveness for which the English made themselves famous during the bombings of London to test the endurance of both the promoters and the registrants involved in the operation. Its management has already faced incredible obstacles in launching its Open University. One example would be the national mail strike which arrested all correspondence aspects of the operation just as it was getting under way. The students themselves are also being tested, incessantly, on their ability to stick with something they have undertaken.

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<sup>16</sup> An all European conference on adult education, conducted in Copenhagen in 1955, indicated that experience with university professors in teaching non-university students was not feasible; the British persisted in contradicting this opinion and had their own experience to back it up. See Chapter III in this publication.



This is no crash experiment; it has been well thought through. If it fails, perpetual critics of change will sound off with the familiar "if you had just listened to me . . . I told you so!" If it succeeds, it will add to the growing evidence that the universities of England have long since been holding the nation's full utilization of manpower in abeyance, preventing masses of qualified individuals as well as the country's economy in general from the full benefits to be derived from higher education.



## CHAPTER V

### USSR

#### Is There a Lesson for Us in Soviet Mass Education?\*

##### *Introduction*

An informal opinion poll was taken among the seventy-odd comparative educators as they left the Soviet Union in the autumn of 1958. The educators returning Stateside declared that the impact of Soviet educational practices on the world was not growing by comparison to its impression during the previous decade. Indeed, they said, it might even be diminishing.<sup>1</sup>

This was a disarming statement to be uttered from responsible lips less than a year after some curious button on Sputnik had released educational panic over America. Yet subsequent appraisals have indicated that a lot of alarm was unfounded. As a sample, Dr. Lux of the University of Illinois has submitted one readable and convincing response on this confusion.<sup>2,3,4</sup> There remain, however, lessons to be learned and Soviet enterprises to be studied with the idea of bettering certain facets of our own education. One such potential lesson has been selected for treatment in the article at hand. Here is a review of the development of machinery for implementing mass adult education in the Soviet Union, together with a consideration of the management of two adult-oriented problems pertinent to all developed countries: vocational-technical training, and the education of dropouts.

##### *Materialistic Convertibility*

The Ilyushin plane which took that party of comparative educators out of the Soviet Union looked more ready for war than to carry a batch of inquisitive educators. The interior was as austere as that of a military plane,

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\*Reprinted from the November 1964 issue of *Adult Leadership*.

<sup>1</sup> Bereday, George Z. F., et al. (eds.) *The Changing Soviet School*. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1960, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> Lux, D. G., "The Gravest Threat of Soviet Education," *Industrial Arts and Vocational Education*. 51:14-15 plus (February 1962).

<sup>3</sup> McConnell, G., "Shall Soviet Practices Govern Changes in American Schools?" *Educational Administration and Supervision*. 45:141-6 (May 1959), p. 142.

<sup>4</sup> King, E. A., "Features of Russian Education We Might Emulate," *The Clearing House*. 38:365-7 (February 1964), pp. 365-6.



and the bombardier's dome was built in under the cockpit. The monolithic Soviet economy had demanded that commercial planes be convertible for military use. Skyscrapers in Moscow look startlingly alike and are built on the same overall plan, complete with precast gingerbread, and schools, from floors to syllabi, are poured in common moulds.

It is in this same atmosphere of centralized economy that the pattern for mass education has evolved. The same vehicles used to spread literacy forty years ago have been retreaded and converted to disseminate today's more immediate educational needs. It is possible that we might borrow such machinery in our own efforts to overcome some of our problems in educating adults—problems which we often possess in common with the Soviet Union.

Primary political aims of education in the Soviet Union have remained quite static, and are long-termed projections: Schools are to be utilized as instruments for indoctrination in the essentials of Communism and to train the masses of people to be able to participate in the industrial development of the nation. It is the subsidiary aims which have been altered according to immediate demands. For example, the immediate need after the 1917 series of revolutions was to eliminate illiteracy. Lenin declared that without literacy there can be no politics, and in 1919 he required that all illiterates between the ages of eight and fifty should learn to read and write.

By 1920 efforts were being made to coordinate the plan, for there were difficulties inherent in the two hundred languages, as well as the archaic communication system for disseminating educational demands. Problems persisted into 1927, when a special Congress for considering the problem was formed, and the battle cry which emerged was *doloi negramotnost!* (liquidate illiteracy!) In 1928 one plank of the first Five Year Plan reiterated this need. Generally the immediate goal had been achieved by the mid-thirties. To this day the Soviet problem of illiteracy has not been completely solved. They, like we, were embarrassed at the number of illiterates in their military draft. Our own Office of Education has recently published an impressive bibliography of materials for teaching our own adults deficient in the Three R's.<sup>5</sup>

### *Techniques Established*

Methods devised by the Soviets in their early days may well contain lessons for us today, for they have been unquestionably effective in reducing illiteracy and in bringing political propaganda before the masses. As the program became fully organized, materials for teaching were brought to the people in an imaginative variety of ways. Kiosks were established on

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<sup>5</sup> Ward, Betty A., *Literacy and Basic Education for Adults*. Bulletin 1961, No. 19. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1961.



street corners and in parks, and a special, portable variety found its way into collective farms.<sup>5</sup> To complement the program of literacy an intriguing variety of extra-work courses and adult educational centers was created with determined efficiency and speed. The machinery for mass education established in the days of relative illiteracy has remained as effective through subsequent retooling as the subsidiary goals have changed; kiosks are still there, although used on the literate masses, and adult education programs have been refined and adapted. Even the son, coming home from school to teach the father, is a persistent sight,<sup>6</sup> although its true value in a day when there is faith in the process of teaching teachers to teach might well be questioned by professional educators.

### *Goals Change*

There has been a temporal overlap of secondary goals, to such an extent that it has not been easy to ascertain just where one ended and the other began. Thus while illiteracy lingered, indoctrination in Communist morality emerged as supremely important. The goal had lurked in the shadows during the days of *doloi negramotnost*, but once Stalin came to power and a degree of literacy could be assumed, "education" in Communist morality came to the front. For years the Soviets have naively maintained that post-ing mottoes and memorizing credos have made people devotees to their cause. So it was under Stalin that twenty items were read and memorized by all youths—items which sound startlingly like our mouthed Boy Scout oath. Some concerned promptness, some diligence, and others were involved with truthfulness; one concerned respect for elders. Whatever they proclaimed, they were marked with the period of Soviet isolationism and have come down to us as part of the Stalin heritage.<sup>7,8</sup>

A clearer and more elaborate replacement of the literacy goal has been vocational-technical, a program which has embraced all levels of individuals. Those in lowly occupations as well as those of medium level were to be upgraded in skills, and thoroughly trained individuals, such as engineers, were also to be improved or retrained in their occupations.<sup>9,10,11</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>For a first-hand report on such rural education dispensed from a peripatetic kiosk see the author's letter from a Russian school girl, pp. 54-55 in *Students Speak—Around the World*.

<sup>6</sup>Polukhin, Pyotr, "Extra-mural Courses in Russia," *Times Educational Supplement* (April 21, 1961), p. 764.

<sup>7</sup>Counts, George S., *I Want to Be Like Stalin*, N.Y.: John Day, 1947, p. 179.

<sup>8</sup>Soviet People's Commissars of the R.S.F.S.R., "Rules for School Children," *Sovietskaia Pedagogika* (October 1943), p. 1.

<sup>9</sup>Ingram, Sydney B., "Continuing Education of Engineers and Technicians Employed in Soviet Industry," Chapter IV in *The Training, Placement and Utilization of Engineers*



Beyond the facilities already established for implementing this conversion in the mass-education program, an ubiquitous outlay of technical schools for adults was established and millions of workers found themselves in on-the-job or extra-job training. Somewhat prematurely Stalin declared in 1935 that the elementary stage of technical education had been surmounted. If the vocational stress was ever buried, it was quickly disinterred on the onset of the Second World War as special factory skills were urgently needed.

#### *Action on Mass Drop-Outs*

It was during the War that another significant shift took place—that of educating the masses in further years of general education. To this day the effort to educate all through the equivalent of a total secondary education persists. In 1943 new types of schools were created to help bring about this goal.

The day school, for those between fourteen and twenty-five, was to be fitted neatly into the work week and was to duplicate the efforts of the upper, general education years of public secondary education.

This school for working youths was usually sponsored by industries, and immediately after the War it was adjusted to serve the needs of vast numbers of returning veterans. Since the bulge of veterans has diminished the school has been more and more closely identified as catering to those of less than college caliber who, nonetheless, continue to receive there a standard course for terminal years in the secondary school.

The program for this particular sort of part-time education runs through two academic semesters, and including the four weeks for examinations it embraces about ten months. They have become so popular that the consultation periods set aside for each student have turned into further lectures. The curriculum omits physical education, but otherwise holds to the established program of math-science, of Russian language and literature, civics, geography and a foreign language. Students who have fulfilled requirements of this school are nominally entitled to compete for university entrance, yet at the same time one report from our Office of Education<sup>12</sup> indicates that approximately every fourth student is taking elementary courses in the Three R's.

#### *The Postman Delivers*

Correspondence schools, based on outstanding successes in Scandinavian

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*and Technicians in the Soviet Union*. N.Y.: The Engineers Joint Council, 1961, pp. 104-5.

<sup>10</sup> Korol, Alexander, *Soviet Education for Science and Technology*. N.Y.: Wiley, 1957.

<sup>11</sup> Smith, O. J. M., "Technical Education in Russia," *Science Education*. 48:256-61 (April 1964), p. 258.

<sup>12</sup> Office of Education, *Education in the U.S.S.R. Bulletin* 1957, No. 14. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1957, p. 7.



countries at distributing education to the rural population, have become important as communications have improved in outlying areas since the War. The offices for administering these courses are usually in large, republic capitals, but they are mainly intended for adults beyond fifteen years of age who live in inaccessible areas, especially in the Siberian hinterlands.

The curriculum is principally at the secondary level and is part of the program to bring as many as possible through the equivalent of the complete secondary school (eleven years). An admitted weakness in this program lies in the fact that teachers for these courses are often regular secondary instructors who take on correspondence responsibilities as extra duties.

If more than forty students in one place are taking one of these mail order courses they are encouraged to band together into a study circle to share ideas brought to their attention by postal delivery. The study circle correlated with the mails has found success in Sweden,<sup>9</sup> and it is from that country that the Soviets have built mass correspondence study into cozy evening seminars.

### *Some Programs Sink*

There is nothing magically successful about all further educational undertakings in the Soviet Union. One type of school which is likely dying on its own pedagogical vine is the so-called evening school for rural youths. Like a number of other mass education endeavors it started in 1944. From its inception it has been a relatively informal institution, meeting during the slack farming period in small discussion groups, and in about five sessions a week. Originally it appealed to youths who had not finished compulsory (seven school) years, but in 1950 it extended its program to attract country youths bent on finishing secondary education.

This effort to gain the interest of youths has been somewhat frantic, however, for it has not proven to be a popular school. Also its administrative enigmas persist. They are not up to the standard of regular day schools, and rubles somehow are not allotted for these institutions, nor are teachers readily found.<sup>13</sup> School officials continue to declare that the education of rural youths is a never-ending problem; it was the summer of 1960 that the Deputy Minister of Education for the R.S.F.S.R., Alexsei Markushevich, reiterated to visiting educators from America that the Soviets are firmly dedicated to the ideal of a complete secondary education for all youths, but that

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<sup>9</sup>See the author's article, "Swedish Study Circles," in *Adult Education*, Spring 1964, pp. 146-150.

<sup>13</sup>International Bureau of Education & UNESCO. *International Yearbook of Education*. Geneva: The Bureau, 1962, pp. 398-404.



the material conditions to achieve this end are not as yet available.<sup>14</sup>

### *Considered Decisions*

One might well ask if there is any responsible group which has undertaken to experiment with types and methods and contents of such novel enterprises. Does Khrushchev or some other high official of the Communist Party's Central Committee make an off-the-cuff pronouncement which automatically initiates extension endeavors? If such pronouncements are made they must be legislated by the Council of Ministers of the Supreme Soviet, and this body cannot act until new educational ideas have been run through research and approved by a competent group of educators called the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences. One of the ten departments within this Academy is labelled the Institute of Evening Correspondence Courses for Working Youths. It labors to suggest means by which further education can be implemented and the Academy's complex of experimental schools, centered in the Moscow area, has done much to prove or disprove the effectiveness of school ideas. What is proven implementable by the institutions within the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences is usually adopted by all republic ministers of education.

### *Conclusion*

In a two-dimensional chart a draftsman might well show that the progressive development of adult education methods in the Soviet Union would fan out like a many-branched candlestick. Original instruments for disseminating part-time education for the masses have been refined over almost half a century, and extra-vocational classes have been tried, proven, and retained all the way from Vladivostok to mid-town Moscow.

Significant is the fact that although subsidiary goals have changed, even as mutations are built into the dialectical-materialistic philosophy, most of the vehicles by which adult education has been implemented have proven so effective that they seem destined to remain in operation. Certain of these successful means have been essayed Stateside; others have not been given a fair chance. Whatever their status here, they bear our close scrutiny by virtue of their sheer success, for if they have been convertible to immediate objectives in the Soviet Union, they might well be transferred and shaped to the diverse purpose for which we in America are currently running our adult education enterprise.

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<sup>14</sup> Read, Gerald, "Trends and Problems in Soviet Education," *Phi Delta Kappan*, XLII No. 2 (November 1960), pp. 49-51, 76-82.



CHAPTER VI  
SWITZERLAND  
ORT's Global Involvement in Training Workers

*Overall Plan*

Could a single organization carry on the world's most extensive, private training network yet hide its light under a bushel? The answer is in the affirmative. The institution by name is the Organization for Rehabilitation through Training, abbreviated into its initials, ORT.

Here is an overview of this venerated effort to equip vast numbers of human beings—many of them displaced—through training in immediately useful work skills. First, ORT's history will be reviewed, then its current involvement in many corners of the globe will be sampled, for the total picture of this involvement extends beyond the dimensions of a manageable canvas or manuscript.

*History of a Missionary Effort*

That a ninety-year-old program should have remained so invisible to the world at large, despite its enormous successes, is in itself remarkable. ORT started in St. Petersburg, Russia in 1880. At that time it supported no physical plant, but provided funds to assist ghetto Jews to learn useful trades in agriculture and technology, and by this vehicle to better their living conditions. Thus the enterprise had a lengthy running start into such help programs as "technical assistance" and "worker retraining" which have become common social nomenclature. By 1900 the effort had expanded into diversified systems of vocational education, and it still retains this as its basic responsibility.<sup>1</sup>

From its inception ORT has been mainly a Jewish welfare effort. Prominent Jews received their original charter for operation from Czar Alexander II to establish a Society for the Propagation of Artisanal and Agricultural Workers among Jews. Without manipulation the Russian initials for such an elaborate combination of words read "O.R.T."

Those to be helped, originally, were located far beyond the St. Petersburg area; they were Jews living in miserable ghetto conditions in a number of east European cities. The charity-minded planners felt that the best way to

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<sup>1</sup> *The Story of ORT and Technical Assistance*, Geneva: ORT, n.d., p. 1.



improve the lot of these jammed-in people was to retrain adults into useful occupations. Thus a basic work of ORT has been one of surveying occupational needs of countries even before establishing training institutions. Today its fieldmen are regarded as experts with experience in these surveys; nor are they always charged with establishing the training institutions proposed in their surveys.

Following the First World War ORT activities were extended into Europe. Headquarters were displaced at the time of the Russian Revolution, and Berlin became the geographic base for a new operation that was to favor the vast agricultural development, on a collective farm dimension, of east Europe. It was there that a secondary level of instruction was introduced as technical education was identified as imperative. It was also during this period between the major wars that ORT felt its way into helping parts of the world beyond continental Europe.

Persecuted Jews during the Nazi occupation of much of Europe were served by ORT as best they could be, always with emphasis on training for available jobs. During this time headquarters was again moved—to neutral Geneva, where it has remained. Since the Second War emphasis has concentrated on displaced persons where retraining workshops have been set up in temporary camps where peripatetic Jews have been compressed. Myriads of Jews were accumulating in Israel, so much of the missionary effort was centered there and to this day ORT maintains the core of critically needed technical schools in that industrially developing land.

The total effort has hardly been there, however, for thousands of displaced persons were roaming North Africa and the Middle East. Its work in North Africa soon spilled into the central part of the black continent—a place where there were few Jews. This initiated ORT's service beyond members of the Jewish faith, and as aid contracts for a variety of governments and even consultation with combined Christian church groups have been undertaken, the percentage of funded support and surveys as well as retraining programs themselves have moved far beyond service to the Jews to an overall humanitarian mission.

Geneva is French-speaking, so that ORT shifted its language emphasis when it moved its headquarters. Today the language of instruction in ORT schools is French, and France's ex-colonies in central Africa became a natural place for expansion; as we shall see, both a nation and ORT have benefitted enormously from functional marriage taking place in the urban areas of France.

### *The Adaptability Theme*

By now it should be apparent that complacency is hardly a word that fits the ORT pattern. The credo has always placed the emphasis on indi-



vidual *men* rather than on depersonalized *jobs*. Its Geneva administration speaks of the adaptability of its loyal group of dedicated planners and trainers. No two programs are alike, for the skills needed in the industrial suburbs of Paris differ from those needed in newly industrialized areas of Chile. In some countries of Africa the rudiments of schooling have been found lacking as a prerequisite of technical training, so ORT teachers there are instructing in the three R's. Adults in ghetto areas were once the main concern of the mission; now that many have been trained for suitable jobs, ORT can turn its established machinery and manpower to a larger proportion of youths. This has meant creation of secondary schools, and in recent years a few of these have been providing a liberal arts education as prerequisite to university entrance. ORT carefully limits this humanistic involvement, however, and serves this segment of the population in newly developing countries only where the immediate need has been identified as preparation for universities.

Adaptability is reflected in this brief history as it emphasizes the shift from bettering the life of the ghetto Jew, to equipping the displaced Jew with pertinent job skills, to helping all manner of individuals in newly developing countries. Yet today's work retains elements from each of this succession of stresses in the organization's history. The varied nature of the contemporary ORT scene is perhaps best depicted in a sampling of some of its operations on different continents of the world. An admitted weakness in the Organization for Rehabilitation through Training's public relations has been lack of a single publication which presents an overview of its work. Indeed, reports of successes in France, in Argentina, in Guinea and in Palestine and even in the United States are all being used to promote the funding of this charitable effort, and in the process little has been collated and publicized on its many manifestations of training across the globe. So the varied nature of the contemporary ORT scene will here be presented, only by sampling, somewhat ubiquitously, "typical" operations. The dissimilarity of problems and solutions will thus be tasted.

#### *Special Encouragement and Support in France*

Starting in 1950 there was an enormous influx of Jews from North Africa into France.<sup>2</sup> These displaced individuals had moved from relatively unindustrialized countries into a streamlined economic experiment, so their job skills were in urgent need of retooling. In ORT's French operation alone, and over the past dozen years, 55,000 new Frenchmen have now been trained into modern jobs, yet the program continues to expand.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Material for this section extracted from *Bulletin, Organization, Reconstruction Travail*, 1962.

<sup>3</sup> *ORT Fact Sheet*, p. 2.



Skills concentrated upon in this expansion effort have been of three broad types, A) technical for a rapidly industrializing society, B) cultural, including instruction in the French language, for adaptation to the country's traditionally humanistic emphasis, and C) habits of hygiene peculiar to the European pattern.

The educational climate of France today abets a retraining program, even though supported by a private organization such as ORT. The French government imposes a *Taxe d'Apprentissage* on employers who send their workers for further training. Employers are entitled to pay the tax directly to trainers—private or public—rather than having the tax channeled through gubernatorial bureaucracies of Paris, and employers, in their honored tradition of dodging taxes, play this game with gesticulating vigor. Such management contribution to ORT is considered not only a payment of the *Taxe d'Apprentissage*, but is a bona fide contribution to an institution involved in social betterment of the French people.<sup>4</sup>

Thus indirectly the French government is helping to support the French manifestation of ORT and encourages its perpetuation. Today approximately three out of every four trainees in the varied ORT establishments are being supported through this employer-paid system which provides free tuition, stipends, medical and social services, at-cost dining in student refectories, as well as special vacation benefits, organized club sports and game activities in the name of purposeful leisure.

France's ORT involvements have become a model for successful proliferation of their cause. There are several ORT schools in the Paris area; one runs eight courses for electricians, mechanics, sheet-metal and cabinetry—these for men, plus three courses for women. An adult technicians' course concentrates on reequipping middlemen in vocations running from drafting to refrigeration mechanics, to data processing and office supervision. Another facility in outlying Paris aims at apprentices, while still another centers on retraining the technologically unemployed. The management trainee school in suburban Paris complements the array of offerings fringing that capital city.

Provincial institutes at Marseilles serve technical and mature, middle-level trainees, catering especially to the most needed occupational skills of the area. Lyon's specialty is lingerie, so trainees are equipped with manual proficiencies for this form of local employment. The Strassbourg institute turns out technicians, but has also tried internships run by the employers; Toulouse, in addition to operating secretarial and electrical courses, boasts of maintaining a unique offering for male garment workers.

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<sup>4</sup> ORT *Bulletin to Employers*, p. 1.



## *Help to the Middle East*

Considering the historic concerns of ORT it has not been surprising that the organization has entered Israel to help adjust masses of Jewish refugees into the newly industrial and agricultural economy. Today ORT schools are involved in almost half of all training programs in Israel; in 1969 its 51 institutional locations there trained 34,000 students. Its largest single operation is centered in Tel Aviv, where over eight thousand students are currently strengthening their vocational skills. ORT maintains four post-secondary-level instructional centers for engineers and technicians, but also works closely with the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in a comparable effort.

Its 1969 *Yearbook* which reviews the overall operation of ORT, indicates the widespread attraction and breadth of its Israel involvement.<sup>5</sup> In affiliation with the government it maintains 14 religious schools, 31 vocational schools, with a dozen of them becoming efficiently adult-oriented during evenings. The same year there were four schools which contained 7,300 apprentices. It is estimated that half the country's 20-year-olds are presently involved in ORT courses, and that a total of 200,000 in Israel have been exposed to some form of its training.

There is no question that in its brief life as a renewed nation, Israel has achieved outstanding success in its economic progress and stabilization; in no other single country can ORT claim such an abundance of responsibility in a nation's progress.<sup>o</sup>

ORT's survey of vocational gaps in Iran has shown that the country falls short in manpower provision for such middle-level vocations as electronics, industrial drafting and precision mechanics.<sup>6</sup> As the country becomes westernized it finds a ready market for mass-produced clothing, hairdressers and those trained in beauty care. ORT has turned out competent workers who have assumed these new positions. In each country surveyed, ORT uncovers special needs and in the process fulfills its special mission in salvaging individuals. Its investigation of Iran has shown most immediate help could come to disadvantaged children, and its special school to handle these has become one of its four strongest programs in that country whose leadership is especially concerned with spending its sizable oil income on bettering the life of its people.

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<sup>5</sup> *ORT Yearbook 1969*. Geneva: Union Mondiale ORT, 1970, p. 19.

<sup>6</sup> *ORT Fact Sheet*. Geneva: Union Mondiale ORT, 1970, p. 2.

<sup>o</sup>For an updated and comprehensive overview of the ORT operation in Israel today see Robert E. Belding, "A Private Training Mission in Israel," *School and Society*, Vol. C, No. 2342 (Summer 1972), pp. 319-321, 338.



## *African Assistance*

What do the Central African Republic, Cameroon, Chad, Gabon, Mali and Guinea possess in common? Beyond being situated on the mid-African continent, all are ex-colonies of France. French is the adopted language of ORT, and its involvement in each of these developing countries has moved the operation clearly from retraining assistance for Jews to a far broader mission stripped of sectarian implications.

Manifestations of the ORT effort in Africa are as varied as the cases already cited. A few samples there will suffice to impress the reader with the operation's constant adaptability in the name of the humanity it serves. For example, Mali sent two promising natives as potential instructors to ORT's Central Institute in Geneva (see below) where its teaching staff is trained.<sup>7</sup> By 1967 the two Malis had passed a tough achievement examination, then returned home to establish a technical school. Thus their effort has become uniquely indigenous, with no foreigners managing or teaching in their school, and certainly no precedent on which to rely.

It is important to note that the Mali project was suggested following a contracted survey by ORT with the United States A.I.D. program (1961). Today the success serves as a model of how A.I.D. can get natives started on self-development, and once the enterprise is under way, American support can be diminished or withdrawn.

One example of how ORT is mainly concerned with nonacademic programs for immediate improvement of humanity is found in Morocco, where the most unusual aspects of its offering is that it is as peripatetic as the bedouins. Its curriculum has been labelled "fluid" as it is arranged in very brief, packaged courses, either so a student may continue elsewhere or so he may enter a job which elevates him from a bare-subsistence life of misery. Against the traditional Moslem pattern of no education for females, these distaffers are being trained to become beauticians-on-the-run as well as in more permanent assignments where they can utilize newly acquired secretarial skills or those for industrial chemistry.

More specific examples of ORT's African involvement will be treated following the description of the charity's central operations in Geneva.

### *Administration in Geneva*

As has been indicated in its history, the headquarters office of ORT is now in Geneva, at home with so many other centers for world assistance. The core of administrators who work there must be as versatile and adaptable as the very operations which they promote. There are no specialists in

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<sup>7</sup> *ORT Yearbook 1969*. Geneva: Union Mondiale ORT, 1970, p. 11.



the management, but each man is expected to assume the many hats necessary for planning, surveying needs, forming programs, training instructors, extending the operation to all continents, and raising funds to keep the ubiquitous enterprise going.

Today's ORT perpetuates the initial, charitable appeal by raising funds from individual donors. Its North American offices in Canada and New York are mainly for gathering contributions through private sources, and Western Europe, Latin America and South Africa maintain offices with similar assignments. Foundation support has become necessary in its expansion effort, and government contracts for both surveys and institutional programs have been perpetuated in the United States, in Sweden, Denmark, Holland and Switzerland as well as in Latin American, Asian and African nations. Its financial benefit and encouragement in France is unique and has already been treated.

Its Geneva base facilitates its consultative and support status with such international bodies as I.L.O., UNESCO and the International and Social Council of the United Nations as well as with the World Council of Churches.

The money coming to ORT from its varied campaigns, governments and institutions totals a modest sum, considering the worldwide nature of its involvement. That a twenty-million dollar annual bursary can support such an extended operation is indicative of the lack of expensive bureaucracy and the dedication of individuals, from the top echelons downward, who work more for the satisfaction of the mission performed than for the salaries offered. Although the budget covers the total operation in all continental operations, most of it is currently channeled into its larger involvements in France, Iran, Israel and Argentina.

#### *A Cosmopolitan School for Teachers*

Across the lake from the Geneva management of ORT is its training school for instructors. This, the Central ORT Institute, is situated at Anière, an open-country suburb of Geneva overlooking Lake Lemman. Inasmuch as those coming to the Institute from across the ORT map are inclined to be mature experts in the vocations they are to teach, the emphasis of this teacher training institution is on methods of putting across expertise.

Indicative of how closely the Institute works with Geneva's industrial environment is the composition of that school's Technical Advisory Committee which helps direct the teacher training operation. Serving as the Committee's director is the man who heads Geneva's venerated Advanced Technical College. He acts effectively as ombudsman between Swiss industries and the ORT school. Also on the directing Committee are representatives of the cantonal educational authority, as well as those identified with the



Swiss Federal Technical Cooperation Department. In addition there are also direct representatives from Geneva's industries, employer associations and trade unions. The Committee's most direct link with ORT is maintained through representatives from its own Technical and Pedagogical Division.

In keeping with the practical quality of the Institute's function, the same variety of extra-curricular representation is responsible for examinations. Ingenuity in putting across the subject matter specialization of each student is accorded special significance in the overall evaluation of each student's merits. Thus his personalized projects are considered an ultimate evaluation of each man, along with his more formalized examination results. Other qualities constantly checked on each student are his regular work habits, his cultural and moral armament which he must later transmit to his student charges, his irreproachable conduct, his social spirit, his respect for tolerance toward individual religious beliefs—all difficult to measure objectively, but each an integral part of the Jewish instructional tradition of idealism.

### *The Who and How*

As with all aspects of ORT's operations, the school at Anière has had to be flexible in its admissions requirements. From the start it has preferred to train skilled artisans as teachers, but teachers are badly needed, are paid as missionaries, and not all locations are attractive. So a few of the less experienced trainees need armament in a body of subject matter beyond methods. Indeed, a major reason for establishing this teacher training institution near Geneva was because on-the-job training was available in the best industries of north Switzerland—industries that would most likely be pertinent to the demands of the training operations around the world.

ORT's ingenuity in researching new instructional methods is centered at Anière, and inasmuch as training programs in the bush may be poorly equipped, ingenious use of the simplest, natural equipment is encouraged. Even at the well equipped and progressive Institute many such things as racks for tool storage and fundamental machinery may be devised from raw materials but serve in a highly functional capacity. The ingenuity in audio-visual media is apparent throughout the workshops of this building.

Courses are offered at Anière as needed, but physical equipment, often contributed by industries or even by sympathetic nations, stands oiled and ready to be used whenever instruction is needed. The more permanent programs (those in most persistent demand) can be listed as those for mechanics, electro-mechanics, electrical installers, engineering draftsmen, auto and diesel mechanics and auto electricians. Shops are equipped to teach and instructors can be procured as needed for such specialties as refrigeration, electronics, automation, surveying and topography and commercial education.



### *One Training Program*

Much of this overview material is, by nature, generalized in broad description. A specific example of one group of future instructors under contract for training may help to plant a realistic impression of the Institute's current efforts. In the fall of 1970 an even dozen Peace Corps trainees were undergoing intensive training for instruction in Africa's Ivory Coast.<sup>8</sup> The group possessed several attributes in common: Each was a recent graduate from a United States college; each was to replace a volunteer whose service was terminating in the Ivory Coast; each was committed to a nine-week course at Anière. All were taking a fast-moving and realistic course in French, taught by an instructress who used audiovisual and language lab facilities with discretion.

Dirtier-handed laboratory work for them included auto mechanics, masonry, and carpentry. Less perspiring courses included drafting, the technology of materials, tropical hygiene, accident prevention, elementary book-keeping and the history and culture of the country about to entertain their services. All this instruction was in French, so that trainees acquired the nomenclature of the tools and machines of their teaching endeavor while gaining facility in the language. In the planning stage of this course, ORT had surveyed the most pressing needs of the Ivory Coast, and had tailored its Anière course, not to a strict replacement of Peace Corpsmen already in the Ivory Coast, but to the changing demands of that developing nation.

### *Facilities for Teacher Training*

Its present building is on the edge of France, seven miles from downtown Geneva, and houses workshops for mechanics, electrical work, automobile engineering, forging, welding, heat treatment and joinery. In addition there are shops for metalwork, photography and printing. Most impressive, and indicative of the competence and dedication of the Anière group, is the language laboratory which was totally built by the manually dexterous staff and students and for a fraction of the cost of a pre-assembled lab. It contains twenty booths, and many of the students coming to the Institute must be trained there in French, although Spanish has become important as ORT has strengthened its Latin American involvements.

There is a 120 seat assembly hall, a TV and film production room, a library and reading room with a generous array of technical and vocational materials. Several study rooms and dormitories for rooming and boarding eighty-five resident students, plus sports equipment and grounds, complement the picture for this school which must, because of its distance from

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<sup>8</sup> This example has been derived from a personal visit by the author to the Central ORT Institute in October, 1970.



town, be self-sufficient. Its own bus runs a tight schedule, transporting students to on-the-job facilities and helping to maintain a practical contact with the latest industrial developments in the progressive and prosperous Geneva area.

Students currently represent 31 countries—both developed and newly developing—and located on all continents. Representatives from advanced countries include those from France, Germany and the United States. Hungarians, Rumanians and Poles perpetuate the venerated east European involvement, and instructors in training from Egypt, Algeria, the Ivory Coast and the Congo indicate that political and color differences are of little consequence. The western hemisphere is represented in students from Brazil and Uruguay, while some A.I.D. students are training under United States government contracts to serve in several areas of Africa. Vietnamese are there from Southeast Asia, and Israeli students will be returning to instruct in the well established programs in their own country.

The atmosphere of change at Anière is as apparent as it is in Geneva's central headquarters for the world operation. Machines are occasionally idle as programs for specific talents have diminished, but they are ready for another batch of instructional trainees.

A case of adjustment to a new responsibility can be cited. In 1961 multiple contracts with the Swiss Technical Cooperation Department, the I.L.O. and A.I.D. brought a new dimension to the Institute. For the first time it was to turn out management personnel as well as technical and vocational teachers for other-than-ORT institutions.<sup>9</sup> It was to conduct further training seminars for experienced teachers and for industrial supervisors, with emphasis on organizational problems in both schools and industries and with focus on questions on transmitting material to be learned.

As though that were not enough, it was instructed to accelerate its Peace Corps training for volunteers, mainly for African developmental areas. In addition it was to enhance its research function by cooperating with extra-ORT institutions in answering tricky methodological questions. This brought the Institute's staff in contact with imaginative specialists in England, France, Switzerland and the United States. One consequence is reflected in practical applications carried out in programmed instruction and novel uses of audiovisual media. The Institute itself has acted as clearing house for such ideas and has reproduced them for dissemination. Animated plexiglas models and modular elements for electrical circuits in auto engineering have been drafted and built, and demonstration apparatuses for automotive hydraulic control systems have been engineered and duplicated.

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<sup>9</sup> *Central ORT Institute: Training Technicians and Teachers*. Geneva: Union Mondiale ORT, 1970, pp. 3-5.



ORT initiated its teacher training in 1949, and has tried to contain its varied, space-consuming workshops in a single building. It is now constructing an ample addition on the Anière grounds to house expansion. Obviously the Institute itself serves an increasingly invaluable role in the overall operation of this service organization which appropriately labels itself *mondiale*.

Before leaving the Geneva suburb and heading back into ORT's overseas missions it should be noted that Anière, in western Switzerland, is ORT's solitary training institution which is NOT on location—where individuals to be served already reside. It imports to Geneva its potential instructors from all parts of the world, but once trained they head back to the site where the training will be utilized. Advantages are obvious: The total operation remains relatively inexpensive, with travel allowances kept at a minimum, the families involved in training remain together and in the environment in which they will be working, and defection from the job after training is kept to a minimum as the natives are not exposed to the lures of developed, urban life.

#### *A Unique Effort in Guinea*

Guinea, situated on the far west bulge of Africa, is remarkable in that it is the only ex-colony of France that became completely severed from its home country at the moment that its independence was declared. A traumatic consequence was that France withdrew not only its own manpower expertise, but all machinery, office equipment and trucks which had become essential to the country's survival in a modern economy. From a moderate development under the French, overnight it became one of the least economically sound countries of the world.

In 1960 the United States offered to help, financially, in strengthening Guinea's economic base. It called on ORT's accredited machinery for surveying manpower needs. Two years later a company was formed there from an international consortium of six aluminum companies with home offices in the United States, Canada, France, Italy and Germany. The newly formed company was called HALCO, and it gained a concession from the Guinea government to exploit the rich bauxite and iron ore resources.<sup>10</sup>

To operate this scheme, a modern port needed to be carved from the coastline, a railroad had to be built and mechanical installations planted at the mines. Skills unheard of in Guinea under the French were urgently needed, and HALCO called on ORT, with its foot already in Guinea, to undertake training for vocations and management jobs to be filled. The combination of support is likely unique in the world, with company coop-

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<sup>10</sup> Source for this information is derived from ORT's report, *A New Direction in Development: the HALCO-ORT Project in Guinea*. Geneva: Union Mondiale ORT, 1970.



eration across national borders, with the Guinea government, with U.S. A.I.D. and a world bank loan, plus the international voluntary agency, ORT.

The first group comprised thirty-five instructional trainees from Guinea, and came to the Geneva Institute in 1968. Unlike most language schooling at ORT, English was taught as the impending language of instruction for Guinea; the fact underlines the extent to which all French influences, including linguistic, were terminated when Guinea became independent. Other courses for the pioneering group of HALCO instructors included metallurgy and management. Following the intensive work at Geneva's Institute, each trainee saw service for six months at some home plant of the HALCO consortium. This first group of thirty-five instructors is now in Guinea, involved in training technicians for the developing mining operation.

ORT itself is not only under contract to do the teaching, but to build the additions and supply the machinery and the residential buildings for instruction in a dozen vocational areas. School buildings before exploitation were sparsely distributed and inadequate, but ORT is placing additions on these rather than breaking ground for new structures. Whatever physical equipment is added in the immediate cause of preparation of technicians will be inherited by the nation once the ORT training has been accomplished.

The ORT schools in Guinea today are arming students in a dozen most needed skills running from diesel, precision and maintenance mechanics to electricians, carpenters, draftsmen and laboratory technicians to secretaries at all levels and nurses. Instructors for these occupational demands are still being trained at the method-oriented Institute in Geneva, which is supposed to anticipate Guinean needs before shortages reach crisis proportions. Thus there is constant communication between all aspects of ORT's involvements whether they be surveying manpower, training teachers or instructing technicians or middle managers.

It has been indicated that ORT has extended present school buildings wherever its technical training is needed most. Its single new establishment, in the capital city of Conakry, serves as a showpiece of ORT technical assistance. Supported in part by an A.I.D. contract, it has been labelled the National School for Arts and Crafts. It was the direct consequence of an ORT survey done in 1961 and has been molded to the immediate industrial needs of this emerging nation.

As with other ORT schools, the function of Conakry has fanned out, and in 1965 it joined with the country's Ministry of Education to perpetuate its service to the most immediate manpower needs. As a consequence, the National School for Arts and Crafts assumed the task of preparing operators for the "Four-Towns Electrification Plan," a proposal involving the invest-



ment of U.S. capital. The electrical maintenance workshops of these four towns are now manned with ORT graduates and these specialties are complemented with necessary accountants, machine technicians for banks and for a relatively streamlined postal service. The new jobs are held by natives, all of whom have graduated from ORT's Conakry school. Today the capital's building serves as headquarters to the extensive ORT schooling operation which spreads to many corners of Guinea.

A thousand specialists are now being trained in Guinea, at a cost of about \$5,000 apiece, for the training facility alone is budgeted at five million dollars. Two complete towns are being bulldozed from the jungle and shoreline. The total undertaking is an adventure in faith—one which should realize a persistent goal of ORT—to diminish the difference in income and consequent way of life between the workers and the executive or high government official.

### *Latin America*

The training mission has followed the displacement of Jews and has been quick to plant programs where concentrations of them immigrated. Thus when Jews fled the repression of the Nazi swastika in the 1930's, myriads of them found haven in Uruguay, Brazil and Argentina. ORT saw its mission there to establish retraining schools to help integrate displaced Jews into their new environment.

The programs successfully retooled adults for new types of jobs, and when this task was accomplished, rather than abandoning its established training machinery, ORT has converted to help youths in their original schooling into vocational positions. The Argentine government, in particular, has been impressed with ORT's successes in the use of audiovisual equipment, and reports that it has been instrumental in revitalizing that country's economy.<sup>11</sup> Skills particularly needed in the Buenos Aires region today include those for electronics technicians, for electrical installation and maintenance, for industrial chemistry, for secretarial help, for computer technology and for management.

Thus what started as a small mission in Argentina, serving most immediately the displaced Jew, has grown into a major involvement to help the entire country's economic development. Indeed, it has grown to be one of ORT's four major foreign commitments, including within the past year over four thousand students. Its new Argentine centers for industrial chemists and computer training have just opened and are too young for evaluation, yet they are a part of the overall cooperation between the government of Argentina and ORT—an endeavor which attests to the operation's success

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<sup>11</sup> ORT Fact Sheet, p. 2.



in its steady growth and contribution to the country's economic development.

### *Conclusion*

From this ubiquitous sampling of ORT's involvements, it is apparent that the total story is unwieldy and hardly containable within the modest dimensions of this monograph. Yet its successes abound. ORT has been declared a geography of hope, for services wrought by it are here and now, but its utilization is often in the future, higher horizons of life. Although it has levelled toward training or retraining at skilled worker and middle management employment potential, in a true sense because of its extended and varied adaptations, it could rightly be labelled the University of ORT.



## CHAPTER VII

### GERMANY

#### The Formal Training of Leaders for Trade Unions\*

From the viewpoint of many citizens, both American and German, trade union movements have evolved from outlawry to respectability. But during the developmental years there have been marked differences in the two countries. For example, while our own trade unions had their problems and upsets during the Second World War, the German equivalents, through a dozen years of Nazi regime, were obliterated, with their leaders systematically either killed or incarcerated. All organizations likely to provide education for the working classes were destroyed. When the German trade union movement was able to shake off the dust of dictatorship and war, it suffered from an obvious shortage of people with the experience and knowledge required to meet the challenge and responsibility of rebuilding its shattered organizations. Thus the schooling of new union leaders was one of the urgent needs of Germany's postwar economy.

There is little question but what the unions of the Federal Republic took immediate action to establish a sound leadership. The vigor and originality of the new program might well contain lessons for our own unions whose leadership still stings from court battles and near slander in the press. What lessons, for example, might be built into their formalized education in their trade union colleges? How has respectability been inherent and maintained within the reestablished movement in Germany? How has their crash program been so effective in training a fresh corps of responsible union leaders? To what degree has the effectiveness of the training effort been due to all-union cooperation? These are but a few of the more superficial questions which an inspection of this postwar institution in Germany might help answer.

The new DGB (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund)—the federated unions—rose energetically to the challenge of training leaders. With sound German efficiency, six leader-trainer colleges were created within half a dozen years after the war. These were founded in appropriate industrial centers of the Federal Republic. Each placed emphasis on excellence of equipment and facilities. Subsequently a score or more residential colleges have been founded by many of the sixteen industrial unions which formed the union

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\*Reprinted from the Spring, 1965 issue of *Labor Education Viewpoints*.



federation, and still more of the residential-type institutions are planned. Inevitably the new building and equipment as well as the hiring of appropriate staffs have cornered an impressive proportion of the total revenue of the federation.

### *Who Attends?*

Regional and local union committees select students for the DGB colleges. Candidates usually would be expected to have been union members for at least two years and to have held an office for one of those years before being eligible for nomination; but in the immediate postwar pressures to create a core of trained leaders, these regulations have often been waived. In addition to receiving a salary meant to compensate for their immediate loss of wages, the unions pay tuition, travel, and all living expenses for each candidate.

A report of the DGB progress, recently presented to the union federation's Congress, contains some interesting figures which indicate the type of institutions established as well as the kind of students they attract. Seventy per cent of the students have been under forty years of age. Within the first few years after the war, as many as three out of four of the students had had only an elementary school education, yet virtually all students had participated in some form of adult education before entering the trade-union college.

Before the war a number of unions required leaders to have been members in good standing for twenty-five years before they could assume leadership posts, but this rule was realistically suspended as qualification for entrance at the newly created colleges. In the mid-1950s almost 20 per cent of the students had held no leadership post, and less than 4 per cent of them were full-time officials.

Of the five thousand students who have passed through the established colleges each year, almost half have registered for the basic courses; others have enrolled in higher-level, specialized leadership courses, often under their own union's sponsorship. As many as 15 per cent of the students have been women.

### *What's Offered?*

The Federated Union colleges were established to provide for the basic training of younger trade unionists who were expected, at a later stage, to occupy some of the leading positions in the movement at local, *land* (state) or national levels. Courses were, and still are, designed to provide a general introduction to problems common to most trade unions. Specifically these problems have fallen into the general categories of economic policy, industrial management, labor legislation, and welfare benefits. Intensive



courses have placed more emphasis on training than on education, and these would include classes for women trade unionists, for branch secretaries, and for youth-group leadership.

Colleges got under way by offering short-term courses of only one or two weeks in length. A few lasted for three weeks, and still fewer for a month. This was found to be inadequate, for subjects were not treated in sufficient depth to be of practical value and hardly conformed to the standard tradition of German thoroughness. For this reason, and because instructors could not properly assess individual students during such abbreviated courses, the tendency has been to extend their length. This has raised some difficulties in recruiting the most qualified students, for during participation family responsibilities are unavoidably neglected and compensation reduced.

Under usual circumstances the DGB college head is the only full-time staff member, and few of these have assistants. Teaching is done by part-time tutors who are occasionally assembled for conferences to appraise their training efforts and to be updated on developments as well as on teaching problems.

By no means is leadership training of union members confined to the DGB colleges which fall under all-union sponsorship. Individual unions carry on their own internal training, and certain industrial cities even support their own "social academies," institutions devoted to developing social attitudes as well as individual personalities. A conservative estimate of total participants in residential courses runs close to ten thousand a year. Evening courses with union sponsorship or assistance contain well over a hundred thousand students. Some of these are for shop stewards and for trade union representatives on labor exchanges. Others sit on social insurance tribunals and appropriately handle problems peculiar to their own unions.

### *Influences from Abroad*

Partly through the influence of both American and British visiting lecturers and teams, the DGB colleges have been broadening their offering beyond mere training of participants in particular functions. Thus, while a decade ago Social Policy, Economics, and Labor Legislation took up as much as 80 per cent of the curriculum, this training of functionaries has moved over to accommodate political education courses prudently considered essential to the maintenance of an effective German democracy. No longer does one hear in the classroom of the DGB colleges that there are distinctions between trade union and political education; rather it is more common to hear that trade union education serves the purpose of preservation of the democratic way of life. If it is possible to identify political education *per se*, it would seem to be assisting the worker to discover his place in society and to understand his rights and duties.



It is not being overly optimistic to speculate that there is present evidence that the education of union leaders along these lines is helping raise the entire tone of public life by assisting in the development of those decent political manners without which no democracy can exist.

Thus, the colleges are not what they were when established almost two decades ago. Rather they have moved on to a curriculum which must broaden views as much as it strengthens judgment. In the maturing process the federation's colleges have increased the number of full-time lecturers, yet shaken down the number of students to a manageable body, capable of making the best use of available facilities.

### *Enough Lessons for Export*

As was indicated earlier, the devotion with which German trade unions have cooperated to build up their impressive colleges holds lessons for the American labor movement. However, lessons as well as transport flow in both directions across the Atlantic, and those responsible for German trade union membership as well as its leader training might well look further into American experiences in this field. In a country such as Germany, where huge segments of the population from the middle classes downward have little political consciousness, the potential for political education of union membership is as open as it is intriguing. So many times and ways it has been said before, but it bears shouting to echo across the ocean: Without the intelligent and active cooperation of unions, the political institutions of a free society have not the vigor to survive.

Special appreciation is expressed by the author for information provided by correspondence for the body of this article by the Headquarters Office of the Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund in Bonn. In addition, portions of the material have been derived from F. V. Pickstock's article, "Teaching Methods in Trade Union Education in Germany," *Rewley House Papers*, 3:37-42, No. 6, 1957-58 (Oxford University Delegacy for Extra-Mural Studies), as well as from Alice Cook's *Adult Education in Citizenship in Postwar Germany* (White Plains, N.Y.: Fund for Adult Education, 1954).



CHAPTER VIII  
GERMANY  
Perennial Model Revisited<sup>o</sup>

Germany for years has served as a prototype for the vocational education of adolescents. Although the French are quick to point out that they developed the theory of vocational education,<sup>1</sup> it is the Germans who legislated and implemented postschool vocational training for all youths not involved in college-preparatory courses.

Under Germany's traditional ladder system, all children attended a common elementary school for four years. From there on, schooling divided into two distinctly separate programs, with those of academic talent heading into some form of Gymnasium, but with the remaining 90 per cent continuing for four years in an upper elementary school. Youths had finished this advanced elementary sequence at fourteen years of age, and would then leave full-time schooling to enter an apprenticeship. However, employers and parents, who often apprenticed their own children, were required to release these young people one or two days a week for attendance at a continuation school (Berufsschule), offering courses on vocational theory, and more recently with a complement of social studies courses designed to help them become better citizens in the new German democracy.

Although much has been reported in our own past literature on these German continuation schools, they still warrant our scrutiny, for while the Gymnasium and the universities remain sadly tradition bound, it is this populous channel of German education which has proven most versatile in adjusting to modern demands of a fast-moving industrial enterprise.

A brief picture of the development of the Berufsschule is essential to an understanding of its present merits. In the early part of this century Georg Kerchensteiner had established in the city of Munich an exemplary system of activity schools which was intended to "liberate the potential creative energy" of each youth. Fifty separate trades were taught in his smooth-running complex of city schools, and the stated purpose of the system was to guide each child into useful citizenship through knowledge in the appropriate lifework.

Kerchensteiner was sensitive to the role each vocation played in serving

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<sup>o</sup>Reprinted from the March 1965 issue of *Journal of Secondary Education*.

<sup>1</sup>Ahmad, Zia-Uddin, *Systems of Education*, London: Longmans, 1929, p. 214.



society, and felt that through a broad vocational training each person would contribute his share in helping society in the direction of a more perfect community. Take, for example, his one-day-a-week school for barbers. In addition to the rudiments of surgery and aspects of the business not taught under the apprenticeship program, such common subjects as religion, German composition, bookkeeping, and civics were taught as pertinent extensions to elementary schooling.

During the early 1900s, Edwin Cooley in our Midwest, and Professor Paul Hanus, on the Atlantic coast, did much to correlate the Kerschensteiner vocational system with our own schools. The combination of wars and recognition that a separate secondary system for the vocationally-oriented ran in opposition to the American high school principle has diminished the popularity of the German model for vocational education.<sup>2</sup>

Yet thanks are due Kerschensteiner for the impetus given our own vocational education endeavor. New York's Department of Labor, the National Education Association, the newly created Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education, and the Smith-Hughes Act all followed study of, and interest in, the successful German effort.

Precisely where the part-time school stands today can be indicated by a review of some objectives and trends which have been noted since the Second World War. Objectives which followed the Potsdam Agreement, and which were reiterated by the military governments in power, included a guaranteed continuation of high standards in technical skills which had characterized the earlier schools, with the addition of a broadened and deepened civil and cultural growth of youths attending these postprimary schools. Together occupying powers and German educators were thus determined to assure that The Fatherland not only possessed an adequate supply of skilled producers, but that each would be a well-rounded and informed citizen of his community as well as of his country.

One recent move which has mainly helped to sort potential apprentices and Berufsschule attenders into the exact school which best suits particular aptitudes is the added year of elementary school which has become a common feature of each state. Vocational guidance is emphasized in this ninth Volksschule year, and students there take field trips and become acquainted with industrial opportunities so they won't be thrown, unprepared, onto the bewildering labor market. Under such a plan not only is each student more mature at the point when he enters an apprenticeship, but there exists for the first time today a liaison between teachers and industry or business beyond schooling.

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<sup>2</sup> Bawden, William T., "Vocational Schools in Germany," *Industrial Arts and Vocational Education*, XLI, No. 4 (April 1952), p. 119.



The school under observation is a free, continuation-type institution, located mainly in towns and cities rather than in rural areas. Americans might say they are not sufficiently consolidated for efficiency, for they have not been established between villages in rural areas, nor have the many varieties of vocations represented been incorporated under a single school roof. These are locally supported, both by taxes and by contributions from industries as well as unions. A few larger business establishments even support their own private vocational schools. Whatever the sponsorship, every Berufsschule is subject to state supervision and is obliged to follow the officially established curriculum.

Most immediately in control over the schools of one area is the School Advisory Council (Schulbeirat), a regulating body of individuals appointed under a prescribed formula. One may return to Munich, the place which gave birth to the vocational school complex, for a fairly representative model of what this Advisory Council is intended to be. That city's Council comprises a deputy (Landrat) who represents the government, three delegates of local employers selected by the chamber of commerce, two parental representatives, two student appointees, and one teacher.

All in all, it would appear to be a democratically appointed group, charged with the responsibility of formulating policies, suggesting and judging the effectiveness of the programs in eight Berufsschulen. It should be noted that under such a plan the Council possesses no legal or pedagogical authority.<sup>3</sup>

Germany, in 1919, made attendance at a vocational school compulsory for all workers. Although it was the first country to inscribe such legislation in its constitution, it took years for the law to become effective in all areas.

Every Land or state in Germany today provides a part-time education for apprentices between fifteen and eighteen years of age. Each is required to offer between four and ten hours a week of vocational-cultural studies, and on the employer's time. Schools are not exclusively for apprentices, but are required to contain all young men and women who have no other educational facilities available, including those who work at home or who may be unemployed. A practical examination, devised by each school's governing board, terminates attendance for all scholar-apprentices.

These common features among schools of all the eleven states do not mean that a central control for vocational education has been established. In fact, the Potsdam Agreement demands that each state administer its educational program and that there be no central ministry in Bonn.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Huebener, Theodore, *The Schools of West Germany*. N.Y.: New York University Press, 1962, p. 56.

<sup>4</sup> Hylla, Erich J. and Friedrich Kegel, *Education in Germany*. Frankfurt: Hochschule für Internationale Pädagogische Forschung, 1958 (second revised edition), p. 28.



With more pride in state than in nation as a heritage of the people, it might be asked how states seem to agree in the basic offerings and purpose of continuation education.

There is a Permanent Conference of (state) Ministers of Education (Standige Konferenz der Kultusminister) which meets regularly to try to equalize education in the different states, while at the same time circumventing any efforts to make the system centralized in control. Before the Conference became active, each state was regulating its own educational show so thoroughly that, in an otherwise mobile society, transfer of students or teachers between states was thoroughly discouraged. For example, with Munich as its capital, Bavaria was requiring four years of well-proven education bound into its apprenticeships, whereas the contiguous state of Wurttemberg was demanding only two years. Because of progressive ideas and flourishing economies of city states, in general they have required more years of compulsory education, and a more demanding education, than did some less progressive states. The Permanent Conference has done much to bring these facilities and demands in line with each other.<sup>5</sup>

Recent International Yearbooks of Education have reflected changes brought about through the conscientious efforts of the Ministers' Conference. For example, in 1959 the group approved the addition of one semester to the school course for surveyors.<sup>6</sup> As early as 1956 the Yearbook<sup>7</sup> reported that new, specialized vocational schools, as well as new subjects, were being added as the bursting economy and automation shifted demands. Clerical training schools offering modern languages would be but one example of a new form of offering. The Conference of Ministers took the responsibility of standardizing these courses among cities and states, with the express purpose of facilitating occupational mobility.

A more perennial influence of the Conference has been expressed in its encouragement to balance the Berufsschule offerings with social studies and humanities which would form better-rounded citizens. Inasmuch as the continuation school hours are already jammed with essentials to the vocation, the Conference has spent its effort on increasing the number of hours or days each week in school attendance.

Agricultural, commercial, and industrial academies form the rough classification of school types. Agricultural institutions, which include fishery, mining, and forestry schools, are the most versatile in adjusting to seasonal

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<sup>5</sup> Kirkpatrick, Ursula, "The Rahmenplan for West German School Reform," *Comparative Education Review*, IV, No. 1 (June 1960), p. 25.

<sup>6</sup> International Bureau of Education, *International Yearbook of Education*. Geneva: The Bureau, 1959, p. 200.

<sup>7</sup> International Bureau of Education, *International Yearbook of Education*. Geneva: The Bureau, 1956, p. 172.



demands, for their courses are stepped up in winter when the apprenticeship portion of activity has been slowed, and the schools virtually close down during the productive portion of the year. Whatever the adjustment to the calendar, total annual schooling must add up to more than 280 hours. Although the national average for school hours per week would be less than five, the agricultural schools demand well over five hours of classroom work per week.<sup>8</sup>

Mining schools are unique in that students start attendance only after a half-year of underground apprenticeship. Some of their part-time schooling may be scheduled for evenings or even weekends, and the total class hours per week for this species of agricultural school has been established at seven.

While all agricultural schools are run under a flexible calendar schedule, the commercial and industrial schools are marked by their own flexibility in meeting the shifting demands of urban economy. Modern commercial schools running on part-time schedules provide special courses in such areas as home economics (food and provisions, draperies and textiles), financial (banking, insurance, and bookkeeping), and hardware (porcelain and cutlery). Representative of the industrial offering would be special extra-apprentice work for butchers, machinists, barbers, cabinet makers, and printers.

Earlier it was mentioned that since the reestablishment of the Berufsschule in the late forties, there has been an awareness that responsible citizenship involved more than specialized, vocational competence. Although continuation schools have always been accountable for broadening their youthful charges, social studies, humanities, and subjects useful to all citizens have been particularly emphasized since the war. In fact, Allied authorities required that the ideals of democracy were to be taught.<sup>9</sup> Thus, whatever the school type or the specialty assigned to it, every institution teaches such subjects as personal and occupational hygiene, economic and industrial history, and something about operation of local, state, and national government. Students also have some voice in the operation of their school plant through student government, and thus may gain experience in social, political, and administrative involvements.

A sample of the three-year sequence followed in one community's industrial Berufsschule will help to bring out the balanced aspect of today's continuation school. In each of the three years a student undergoes one hour a week of religious instruction, with equal time devoted to civics, the native

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<sup>8</sup> UNESCO, *World Survey of Education III—Secondary Education*. Paris: UNESCO, 1961, p. 575.

<sup>9</sup> Huebener, Theodore, "Proposed Reforms in the German Schools," *Comparative Education Review*, VI, No. 1 (June 1962), p. 44.



language, and economics. During the first two years, students all take two hours a week of theory in their vocational specialty, and in the final year when approaching full membership in their vocation, a half hour per week is added to this subject.

Each student is initiated with one hour per week in highly specialized and pertinent accounting, and a half hour per week is added as he progresses through the two upper years. To make way for such increments, a subject such as geometry starts with one hour in the first half, is abbreviated to half an hour in the second year, and is dropped as a required subject in the third year. A combination of technical and free-hand drawing is taken for two hours a week throughout the three years. The total number of hours per week spent under cover in such an industrial continuation school is limited to ten in each of the three years.

Nearly fifty years have passed since our state and federal governments and interested professional organizations took action to create workable forms of vocational education in America. In this time of renewed concern for vocational training of youths, are there lessons from the continued success of the German Berufsschule pattern? Our early school leavers, our unemployed youths, and those who have attended high schools with ineffective vocational offerings could benefit from a restudy of Germany's venerated program. A penetrating answer to further questions might help to ascertain just what aid might come from the German plan.

Can the German successes in part-time vocational education be put to action without adopting the German system of separating the vocational trainees from the "academically talented" youths?

America has gone farther than Germany both in automating jobs and in removing small crafts and industries from the home. Does the German apprenticeship on top of full-time schooling apply to a country whose economy is depersonalized en masse?

We also have separate states which support their own educational systems. Although there is more cooperation and less jealousy between our United States and the Lander of Germany, there might well be room for a permanent interstate planning council for vocational education. Its aim would be to facilitate mobility, or even cooperatively to reduce population movement for vocational purposes.

Might juvenile restlessness and delinquency be reduced by continuing youths in part-time schooling in citizenship, with a realistic sample of student government as a part of the academic responsibility? (Stateside studies show that early school leavers and those joining the work force following high school are not inclined to be the ones who have been elected into high school offices of responsibility.)

Would there be merit in the creation of boards for regulating local voca-



tional offerings—boards with a balanced representation from municipal government, from industries and businesses and unions and students as well as parents?

Just as Germany has imaginatively adjusted its vocational education program to the times, we must be equal in our creative imagination and adaptability in visualizing how such a venerated mid-European model can fit our own economy as well as our very own brand of democracy.



CHAPTER IX  
GERMANY

Parallel Concepts of Manual Training and Our Reactions<sup>o</sup>

*Our Borrowing Habit*

In the early days of our century we were still importing generously from the Germans their successes in school operations. From their kindergarten to university research, from elementary curriculum to normal schools, and from philosophy to the psychology of school implementations we had transferred and planted on American soil an endless variety of educational ideas.

"Continuation school" became an often heard couplet here, and manual training gained popularity, culminating in recognition by our federal government in the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917. This fulfillment of an enduring American dream ordered establishment of a Federal Board for Vocational Education consisting of three national cabinet secretaries, the commissioner of education, and three others appointed by the President of the United States.<sup>1</sup> As an administering body, it would distribute funds to states and establish programs of studies and reports. States were required to create their own vocational boards designed to blueprint programs for public schools below college level, and with the stated goal of fitting students for useful employment.

It is beyond the purpose of this article to indicate how efficiently the states moved to become eligible for the benefits of this act. Needless to say, it has served our nation as an invaluable complement to our effort to educate all youths to fullest capacity and within the peculiar talents of each. The purpose here is to review the development of alternate manual training ideas, both based in Germany, and which served as major foundations for our ultimate Smith-Hughes Act.

Two cities of Germany had tried separate manual training ideas during the decades that bridged the centuries. One of these was to remain in Germany to complement a vital program already under way; the other was to be transhipped to America, to be tried for size in our schools, and later to help bring on our high school vocational legislation. In hand is a mild

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<sup>o</sup>Reprinted from the March 1970 issue of *Adult Leadership*.

<sup>1</sup>Layton S. Hawkins, Charles A. Prosser and John C. Wright, *Development of Vocational Education* (Chicago: American Technological Society, 1951). Provisions of the Act are reviewed on pages 597-604.



who-done-it in the form of a side-by-side comparison of the two manual training concepts as they were planted and tested in German soil. It will become apparent which idea of the two seemed better suited to our peculiar needs.

Almost without exception German educational innovations which found most attraction for us were from the progressive, industrialized, and Protestant North—from such cities as Wittenberg and Berlin, Dessau and Halle and Leipzig. The last of these cities had provided laboratories from which our psychology was to become scientific, as well as other aspects of graduate level research.

### *The Saxon Innovation*

It was in that Saxon city of Leipzig, in the closing years of the 1800s, that Waldemar Goetz was to devise a novel manifestation of manual training.<sup>2</sup> He had received a private education, but as an active teacher he had become sensitive to the lack of vocational concern in the elementary schools where instruction seemed leveled mainly at the handful of boys who might survive long enough to attend the university.

In his eagerness to introduce manual training for all children of elementary school age, Goetz was bent on complementing, rather than upsetting, the well-established classroom program. German children had traditionally been dismissed from school at noon, so he planned to offer his manual training during after-school hours. Almost without exception elementary teachers were men, so he initiated his program by having the male teachers of the lower grades trained in an additional subject—manual training. Originally they taught boys in the third year of schooling and in extracurricular sessions.

Some theory was first introduced in lecture classes, then the boys moved into medium-sized shops to turn out functional pieces of wood or metal. Also cardboard was used as an appropriate regional medium, and book-binding became a skill tailored to the local printing centers of the Leipzig area. In fact, some of these children's products were to prove so useful that they seemed to threaten the well embedded apprenticeship programs as well as the established crafts of Saxony.

German education has frequently been criticized, especially by Americans, for its early and severe specialization. In harmony with such concentration, the Leipzig Method of apprenticeship taught children to shape a single item well, to the point that proficiencies developed were hardly

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<sup>2</sup> The main body of material on Waldemar Goetz and what became known as his "Leipzig Method" has been drawn from Charles A. Bennett, "The Development of Manual Training in Germany," chapter V in *History of Manual and Industrial Education, 1870-1917* (Peoria, Illinois: The Manual Arts Press, 1937), pp. 170-180.



transferable to the fashioning even of quite similar items. Thus not only might a skill in bookbinding, for example, be applicable to that particular craft alone, but it might even prove to be useful only within Leipzig.

Goetz insisted that in his manual training shops a spirit of *laissez faire* should prevail, yet special projects were devised for the talented boys, or they were asked to assist and monitor the slower youths. Thus there was some adjustment to individual talents and motivations.

As might be expected Goetz' innovations<sup>3</sup> provoked unfavorable reactions from traditionalists. Yet he had laid the groundwork for a program which was to spread, especially through the initiative of his immediate successor, Alwin Pabst, who carried on the work of Goetz in the Leipzig schools.<sup>4</sup> Starting in 1899, he added definition to his master's plan, then helped spread it to embrace home economics for the other sex, to other grades of the primary school, and to other cities so that eventually it was to become an accepted part of the common-school education of many German communities.

### *The Southern Experience*

Shortly after the Leipzig experiment got under way, Dr. Georg Kerschensteiner of Bavaria was appointed superintendent of schools for the municipality of Munich. Though he held a degree in electricity, he was an all-round scholar, bent on acquiring a background of study and understanding of whatever his assignment might be. Thus his initial efforts as administrator in Munich were related to what he already knew best—the elementary school.<sup>5</sup>

In appraising the situation in Munich by actually seeing secondary school classes in action, he was struck by the lack of character development in the schools and by the complete insulation of secondary scholars from manual tasks. Because of his position in the community he was able to sell parents, local manufacturers, and school personnel on the introduction of a core of manually related subjects around which the more traditional curriculum

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<sup>3</sup> References to the tradition-bound nature of German education are abundant and sempiternal. For a recent reiteration of this reluctance to change the educational establishment, see Saul B. Robinson and J. Casper Kuhlmann, "Two Decades of Non-Reform in West German Education," *Comparative Education Review*, XI, No. 3 (October 1967), p. 311.

<sup>4</sup> Charles A. Bennett, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

<sup>5</sup> Diane Simons, *Georg Kerschensteiner; His Thought and His Relevance Today* (London: Methuen and Company, 1966), pp. 14-16+. Much of the remainder of the report on Kerschensteiner is derived from this recent book as well as from Emil E. Toews, *The Life and Professional Works of Georg Michael Kerschensteiner, 1854-1932* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1955), pp. 154-162. An invaluable primary source was found in Georg Kerschensteiner, *Selbstregierung der Schuler* (Vienna: Deutscher Verlag für Jugend und Volk, 1925), pp. 3-17.



would revolve. Unlike the Leipzig plan, the manual training would be included in the regular school day. Basically he felt student character could be enhanced by exposure to what the common man would be doing for a livelihood.

He supported a different device to minimize disturbance to the program; he first tried out his plan with girls only, and in their eighth school year. Later, as in the case of the mid-Prussian city, he included both sexes and at different class levels. Teachers were drawn from the industries, and the school superintendent insisted that they undergo a teacher-training program, complete with apprentice teaching experience and examinations, before they were accredited to instruct their secondary school charges.

The northern experience obviously had little impact on Kerschensteiner's program. From the start the latter was less specific and specialized as it developed the undefinable quality of "character." Thus there was study of the general theory of shop practice, then students entered the attached museum to study the qualities of materials with which they would be working. For example, cabinets were on display to show the types and grains of wood, the differences between soft and hard, and how these materials were seasoned and treated before they entered the school shop. Finally the students were assigned their own school benches and tools in a central shop. Their end products were more ornamental than directly functional. With such a general, character-building background their skills were more easily transferable to making other products than was true in the Leipzig undertaking; furthermore, students were less open to accusations of competition from local artisans.

### *Our Selection and Adoption*

In the early years of the twentieth century we looked to Germany for a form of manual training suited to our needs. Despite our previous reliance on progressive ideas flowing from central and northern German states, we inspected and imported the "Munich Method." In fact there has been considerable reference to Georg Kerschensteiner in our own history of education; only rarely have the Saxon names of Pabst and Goetz been recognized in our education texts.

Why did we turn to the south of Germany for this idea? Thanks to Pestalozzi and certain Prussian followers of his ideas, we already had incorporated vocational concepts in our elementary schools, and our high schools now stood ready to incorporate manual training under their all-embracing roof. Partly because of the more advanced level of the high school, we saw fit to hire specialists rather than to supplement the training of the elementary teacher who was already overburdened with too many subjects to teach.



We were prepared, better than Germany had been, to employ specialists in manual training for our high schools, for the provisions of the Morrill Act had given us a supply of trained men and women for vocational subjects. In no way would the subject derange the already entrenched course for preparing students for college, since the expansion of the high school was already in full bloom and more colorful courses were being added daily. Thus we assumed the Bavarian cloak of functional education and have equated Georg Kerschensteiner with our own manual training achievements.

How did the Bavarian import come to our shores? Kerschensteiner gained international recognition in 1900 through his prize essay, "The Education of German Youths in Citizenship."<sup>6</sup> Consequently three Americans were to visit Munich schools to observe his program and to talk with the promoter of the idea of placing manual training at the core of a dynamic institution which would turn out citizens of character.

These men backed the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education and its effort to prod Congress into vocational legislation. In 1910 Georg Kerschensteiner toured certain American cities and spoke before the National Society. The Bavarian's views were aired generously before Congress until the Smith-Hughes legislation was finally passed in 1917.

Although we have not looked to Germany recently for further educational lessons, in this day of concern for the proper, specialized education of all youths we might well return to study the German pattern of manual training, keeping in mind that the training programs as developed in Germany will not work, unchanged, in our environment.<sup>7</sup> They would need careful study and evaluation in light of our unique situation as we stand in need of relating to our present-day society and its economy.

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<sup>6</sup> Melving L. Barlow, "Industrial Education in Other Nations," chapter XVI in *History of Industrial Education in the United States* (Peoria, Illinois: Charles A. Bennett, 1967), pp. 455-6.

<sup>7</sup> Workable suggestions for this are presented by Francis Keppel in his, "Vocational Education: A Program for Tomorrow," *American Vocational Journal*, XXXIX (February 1964), pp. 115-118.



CHAPTER X  
SCANDINAVIA  
An Educational Introduction—New Variations  
on Secondary Education<sup>o</sup>

*The Break from Europe's Pattern*

27-5-1 is a convenient and safe set of figures to be applied to European schools in general. This means that out of every twenty-seven youngsters who enter the elementary school together, only five will be selected at about age eleven to enter the prestigious type of secondary institution, and only one will survive for university work. From the end of elementary school the chosen few have been isolated from the other four-fifths to pursue a challenging academic course in a school by themselves.

Scandinavia has taken the lead in fracturing this ratio into something which is more acceptable to Americans who are used to seeing all children contained in one secondary institution. Experimentation toward containing all youths in one form of secondary school has been going on in northern Europe for years. Denmark altered its program, somewhat toward this end, in 1958<sup>1</sup> and Norway announced its comprehensive school plan in late 1965. Of the northern countries, Sweden has undergone the most demanding research, to such an extent that by the time its new Comprehensive School Law was passed in 1962, half the school population had already been exposed to some facet of the experiment.<sup>2</sup>

As might be expected, Norway's new comprehensive secondary school is patterned on the Swedish model,<sup>3</sup> for the Scandinavian countries, although proudly independent of each other, are inclined to look to others within their geographic group for proven betterments.

What ARE the educational features which the Scandinavian countries hold in common and which help us to perceive it as a geographic area in sufficient cohesion, scholastically, to treat within a single article?

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<sup>o</sup>Reprinted from the January 1967 issue of *The High School Journal*.

<sup>1</sup>Hogby, Sigurd, "A New Look at Education," *Danish Foreign Office Journal*, XXIX (January 1959), pp. 14-16.

<sup>2</sup>Husén, Torsten, "A Liberal Democracy Adopts the Comprehensive School System," *Phi Delta Kappan* (November 1961), pp. 86-91.

<sup>3</sup>Skar, Dagfinn, "A New School Program: Compulsory Education Through the Ninth Grade," *The Norseman*, No. 5 (1965), pp. 113-114.



Factors relate mainly to geographic and demographic phenomena. For example, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland and Iceland, by contrast to the remainder of Europe, share the problem of insufficient population. This necessitates the efficient development of each person to his fullest potential, making the most of each individual's talents. These talents can best be drawn out and developed at the secondary level of education.<sup>4</sup>

The sparsity of education in certain areas also has a direct bearing on the form of schools which have been established. For example, many of Denmark's ninety-nine islands contain as few inhabitants as do the remote mountain villages of Norway. Therefore, in the name of being efficacious, many youths from both countries must attend boarding schools. The Danish folk high school has been one answer to the problem of educating such isolated youths, and it has spread throughout Scandinavia and taken on a number of modern forms.<sup>5</sup> Some of its contemporary variations will be treated later in this article. Another accommodation is the rural half-time school, conducted every other day, with assigned and highly pertinent homework for alternate days. There is an efficiency to this procedure worthy of as much study as the better known folk high.<sup>6</sup>

#### *An Attractive Swedish Model*

James B. Conant has recently proclaimed that Sweden possesses the world's most up-to-date educational system.<sup>7</sup> In 1952 that country initiated experimentation toward developing its new comprehensive school. Educators are generally a conservative lot, and Scandinavians in particular refuse to live in an environment of crash programs, so it was not until a decade later, in 1962, that their experiment had matured sufficiently to have it legislated so that by 1972 all children will be attending a common, comprehensive institution for nine successive years. The most radical changes in this new school have been introduced at the secondary level.

A summary of recommendations for this comprehensive school, which gives an overview of what it is intended to be, has been published by Sweden's Ministry of Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs.<sup>8</sup> As that book points

<sup>4</sup> "Education for All, the Full Human Potential," *The Scandinavian Times Newsmagazine*, No. 4 (Sept.-Oct. 1965), pp. 39-42.

<sup>5</sup> Canfield, Alvah T., "The Folk High Schools in Denmark and Sweden—A Comparative Analysis," *Comparative Education Review*, IX, No. 1 (February 1965), pp. 18-24.

<sup>6</sup> Sandberg, Edwin T., "America and the Folk High School," *School and Society*, XXXV, No. 2104 (February 2, 1957), pp. 43-44.

<sup>7</sup> Conant, James B., "The Role of the States in Education," address delivered before the Governors' Conference, Minneapolis, July 27th, 1965.

<sup>8</sup> Orring, Jonas, *Comprehensive School and Continuation Schools in Sweden*. Stockholm: Ministry of Education and Church Affairs, 1962.



out, the new institution will be conveniently divided into three equal levels of three years each.

Each level is called a "department," with the initial one called "elementary," the second "middle," and the final three years labelled "higher." As in most elementary schools the basic six years comprise no electives. As the child enters his seventh school year he is faced for the first time with subject choices. Channels under the single roof of the school become apparent as the selection is between "easy" or "tough" math or English. Other choices are between French or German, music or art. In a place where traditionally there has been unshakable confidence in the school personnel or examinations to screen children properly and academically, it is unusual if not shocking, under the new Comprehensive School Law, to see parents in conference with their children having a voice in what subjects the child should take within the higher department. According to this policy there are no sorting or screening examinations within the comprehensive school.

By the final year of the comprehensive school the electives will have spread to nine, with five theoretical subjects intended for those expecting to continue formal education into post-secondary levels, and four alternatives for vocational training. So that by the age of sixteen the Swedish youth is supposed to have discovered his direction in life and taken initial steps into his vocation. All this is done in a would-be classless environment in which future doctors and politicians rub elbows with aspiring chimney sweeps or butcher apprentices.

While electing in the ninth year to enter vocational or more academic channels, the real sorting of youth gets underway beyond the comprehensive school. If he has undergone the "tough" electives, he may head into the three-year *gymnas* which has been compared by some educators with the American junior college. Or he may elect to go beyond compulsory education in a continuation school offering courses in social and technical subjects as well as economics. This is a two-year school which the student enters of his volition. Most boys leave full-time school at age sixteen and enter the work force, although each is entitled to return to continuation school if he later feels he might benefit.

The purpose of Sweden's new education, which would appear to be headed toward an all-Scandinavian adoption, has been stated by the country's National Board of Education.<sup>9</sup> It is to equip all citizens with skills and knowledge, to develop talents, and, with home cooperation, to encourage each individual's growth and development. More than in other areas of the west, Scandinavia has persisted in seeing that children are strongly

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<sup>9</sup> "Education for All, the Full Human Potential," *The Scandinavian Times Newsmagazine*, No. 4 (Sept.-Oct. 1965), pp. 39-42.



influenced by certain positive aspects of home life, so the new school will continue to recognize the value in certain parental responsibilities.

The second purpose is to instill in youths the democratic principles of cooperation and tolerance among people of different sexes, races and nations. This aspect of the Board's statement is an influence initiated by the folk high school and has subsequently been reiterated in the literature concerning that very Scandinavian institution.<sup>10</sup> It is also in line with the recognized fact that Scandinavian countries rely on exports for one quarter of their economy, so cooperation and international understandings as well as foreign languages are essential aspects of their secondary schools.

Transported to Norway the comprehensive school varies only slightly from the Swedish prototype. That Norway is a more conservative country than Sweden is indicated both in the fact that it did not take the initiative in creating the continued common school, and in the general format of its nine-year school. Electives in Norway, for example, are open to students a year later than in Sweden. As in the latter country, virtually all youths will soon be attending the democratically comprehensive school which will offer an extended common curriculum. Also as in Sweden, the higher department broadens into more and more elective offerings, and the post-graduate opportunities for vocation or entry to further education are equivalent in both countries.<sup>11</sup>

#### *Denmark's Venerable Contribution*

A second unique institution which has started in Scandinavia is best known to the rest of the world as a matured exemplar. It is the folk or people's high school which was established over a century ago from the dream of Nicholai Grundtvig, bishop of the Danish church. He wished to develop a type of institution mainly for the further enlightenment of farm youths who had been deprived of any education beyond the most rudimentary schooling.

Through a boarding establishment he wished to make good citizens of these young farmers; he suggested that the curriculum should embrace courses in human nature and life in general (social sciences), courses in the "self," in civil guidance and in the real needs of the country. Since the farm youths already had their vocation, the school emphasized culture with the intent of directing the underprivileged peasantry into a taste of initiative and a feeling of belonging to their Danish democracy. Tests, lectures, and

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<sup>10</sup> Skrubbeltrang, Fridlev, *The Danish Folk High School*, Copenhagen: Det Danske Selskab, 1952, Chapter XI.

<sup>11</sup> Stenhouse, Lawrence, "Comprehensive Education in Norway—a Developing System," *Comparative Education* (London), II, No. 1 (November 1965), pp. 37-41.



textbooks which marked the academic high schools were eliminated, and the method, rather than lecture, was to be informal discussion.

Even though the idea was contrary to what had traditionally been recognized as respectable education, it caught on and spread rapidly into other Scandinavian countries and beyond. Today this type of institution enjoys state support in each Scandinavian nation. Yet today's folk high school has been modernized to meet the demands of the contemporary economy of each country.<sup>12</sup>

As in so many other countries, the glamor of the city and more efficient farm techniques have brought about a shift in population toward the developed urban areas. So the deprived masses have often entered the cities for better opportunities, and the folk high school, still appealing mainly to the relatively uneducated, has moved with them. Organized labor and the socialist governments of each Scandinavian country have stood solidly behind this move, and both are very much involved with the modern folk high.<sup>13</sup>

Some new schools offer artisan education to perpetuate or to resurrect the well-made crafts of the past. This is in accord with Grundtvig's demand that the school emphasize the finer elements of the country's history. But there are new courses in economics and politics and in today's citizenship, all of which are appreciated and understood by the American who has grown accustomed to this type of nonclassical course in our high schools. In addition, international understanding, which is so essential to countries dependent on others for a thriving economy, has become a common course offering of the folk high schools.

An established student government has guaranteed from these schools a flow of leaders for labor unions as well as for civil or federal government, for although the course is based in general education, later emphasis is placed on independence in judgment, or as Grundtvig said, "not telling the student *what* to think as much as *how* to think." The result is said to be an emancipated and enlightened worker.

Despite changes which have assured the continuance of the school, certain basic ideas perpetuate its tradition. For example, it is still a compact boarding school providing a family environment away from home. It remains a school with its own board of governors representing cooperatives, unions and political and educational bodies as well as having its student council. Yet its subsidy from the government is assured.

Increasingly industries are giving young employees time out to attend

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<sup>12</sup> "Folk Reform—Changing Aims," *Times Educational Supplement* (London), 49-2263 (October 3, 1958), p. 1445.

<sup>13</sup> Belding, Robert E., "Danish Industry and the Updated Folk High School," *Phi Delta Kappan* XLVI, No. 8 (April 1965), pp. 400-401.



the boarding school, and in a few the industry conducts evening classes under the auspices of an established folk high school. Study circles and discussions, rather than formal lectures characterize all such offerings. Resident courses last from one to two years, although there are summer institutes for shorter periods of time.

### *Conclusion*

Mainly the Scandinavian countries possess two advertised features of secondary education, the careful study of which could be of benefit to other countries. The new comprehensive school which extends the common education of all children is distinctively a secondary-level development. The folk high school contains lessons for others only as it keeps up with the demands of advancement; each Scandinavian country in its own way would appear to have adjusted its schools to modern demands.

To some observers it might appear that the folk high may eventually be replaced by the developing comprehensive institution. Present evidence, however, would indicate that there is a place for both types of school to thrive side by side in Scandinavian societies, each of which prides itself on accommodating the proper mixture of tradition and metamorphosis in the framework of a welfare state which remains a democracy.



CHAPTER XI  
DENMARK

The Updated Folk High School and Youth Training\*

Any educational statistician impressed with curves would be struck by the pulchritude and symmetry of the line formed by the graceful increase in the number of articles appearing in American educational journals on the Danish folk high school, then the equally graceful decline in the number of articles on the same topic. The curve reached its crest in the 1930's, just when a number of American educators were scouring Europe for ideas which would put youths to effective use during the depression years.

The author here proposes that the Danish folk high school has been sufficiently updated to warrant our continued study, despite the drop in interest as reflected in the aforementioned curve. Indeed, the present Danish folk high, geared to modern industry and frequently supported or encouraged by organized labor, might well contain lessons applicable to contemporary problems of our early school-leavers as they run, head on, into a bewildering labor market.

A dozen decades ago Bishop Nicholai Grundtvig conceived a school for youths who had been deprived of the opportunity for more than a rudimentary education. Once his idea for a *Folkhogskola* (a people's high school) had gotten off the ground, it attracted youths between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five who had lived and worked on farms and who, belatedly and of their own volition, wished a nonvocational education which would improve their status as common men and equip them with the armament for good citizenship.

They would attend the Grundtvigian folk or people's high school which, according to its inventor, was intended to "make accessible to youths a place where they may become better acquainted with human nature and life in general and with themselves in particular, and receive guidance in all civil duties and relationships and recognize the real need of their country." In short, here was a cultural school, created to give the underprivileged peasantry its first taste of initiative and a feeling of belonging in the Danish democracy.

As will presently be seen, the clientele attracted to the school has under-

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\*Reprinted from the October, 1965, issue of *Journal of Secondary Education*. Copyright 1965 by the California Association of Secondary School Administrators.



gone such severe changes that some conservatives have declared the folk high school has lost its value to the Danish state.<sup>1</sup> Yet certain features dreamed by its originator and later implemented by practitioners are still very much with the urbanized folk high school.

First, the appeal of the school continues to be principally to the underprivileged masses. Grundtvig himself had never declared the school should be alone for rural youths. Furthermore, its founder indicated his school would lack not only the familiar, unisexual air, but exams and texts and memorization should be replaced by the spoken word of narrative and conversation. His suggested curriculum placed emphasis mainly on the social studies, for Danish culture and history and contemporary social conditions, together with its linguistic and literary heritage, should form the academic program. Students would grow into the feeling of rapport between community and school, and would partake in the augmented family life of this homey board-and-room establishment. To this day these features of the original folk high school persist and mark it unquestionably as the school intended by its innovator.

The transition from a school for farm youths to a labor-oriented industrial attraction has undergone a series of steps important to the full understanding of the present *Folkhøgskola*. Following its war with Prussia and its loss of the rich, grain-producing land of Schleswig, Denmark was faced with the alternative of wrestling with increasing agricultural competition with such trade-hungry nations as the United States, or developing novel and attractive industries of its own. The latter course was adopted, and it took mainly the form of new cooperative dairy enterprises. The appeal of the folk high school shortly turned from its original adduction of serfs on the land to a cooperative and economy-oriented emphasis. In retrospect the Danes see this shift as a turn from a feudal pattern toward the modern, scientific and prosperous civilization that compact country presently supports.

The folk highs are often given credit for establishing the frame of mind for the development of leaders who have made their political, social and cooperative enterprise a success. Properly equipped individuals were graduated as the snug, family-sized schools grew and student councils and responsible leaders were shaped within the confines of the school. The folk high is equally credited with broadening attention from local, farm considerations to community, national and even international concerns.<sup>2</sup>

For some time the growing labor movement in Denmark had inscribed on its banners "Knowledge is Power; Ignorance is Bondage." So there came a

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<sup>1</sup> Novrup, Johannes, "The Folk High Schools of Today," *Adult Education in Denmark*, Copenhagen: Det Danske Forlag (n.d.) p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> Skrubbeltrang, Fridlev, *The Danish Folk High School*. Copenhagen: Det Danske Selskab, 1952, pp. 29-32.



time when organized labor would take the initiative in getting under way suitable training in the cities. More than any other group within their ranks they felt the need for even the most rudimentary education.

The socialists gained strength as the cities developed, and this politically oriented group established study circles to discuss the current social problems of the Danish democracy. This move in itself seemed ripe for application to the existing folk high schools. At about the same time the University Student Association initiated evening classes for workers, and these soon attracted as many as fifteen hundred students. Subject matter comprised the three R's, but concomitant reading and lecture societies also did much valuable work both in Copenhagen and in outlying industrial communities. A lack of enthusiasm on the part of many workers slowed the program, for they themselves were ignorant of the freedom and responsibility that accompanied an education.

So it was actually the leaders of the political and trade-union movements who were most alert to the need for worker enlightenment. Presently it will be seen how they took up the already established folk high school and adapted it to the exigencies of the laboring masses.

In 1871 Louis Pio, one of the pioneers of Danish socialism, outlined a program for worker education. As one of the first socialists sensitive to the important place the working class would take in the urbanized society, he sought to do for city workers what Grundtvig and his disciples had earlier done for rural youths. In part, to counteract the dehydrated and ineffective lectures which had marked many of the evening labor circles, he created the "Workers' Reading Club." To get this society underway he lent books to members, thus antedating in his effort the Danish public library movement. Next he organized their ubiquitous lectures, leveling them to the workers' understanding; furthermore, he advocated and arranged visits to museums for the laborers, again adapting sensitively to the language and comprehension of the participants. By no means was such activity divorced from the folk high and its transition to a metropolitan appeal.

By the turn into the present century even the rural folk high schools were shifting their programs toward a small-town or city appeal. Technical and realistic industrial courses were being injected to lure metropolitan youths who would counteract the decline in attendance of young farmers. Artisan branches and options were created in the outlying schools, and later some of these craft-oriented branches were to break away and form independent, technical folk schools of their own.

The Vallekilde Folk High is but one example of this type of fission. In 1915 it detached its technical stream and moved to Holbaek as a school for builders, joiners and painters. Its aim was to resurrect a better type of building construction, based on traditional patterns. Many years earlier Bishop



Grundtvig had built into his folk high school idea a reverence for Denmark's past, so the new school for building trades was clearly a reinterpretation of the folk school founder's original intent.

Schools for training in the clerical subjects were established, and later some assumed the name of trade schools, but whatever the nomenclature and emphasis behind the label, they conserved the characteristics of the folk high school. A few hours a week might be used for trade subjects, but the courses in appreciation of Denmark's heritage, together with newer courses in the economy and politics and responsibilities of the modern citizen, formed the core of the offering. Furthermore, the growing school size perpetuated the student government of many aspects of the school's administration, and these institutions continued to turn out leaders equipped to understand and to handle some of the cooperative industrial undertakings of their country.

A number of the labor leaders who undertook to adapt the traditional (Grundtvigian) folk high to mass metropolitan demands had themselves been products of the school; indeed, as graduates they served as evidence that the school did produce excellent leaders, not only for the labor movement but for refashioning their own *alma mater* to serve the needs of craftsmen and workers.

Just as variations of human beings fan out in childhood and youth to make each adult quite different from every other adult, the mature folk high school has become an institution reflecting its own variation on the original theme. Within the century there have been so many manifestations of the folk high principle that each school must be seen as a peculiar institution with its very own sub-goals. Fridlev Skrubbeltrang, in a compact volume on *The Danish Folk High School*<sup>3</sup> spends a chapter indicating what diverse forms the folk high movement took during the early years of the century. Thus workers' education and the labor high school have been but manifestations in a variety of twentieth-century fulfillments of Grundtvig's dream. The Folk High School at Esbjerg has served as a stable example of one form of school appealing to the modern vocational masses. It was established in western Jutland through the cooperation of private individuals, industries and unions, and is a result of a resolution passed by the Congress of the Democratic Party. Called a "labor school" from the start, it has dispensed a socialist education with a curriculum of social affairs, economics, history and natural sciences—each of utmost importance in the struggle of the working classes for emancipation.

Purposes of the school from the start have been twofold: To present a general education to youthful workers and others of the town and country-

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.



side, and to organize short courses for union members and their leaders. The most persistent goal of the Esbjerg Labor School has been to encourage personal and independent thought of each pupil—not telling each *what* to think as much as *how* to think on his own.

School features of learning responsibility by taking it, of self-government, of sharing in the learning experience, of creating a minimum of regulations—these are aspects inherited clearly from the Grundtvigian institutions. While Danish language, one modern foreign language, and basic math are the only required subjects, there is an even score of electives.

Some courses in the Christian Ideal which had been intended by Bishop Grundtvig were replaced at Esbjerg with discussions and lectures which denounced capitalistic societies, and a favorite topic was an analysis which highlighted the defects of money-oriented economics. On the more constructive side, the folk school in this port town has included ten hours a week of trade subjects for refining student skills within their fishing and harbor vocations. Classes in crafts for small town artisans were also included, to perpetuate the appeal to students of outlying areas.

Varieties in teaching method are reminiscent of John Dewey's diverse pragmatism and have been reiterated by M. Erling Jensen, the school's present director.<sup>4</sup> Often they stand in sharp contrast to the usual formal lecture of Danish preparatory schools as well as to the methods used in many American classrooms today. Large student enrollments have consistently been cut into manageable, small groups for discussion, into compact committees, into dramatizations, all with copious use of blackboards, film strips, sound movies and tape recordings. At the same time, practice is assured in the concise and enviably well-equipped laboratories.

A different type of people's vocational high school was established in 1930 at Roskilde, just west of Copenhagen. Its appeal was structured mainly for city youths bent on an industrial career, yet the setting of the school was in the rural open air. The Workers' Educational movement joined hands with the Workers' Educational Committee of Copenhagen. This was done during the depression years to help make the school a useful place for city unemployed youths to spend their time. The effort has been compared to the establishment of a permanent educational C.C.C. From the start this residential campus has been more like the original Grundtvigian schools than such overtly trade institutions as Esbjerg, for the curriculum has tended toward humanistic subjects in a healthy, rural setting. Awakening student interests, widening their mental horizons, and developing an appreciation for beauty and contributing a richness of life to youths who otherwise would have had a confined and sunless life in Copenhagen slums have been the intention of

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<sup>4</sup> Jensen, M. Erling, *Ecole Populaire Superieure D'Esbjerg (Collège d'Ouvriers)*. Esbjerg, Denmark: 1961, p. 3.



the school, especially as its function has been streamlined by Hjalmar Gammelgaard, the recent headmaster. Gammelgaard had been eminently suited to his post, for he had taught both at the Labor College in Copenhagen and at labor folk high schools before assuming his responsibilities at Roskilde.

Together the Esbjerg and Roskilde institutions form the best known of the labor school efforts which have remained under the general framework of the folk high schools. The west coast school is to the Danish provinces what Roskilde has been to the metropolis. Both are supported by government subsidies, yet each is legally constituted as an autonomous institution, governed by a board representing cooperatives, political and educational bodies, as well as the related labor unions. It is anticipated that in the near future this realistic variation on the folk high school theme will expand into creation of a newly established campus near Elsinor.

Another type of vocational residential high school for the people came into being at about the same time. This was in Copenhagen itself, and was called the Labor College. During the First World War its efforts were rounded out in cooperation with the Workers' High School, and their combined method was one of efficient lecturing to reach a large body of the masses.

In the twenties the Labor College expanded its daytime efforts into evening study circles for discussing and strengthening the socialist youth movement. Cultural as well as vocational courses became especially popular during the depression years following 1929, and youths flocked voluntarily into these educational halls.

Some unemployed youths turned to the school to refurbish old skills or to get a running start on new ones. Even more inevitable, however, were the injections of the proud national—or even international—spirit which characterized the transformed school. At the same time worker lobbies were well established in the Danish parliament, and many leaders sympathetic to the laborer's cause, including some who were products of the folk high schools, found a voice in local governments. So labor was heard where it could affect mass education most, and the unions assumed their fresh responsibilities with grace.

Shortly after the First World War Denmark had reduced the working day to eight hours so that those in particular on an hourly rate found themselves with more leisure time on their hands. The Workers' Educational Association was formed with the avowed purpose of emancipating the laborers through formal enlightenment. Demonstrating all the fresh vigor often identified with a new organization, it established study groups as well as larger lecture audiences on a broad scale.

But the best educational performance of organized labor came about twenty years later, when, despite the anti-organized labor attitude so preva-



lent among occupying Nazis, the Workers' Educational Organization conducted over a thousand study circles each year. Whether the organized labor effort assumed the formal garb of the folk high school, or rolled its collective sleeves in an evening study circle,<sup>4</sup> the twofold effort was focussed on equipping workers with reading, writing, and computational skills so essential to a complex city life, and on arming youths with useful proficiencies for the pressing demands of a wartime economy.

As the rural population decreases and cities grow, the folk high school becomes more and more a responsibility of urban enterprises. Trends which emerged in the late fifties had, by the middle sixties, been clarified and labeled. Employers, labor, and the government alike have demonstrated growing interest and support for the folk highs, so these schools are by no means diminishing in importance. A number of firms have found it to their advantage to allow young workers time off for attendance at folk high schools; equally they are finding it advantageous to take on youths who have attended the folk high for its two-year, or even its single-year sequence of courses.<sup>5</sup> An adjunct of the folk high school has opened within some factories to allow youths to participate in evening discussion circles, often with library facilities made available.

Among the most vigorous efforts has been that of the newly established National Association of (Folk) High School Students. Its purpose has been to promote the folk high cause, which from the start has suffered from lack of respectability throughout the Scandinavian countries as it stands in contrast to the established university-prep secondary schools. The primary task of this neophyte organization has been to bring interested urban groups under the folk high wing, mainly by disseminating information to the working youths.

As the Danish and other Scandinavian governments have given increased support and recognition to the folk high schools, it has become apparent that in one form or another those realistic institutions are here to stay. As cities expand it seems that the original rural setting and purpose of the institution is bound to diminish with an increased adaptation to urban-youth needs. Despite the decline in the amount of literature currently available on this venerated movement, the labor-oriented type of school such as has been established in Denmark is bound to grow.

Those Danish youths lacking the benefits of a well-rounded secondary education, and our own youths who dropped from school for some sparkling

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<sup>4</sup>For a description of the popular Scandinavian study circle see the author's "Study Circles," Chapter XV in this publication.

<sup>5</sup>Levine, Carl, "A Folk College in Finland," *School and Society*, October 20, 1962, p. 355.



remunerative lure, have both been deprived of a complete, a pertinent, and a well-rounded secondary education. There may well be lessons for American educators in the content, the method and the philosophy of the evolving metropolitan folk high school.



## CHAPTER XII

### DENMARK

#### Adapting the "Folk High School" to the New Nations\*

As a practicing comparative educator, this writer perceives a number of striking similarities between educational problems and needs in Denmark's past and the present situation of many of the newer nations of Latin America, South Asia and Africa. Denmark has now matured to political and economic stability, and the institution which has frequently been credited with helping boost it out of its political and economic troubles is known as the people's or folk high school.

It is the purpose of this article to review the more obvious obstacles to progress which Denmark has faced, to equate these problems with those faced by new nations, then through a report on certain aspects of the Danish folk high school, to show how the folk high school can be instrumental in the development of the new nations even as it proved effective in building Denmark.

A review of news headlines announcing the succession of Danish disasters from the onset of the 19th century might look something like this: "Danish Fleet Annihilated by British"; "Sweden Wrenches Norway from Us"; "Rich Southern Provinces Lost to Germany"; "Competitors Abscond With Our Grain Market."

A Dane, as realistically imaginative as he was versatile, devised the folk high school to help his country through many such tribulations. The school has since spread as an effective educational institution to other countries of Europe as well as across the Atlantic. Creator of this popular school was a bishop of the Danish church, Nicholai Grundtvig (1783-1872).

The undisciplined literature on educational problems of newly developing countries is weighty with examples of irrelevant school methods and content retained from days when these struggling countries were colonies. European soccer on the school grounds, memorization by students of remote scriptural passages, lectures that are formally brittle, standing at military attention when teacher enters the room, and a nonvernacular curriculum are but a few of the examples of a superannuated education often retained from a once dominating Western power. A score of years has passed since the

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\*This article first appeared in the Spring 1967 issue of *Exchange*, the quarterly publication of the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs.



emancipation of such nations; yet they are still struggling in a confusion of curricula and techniques. Efforts from within Scandinavia, such as the Norwegian Peace Corps, are already doing their part in assisting new nations. Yet as so often has happened in world crises, there is too little reliance on the lessons of history.

Certainly a look into the present-day development of the folk high school will hardly serve as an all embracing prescription to heal the complex malady of schools in that "third world," but there are symptoms of the complex ailment which might well be treated through injections of folk high philosophy.

### *Attitudes to Be Developed*

Most new countries have been on their own, or under assistance from "more mature" Western nations, long enough to have identified certain postures which need fostering. Certain schools can be held responsible for developing these attitudes within the younger generation, or even among adults. It would appear that a study of the folk high school's experience could contribute to a change from flag-waving-for-a-distant-and-rejected-mother-country or Bible memorization to these new and democratic attitudes: (1) toward national government and law; (2) toward a progressive economic ideal of savings, investment, and purchasing; (3) of cooperation rather than individualism—such as developed in the British grammar school graduate or in the French "rational man"; (4) toward the civic needs of the nation; (5) toward proper participation in the political processes—placing national loyalties above tribal conflicts and fidelity. All such attitudes should help, through schooling, to develop self-respect and confidence in the new environment.

Struggling countries such as Iran need help in breaking down the ingrained feudalism which still persists.<sup>1</sup> People must be taught the dangers of certain superstitions such as caressing a boa constrictor as an object of tribal worship. In Denmark, then in other countries, the folk high schools have helped to destroy similar superstitions. Certainly a revamped curriculum, along the lines suggested by the folk high school, could help the new nations of the world. Furthermore, an inexpensive, compact school, pertinent to smaller communities, where local demands can be met and where initiative can be exercised by enterprising teachers, could help the new nations just as it has proved effective in the folk high schools of the Scandinavian nations.

A hundred and sixty years ago education beyond the primary school in Denmark was still directed mainly at university preparation. Although a

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<sup>1</sup> Donald Faris, *To Plow With Hope*. New York: Harper, 1958.



continued education law was inscribed in the books, the Danes held tenaciously to what they considered a highly respectable pattern of classical education inherited from Germany. It was an education for the bookish few, for those reared in metropolitan areas, and with a built-in guarantee that nobody but small shopkeepers of the middle classes, or the educated few, would have a voice in the country's government. "Folk," or common people of outlying areas were more provincial than national in their loyalties, and certainly what higher education existed was not for them.

### *Grundtvig's Dream*

Nicholai Grundtvig was a versatile man of far-reaching ideals. A bishop of the Danish state church, he was an ardent patriot, poetically sensitive in the use of words, and a traveler who had been exposed to some impressive political and social lessons from abroad.

Grundtvig dreamed of a school for adolescents—one capable of improving the life of the rural masses. While acquiring a classical education in Denmark he had not been impressed with the "discourse and argument of philosophers" but felt rather that truth was to be found in the living community of men and women. He agreed with such European philosophers as Rousseau and Fichte in their belief that intense brain work was killing to children and that what they needed was the opportunity to "grow in their rest, like young plants."<sup>2</sup>

The environment of a village possessed other advantages over the metropolitan areas for the type of education which Grundtvig visualized. His schools would be boarding establishments, with distinctly limited enrollments and with a class method like that of an informal family circle. This concept should be attractive to bush country today where villages often are too small to have a school of their own but where it might be possible to arrange transportation by river or trail to a consolidated compound where youths of several villages could live together in the atmosphere of a home away from home.

Indeed the preacher idealist in Grundtvig today sounds like a voice pleading from the bush country of a mid-20th-century nation. He spoke of the responsibility of education "to eradicate superstition and poverty and vice among people."<sup>3</sup>

This "Prophet of the North" wished to replace the Latin and Greek of the curriculum with the "living word." He noted that Danish peasants were not unintelligent; indeed he was the master at addressing them in the ver-

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<sup>2</sup> John C. Moller and Katherine Watson. *Education in Democracy; the Folk High Schools of Denmark*. London: Faber and Faber, 1944.

<sup>3</sup> Fridlev Skrubbeltrang, *The Danish Folk High School*. Copenhagen: Det Danske Selskab, 1952.



nacular which they could understand. His keen interest in Norse mythology and Nordic culture was manifested in his pioneer translation of *Beowulf* into Danish. Common heritage of the people, he said, would be learned from a study of the country's history, language, and culture. With this background and with an understanding of the country's present social conditions, the people would be capable of taking an effective part in the government of their country.

Free discussion, he felt, should become the principal method of the people's classroom: the folk high. More recently Dean Rusk, speaking of new nations, reiterated Grundtvig's approach when he said that "democracy functions only when the people are informed and are aware, thirsting for knowledge, and are *exchanging ideas*."<sup>4</sup> In short, what the Danish bishop was advocating over 100 years ago was a school where the predominantly country folk could receive guidance in all their civil duties and relationships. Such an institution would give the underprivileged peasantry its initial taste of initiative and a feeling of belonging in a Danish democracy.<sup>5</sup>

Like so many educational idea men of history, this Danish planner never did have a school of his own, but he wrote and talked of his dream sufficiently to impress more practical men with the feasibility of such a school. It was left to others, who later developed institutions of their own, to transform Grundtvig's mirage into a reality, to prove that the folk high concept could turn out men who would assume the responsibilities of a new democracy. Most important to newly developing nations, however, is the fact that later versions of the school, hardly in purebred form, have proved that the basic school idea can be effectively tailored to changing societies as well as to cultures other than Denmark's.

### *Evolution of the Folk High*

Although Grundtvig's school idea eventually spread across national borders and oceans, it most immediately fitted the needs of the small and struggling nation where it was conceived. New schools were planted on Danish soil and seemed to mesh with the requirements for assisting the country out of its series of economic and political crises. Highlights in the history of Denmark in the 19th century show that the country's main concerns were directed toward a revival of the national spirit, with peasants taking a major responsibility in the movement.

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<sup>4</sup> Secretary of State Rusk spoke on October 16, 1961, at the opening sessions of a conference on "Economic Growth and Investment in Education" held in Washington, D.C., by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Department of State *Bulletin*, November 13, 1961, p. 821.

<sup>5</sup> Robert E. Belding, "Denmark's Up-Dated Folk High Schools and Youth Training," *Journal of Secondary Education*, XL, No. 1 (October 1956), pp. 263-269.



Political developments of Denmark included a reform of the poor laws, granting civil rights to Jews, a struggle to retain the free constitution of 1849, and a move toward certain manifestations of social welfare. Economically the country was forced to shift from dependence on the production of small grains to the export of dairy products to nearby countries. So the soil was the principal raw material of that compact Scandinavian country even as it is the most obvious asset of many of the new nations of the world today.

Not only were the folk high schools attracting teachers who had taken considerable political initiative during this period, but soon it became apparent that the human products of these rural schools were, for the first time, attaining important positions of political leadership. The new alumni had been equipped with subject-matter tools that could be utilized in the new state; and in addition their attitude of cooperation, rather than of competition or of individual freedom, had helped in such vital matters as the shift from one form to another of agricultural dependence.

Denmark has remained predominantly a rural country, with exported dairy products as its vital source of income. As a result—although Grundtvig never declared that the folk high school should retain the atmosphere of fresh, country air—most of the Danish schools are still in the countryside, attracting farm youths but also adding more and more urbanites as well as youths from other nations. A few Danish folk highs were developed during the depression years in suburban areas to serve special industrial needs or to house and educate unemployed adolescents.

As a consolidated rural school, the folk high spread rapidly to the other Scandinavian countries which shared some of Denmark's economic, social, and political problems. Today all of these countries give firm support to the folk high institution through monetary assistance from their governments.

#### *Typical Day in a Folk High*

The actual curriculum of a would-be typical folk high school looks like this. Classes are an hour in length, and run from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m., Monday through Saturday. The day starts with functional problems and exercises in arithmetic. From one day to the next, the second period alternates between study of world history—the international aspect of the schools is consistently maintained—and the country's own historical development. Daily the students spend the third period in reading and discussing the indigenous language and literature to gain a respect for their cultural heritage. From this, and just before lunch, they move outside for bracing calisthenics.

The afternoon gets under way with division of lecture classes into smaller study groups for development of individual projects and for personal guid-



ance from an assigned teacher. Health and hygiene and a study of area (Scandinavian) history form alternatives to this after-lunch schedule. The smaller groups are then reformed for a question period.

In late afternoon the students attend lectures on local agricultural problems or on the importance of agriculture in the country's total economic scheme. They may spend some time actually working in the school's garden.

Just before the dinner hour there may be lectures in music appreciation or classes in choral singing, usually with emphasis on national spirit; or the time may be spent in lectures or discussions on contemporary affairs, with forays into the workings of politics, economic development, or current labor-industrial relations.

There are some reports that the school is declining in importance as countries progress into additional years of compulsory education and as the needs of each country change.<sup>6</sup> However, more optimistic reports indicate that the school has taken many new forms.<sup>7</sup> One indicates that Sweden's recent shift of population from rural to urban has reformed its folk highs into institutions with a certain labor-union orientation.<sup>8</sup> This is far from Grundtvig's intention, but as an enterprising manifestation of the people's school, it reinforces evidence that such institutions can readily be tailored to the demands of emerging countries on other continents of the world.

For the time being, any implementation of the folk high idea in new countries should stress the rural flavor, for it is in the villages that such education is needed to discourage youths from flocking to the shantytowns of big cities and to break down some of the superstitions and tribal loyalties which have hindered development in certain countries. The folk high could help identify and disseminate the best of tribal traditions and help its students to understand other tribes and customs. It has already performed comparable tasks in Scandinavia. At the same time it could develop a sense of loyalty which was an essential part of Grundtvig's original dream and which is so needed in the newly developing countries of the world.

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<sup>6</sup> S. Clissold, "Folk High Schools' Cause of Decline," *Times Educational Supplement* (London), 2152 (August 17, 1956), p. 1039.

<sup>7</sup> Robert E. Belding, *op. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> Alvah T. Canfield, "Folk High Schools in Denmark and Sweden: A Comparative Analysis." *Comparative Education Review*, IX, No. 1 (February 1965), pp. 18-24.



most effective resource for labor education in Denmark. In true Scandinavian fashion, it was founded through the cooperative effort of the federation of Danish trade unions, the party coming to power, the Social Democratic Youth Movement, and the Federation of Urban Cooperatives. All these organizations are today represented on the governing council of the Workers' Educational Association, and to this day the education of *laborers* is its main task.

### *Cooperation Key to Success*

Without a togetherness in purpose the mass education of laborers in Denmark would long since have been a failure. It is clear that no single organization carries any facet of the adult education program in isolation from the others, but that the unions, both singly and combined, the folk high movement, the party in power, and the federal government all contribute their own part to the configuration of formal enlightenment of the laborers.

Nor are the named bodies the only ones cooperating to implement the program. Together they work with the Council for Danish Popular Education, a group which represents all national organizations that entertain popular education as their primary concern.

Denmark for years has been realistically alert to its dependence on other countries for its survival. So the Workers' Educational Association in particular has conferred often with other Scandinavian labor organizations as well as with the flourishing British Workers' Educational Association.<sup>o</sup> UNESCO and the international labor movement have been assisting a combined Scandinavian labor-education effort by helping the Nordic Folk High School to become international-conscious. The Nordic School holds its annual session each summer for two months in Geneva.

The Workers' Educational Association is by far the largest and most influential Danish organization for adult enlightenment, so its representatives serve at all significant occasions, either at national or at local levels, when the education of adults is involved. It sends representatives abroad to study adult education practices, and, as this writer can attest from personal experience, has been most gracious in hosting foreign guests seeking information on the way of Danish life.

### *Classroom Methods*

Thus far this article has tried to demonstrate what a compact country can do in behalf of worker education when the enterprise is undertaken in the spirit of give-and-take. Another facet of the enterprise, of special interest to

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<sup>o</sup>For a report on the contribution of this imaginative and unique group in England, see the author's "Union Efforts to Educate Workers," Chapter III in this publication.



any educator concerned with the formal schooling of workers, is the special classroom technique applied to large masses of students who have left school early either for monetary or academic reasons. A special effort has been made to adjust teaching methods to the level and type of student represented in the Danish worker classroom.

In fact, it was discovered early in the process of developing worker education that the common lecture and reading technique traditionally used in Danish secondary schools and universities was not applicable to workers who had left school without any exposure to liberal education beyond the 3 R's. When Grundtvig wrote of "the spoken word" as appropriate to farm youths coming to his planned school, he was not speaking of the lecture method so familiar to university environments, but of the sharing of ideas which goes with discussion in a well-managed family. Secondary schools had been characterized by development of student skills in taking classroom notes, in listening for important points in lectures, and in self-expression through formidable oral and written examinations.<sup>5</sup>

Worker education has realistically by-passed these familiar devices, and has consequently suffered from a persistent lack of respect by those who inherited a traditional faith in the public college-prep schools (*gymnasieskoler*) and the universities. Some educators tried applying the lecture technique, but it was soon discovered that workers needed the patience and understanding which goes with a small, family-sized environment.

Discussion, based on lectured or read facts, was developed as a compromise between the formal academic lecture and a bull session. The folk high schools have perfected round table discussion, and the new type of metropolitan folk high, as well as other expressions of worker education, have adopted the seminar table.

### *Study in the Round*

Denmark hardly invented the "study circle" as a method of enlightening its workers, but it has borrowed the setting of small group meetings, often conducted in the informality of a home parlor, to facilitate discussion. One characteristic which emerges as common to the varieties of study circles in action is the freedom of selection of leaders as well as for topic of discussion.

In a domestic environment the circles are insulated from any controlled political agitation. Although the Central Planning Office for W.E.A.-sponsored circles is maintained in Copenhagen, the 150 local unions of the Workers' Educational Association run their own circles. Leaders are usually part-

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<sup>5</sup> Ruge, Herman, *Educational Systems in Scandinavia* (Oslo: Norwegian Universities Press, 1962), p. 18.



## CHAPTER XIV

### SWEDEN

#### Automation and Retraining of Workers<sup>o</sup>

Bertil may not actually exist, but it will suit the purposes of this article to follow him, a "typical" Swedish adult, through a crucial period of his life. Bertil is thirty-three years old and lives in Gothenburg, near the factory where he is employed as a skilled operator in a textile industry. The firm produces fabricated products, and he has been with it, and on "his" machine, since he was eighteen years old. Yet today he is numbered among the "unemployed," for in Sweden those who are about to lose their jobs because of industrial change are labeled unemployed as soon as it is known that they will be redundant. He is among the increasing body of individuals who are being automated right out of their work.

As soon as his Gothenburg employer knew that Bertil was to be laid off, he started the machinery for retraining this loyal and valuable worker. The union to which Bertil belonged was informed, and the man was tested, first as a member of a group and then as an individual, for his capacity to be retrained. Shortly thereafter the peripatetic agent for the Municipal Labor Exchange was notified that a block of mature workers was to become superfluous, and through the agent's local Exchange, the County Board was informed. In turn, the National Labor Market Board was notified, and it started direct negotiations with the firm itself, advising the company of the Board's responsibility for retraining. (The chain of command for notifying the government of this factory's situation may be followed by scanning, upward, Table 2.)

At about the time that Bertil was notified of his status of unemployment, the National Labor Market Board had alerted the Board of Vocational Education that certain retraining courses would be necessary in the city of Gothenburg. The Board, in turn, contacted its own so-called Course Boards to arrange for courses within comfortable distance of the Gothenburg factory. (The operation within the vocational branch is indicated on the accompanying Table 3, while the transfer of responsibilities between the Vocational and Labor Boards is indicated on Table 1.)

As any normal worker would be, Bertil was disturbed that his job was being taken away from him by a machine. Yet, he was confident that the

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<sup>o</sup>Reprinted from the December 1965 issue of *Employment Service Review*.



personal machinery for reemployment was already in action. Above all he was confident that his union was more than another cooperator in the endeavor to keep him in suitable employment.

As soon as Bertil was actually laid off, he would start an eight-month course which would retool him for work in the local ball-bearing factory. During that period he would receive local and government grants that would help him to continue to support his family. Grants to him from the government alone would include a basic allowance of at least 410 kronor (\$80) per month, plus a rent stipend geared to what he had been paying. His family allowance would amount to about ten dollars for each dependent, and a special fund would cover any textbooks, notebooks, slide rules or pencils, and even working clothes essential to the retraining process.

Although \$80 does not seem to be a sufficient sum according to U.S. monetary values, 410 kronor will actually pay for the monthly food bills in a four-member Swedish family. All education in Sweden is free. And, as stated above, the monthly rent is covered by another stipend. Thus Bertil will have no immediate worries as to supporting himself or his family during the retraining period.

#### *Possible Negative Features*

Such a brief account of Bertil's reemployment process sounds optimistic and smooth running. There are several features which might be questioned. For example, in such a relatively compact country isn't there a preponderance of echelons and organizations to be coordinated for an employment shift? Responsibilities are passed up and down between cities, counties and the capital, in and out of the government, as well as between major boards. Nor does the report on Bertil indicate that there might be gaps between retraining and actual placement, or that some families must, with great reluctance, uproot lifetime homes to move into another geographic area, either for retraining or for the new job.

Finally, this surface report does not reflect the extent to which his union and factory, on the local level, have tried to solve the retraining problem on their own in order to avoid both present and future government interference and controls.

So much for questionable or hidden features on Bertil's retraining. There are aspects of the brief report which might contain constructive ideas for Americans to ponder, especially in the somewhat frantic effort to retrain individuals made redundant by automation.

For example, note the early awakening to Bertil's plight and the effort to get retraining off the ground even before he is really out of work. And behind the scenes there is cooperation on the part of both management and union to solve the problem without the government's involvement. Despite



nually are involved in courses running from three to six weeks in length, while since 1960 the number of foresters involved in such interim courses has been reduced from two thousand to about four hundred. Building construction workers comprise an additional short-term type of unemployment category which is of concern to the unions, the employers and several levels of government.

#### *Where Courses Are Held*

The governmental boards involved in this retraining are responsible for implementing courses economically. In the name of keeping costs realistic, they insist on utilizing buildings and equipment already in existence, so quite naturally turn to firms which have solved production problems and have available the machines and personnel for retraining. Often abandoned factories are utilized in a continuous series of retraining courses. At any rate, the use of these built-in schools and teachers, along with anticipation of those to be unemployed, leaves the impression that there is constant coordination and cooperation between private enterprise and the government as well as between levels of operation within the government.

#### *Sample Problems of Morale*

As automation and mechanization have drafted more and more adults into the army of unemployed, the problem of geographic dislocation has been aggravated. Inducements such as government payment of rent differentials and the costs of travel have apparently done little to encourage people who have lived in a community all their lives to move to parts unknown. In addition to stipends for travel and housing, each County Labor

TABLE 3  
ORGANIZATION OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

National	<i>Board of Vocational Education</i> —Receives requests from National Labor Board and other bodies for courses, then: 1) collects suitable teachers, 2) devises curricula, 3) makes and supplies teaching aids, 4) administers courses.
Regional	<i>Course Boards</i> (one to a county)—Personnel comprise Chairman, usually the County Labor Board Director, and members who represent the regular vocational education system and the County Education Committee. Course Board: 1) handles financing of courses, 2) hires and arranges for requisite workshop facilities, 3) pays personnel involved, 4) decides on acceptability of individual trainees.
Regional	<i>Course (Board) Committees</i> . (one Committee for each occupation within the county.)—Comprises representatives of both employers' and employees' associations in the occupation concerned. Responsible for securing a technical standard of training and its relevance to the named occupation it represents. (Latest plan is to revamp these Course Committees so they represent a cluster of allied occupations rather than single vocations.)



Board arranges for housing either for retraining course participants or for permanent moves from one job to another. Special hostels for such occupationally replaced individuals have sometimes been provided through the county facilities.

A second facet of retraining which affects individual morale is that of keeping the employee busy by minimizing the gap between his leaving work and retraining courses, and between the courses and the new employment. Course planning must be adaptable in several directions to fit the needs of the varying situations. Perhaps one retraining course has been under way for six weeks when a new entrant shows up as a result of a recently created redundancy. Sending a man with his family to another training center is only one possible solution, so the county Course Boards face the persistent dilemma of meshing, economically, each individual to a complex of constantly starting courses.

Bertil's own retraining situation may serve as an example of one added dimension to the course offering plan. His particular course would last one year, but certain individuals in it needed only portions of the course. Thus, it was planned so that a sequence of eighteen, twenty-four or thirty-six weeks could be followed by those who were found an appropriate niche before their course was finished. Such personal adjustments would appear to be relatively easy in a situation where classes would contain between eight and sixteen students.

#### *Some Statistics*

Although there have been about twenty thousand adults yearly involved in retraining, the firms themselves have not been doing all this work. Established vocational schools at the secondary level have taken their share of responsibility, and there is considerable facility provided for individual retraining, often within the famous network of correspondence study. Development of retraining has been slow, and the cost has been shifted only gradually from original apprenticeship schooling to adult retraining. At the same time that individuals have been receiving family, travel, rent and special grants from the state for their retraining, the firms themselves have been receiving money from the same government source for the retraining of employees. A portion of the fifteen million dollars spent each year in retraining the twenty thousand adults goes directly to factories.

A review of those in unemployment courses in May, 1962 indicated that of the total involved, sixteen per cent were under eighteen years of age, about twenty per cent fell into the bracket of years between age twenty-two and thirty-four, and about nineteen per cent were between thirty-five and forty-four. The remaining fifteen per cent were forty-five or older. Thus Bertil, at thirty-three, fitted into the most populous group of retrainees.



study circles might be placed along a continuum or scale as to frequency of meeting. Some meet occasionally, when a subject occurs to a member, or when leisure time is available; some meet weekly, and still others establish a study schedule similar to any well-run school but adapted to adult needs and demands.

Perhaps a clearer picture of the entire process can be gained, however, by looking at the study circles in terms of degree of organization. Mainly they might be separated as either informal, discussion circles, or as more formalized teaching circles. If informal, a circle might be in the form of a leisurely social club; if formal, a congregated group might seem to be an extension of daytime classes, complete with teacher and in a school setting. Reading circles, for example, might be quite informal, with discussion gatherings only slightly less so. Lecture circles obviously might border on the formal side. Certainly less relaxed would be the school or teacher circles, and perhaps most formal of all the university circles for adults with professors in charge. Each of these study circle types, from the quite informal through the more conventional in organization, will be treated in turn.

### *Reading Circles*

The least formal efforts quite naturally initiated the study circle movement, and since their inception informal groups such as the reading circles have not changed much. If there is a "typical" reading group it might well be found meeting in a member's home, focussing its attention on books purchased for the circle as either interesting or useful. This is a relaxed evening, interlaced with music and with frequent insertions of discussion. As essential as the reading matter is the late evening refreshment.

There are formal elements to the reading circle—props which might not be found in other countries and which give evidence that there is some assistance from beyond the circle's perimeter. Frequently there is a study guide, published and distributed by one or several of the sponsoring organizations. Also each session has an appointed leader who is responsible for the conduct of the evening's meeting, and this rotating responsibility includes making a report on the book and introducing and controlling the evening's study.

It is possible to find reading circles without study guides and without leaders, but evidence is quite clear that organizational help from outside, as well as leadership assignments within the group, tend to keep the circles from disbanding through lack of interest.

In fact a trained leadership has been considered so essential to running circles effectively that the Workers' Educational Association, which has assumed a principal responsibility in study circles, has arranged residential courses purposely to train circle leaders. Such courses are concentrated into



two solid weeks of study, followed up by intensive weekends of further stimulation. In 1959 alone, about five thousand leaders were being prepared in this type of course under the W.E.A.

### *Discussion Groups*

In the hierarchy of evening study groups the next level upward has been called the discussion circle. Again, the best chance of locating one of these relatively informal gatherings might be to knock at the door of a private home. Inside one would likely find no book for orienting the discussion but some topic chosen for report and discussion. Again, music and refreshment may well accompany the discussion, but before the group disbands it usually selects a subject for consideration at the next meeting. A variation on this circle theme may be the so-called "report circle," for two or three reports may be read by individuals assigned the task, and these reporters lead the discussion and help to maintain an organization to the presentation.

An interesting shift to the report approach might be the listening technique in which the cluster of attenders audits a radio or television broadcast aimed at such circles, then utilizes study guides published and distributed by the broadcasters. Again, the distributed materials tend to formalize the gathering and the sequence of scheduled broadcasts, complete with printed guides, helps to maintain the group through the bitter evenings of an almost interminable winter.

A more formal approach to the discussion circle might involve a peripatetic lecturer, hired to speak to such circles and to remain to assist in subsequent discussions. Or if the group is sizeable he might find himself responsible to one sub-group or might even float between sections of the overall gathering. Lecturers chosen for such meetings are usually popular drawing cards and are sponsored to get out the crowds as well as to keep the circles active and interested.

### *School Circles*

Certainly within the realm of the more ceremonial study circles would be the school or teacher circles, with an educational building provided to house such meetings. Tutors, often drawn from among the professional staff, are appointed masters of the group. Some such groups would comprise teachers, but generally the name "teacher circle" does not mean that others are excluded. Most likely, however, the classroom atmosphere would be maintained by having academic subjects treated under subject-matter experts. Similarities of these circles to what we know of as night school are obvious.

Most conventional sounding of all are the so-called university circles which might meet in a classroom of higher learning, but which certainly would have as tutor one of the professional members of the staff. Frequent-



sions and giving readily disseminated professional help; also the leadership training program continues to expand. Thirdly, organized correspondence maintains interest between sessions as well as rekindling interest during the sessions themselves. Lastly, thirty regional centers have helped to continue rapport, "to make outlying areas less outlying."

These are ways of saying that whereas circles started as informal gatherings of interested individuals meeting in homes, evidence is clear that both formal and professional efforts have been brought to bear on all types of study circle, so that the movement today holds an assured place in the world recognized effort to educate a huge segment of one country's adult population.



CHAPTER XVI  
NORWAY  
Efforts to Retrain Adults in Outlying Areas

*The Setting*

The Russian czars established a reputation for borrowing the best educational practices from abroad and applying them, more or less effectively, in their own educational plans. More recently, when Communism came to Russia, models of excellent adult education were sought in order to bring instant literacy to the people. The regime looked to Scandinavia for an efficient, quality model of adult education, for that northern area of Europe had long been renowned for its distinguished mass handling of adults in further education.

Today the breed of educators who look for school models outside their own lands are called comparative educators. These professionals include geography as a determining factor of what the curricular content of any country's schools is. One of the best examples of the pertinence of a country's geography to its education is found in Norway. To the tourist the country finds its fascination in clouded mountains which are said to contain lurking trolls and its fjords which slice the west coast, but these very features make the business of educating beyond city limits a most difficult undertaking. Blond nights and midnight suns are brief, for winters turn severe and mountains and bays frequently make communication almost impassable for the extended, darker months of the year when schools are in session.

The very importance of Norway's overpowering geography is proclaimed through the initial lines of the national anthem which call for a love for "land furrowed and weatherbeaten by the ocean." Many countries can boast of seaside villages, but Norway has its back against empty and almost insurmountable mountains. Only two thousand of the 150,000 off-shore islands are inhabited, and the story goes that some cliff clinging farms are so far up the heights that when Danish tax collectors used to drop by, the farmers were rendered instantly unavailable by simply pulling up their ladders.

Geography is but one factor; Norway's contemporary economy is closely related to its schools. Not only is discovery of underwater oil changing adult occupations along the west coast, but the once reliable fishing and



necessitate intricate combinations of bus and ferry and rail head coordination. The problem is peculiar to the area, and trainees can thus utilize their skills only by remaining within the district which trains them.

A pervading purpose of all these district colleges, which distinguishes them from the universities, is the breadth of training necessitated for small-town jobs. A university law graduate may be assigned a ministry post in the national government, but for municipal administration in outlying areas, versatility rather than a law degree is essential. Or a shop manager in a remote town might have to decorate his own store's window in addition to hiring personnel and keeping the books. To encourage this nonspecialized approach in the district colleges, interdisciplinary seminars which cut across traditional course lines have been established.

One other established college has turned to special seminars to fill such local needs as how to manage the many facets of travelling cultural activities—symphony orchestras, choral groups or dramatists which are on their way through town. A few failures in competent management of these peripatetic activities have convinced the natives that such management training might help. Seminars, in particular, are inclined to be experimental, but all grow from regional demands for skills not previously taught.

District colleges include as their student population individuals who, only two years earlier, might have drifted to the city or who certainly never would have had an opportunity for education beyond secondary level. Although all such colleges are experimental institutions, they have been remarkable from their inception in that the central government which supports them, in a startling act of speed, planned and launched them within a few, concise months.

Boards which run them are drawn mainly from within the counties served, although some higher educational representatives sit on each to help develop programs acceptable to the three existing state universities. Attrition within the schools is remarkably low and their most immediate graduates are to face the "real" world in the spring of 1971 when they emerge to assume roles in the area's industries and businesses. Inasmuch as these very employers have helped to develop the programs offered by the colleges, there is some assurance that these adults will be placed in work pertinent to their updated training.<sup>4</sup>

### *Retooling Adults to Modern Jobs*

Along with other nations, Norway has had recent shifts in employment

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<sup>4</sup> In the autumn months of 1970 the author of this article's Scandinavian sabbatical project was to investigate these district colleges in action. At that time he conferred at length with government officials involved with the district colleges, visited the established schools and conferred with directors of colleges about to be created.



demands. Machines have brought on some technological unemployment, especially among people forty years old and beyond. Interestingly enough, one example of this relates to a newly created district college currently phasing out the existence of the irrelevant agricultural school where it has taken over the physical plant; there four venerated instructors with special farm skills are being rendered redundant to modern demands. Indeed, across Norway, farm training is one of the major businesses where demand for trained skills has been sharply reduced. Other traditionally popular channels for employment which have recently been narrowed are fisheries and forest work.

Government offices, such as the Labor Ministry in Oslo, are alert to these changing demands and assume the responsibility for retraining. They may devise courses in appropriate outlying areas to rearm adults to mesh with updated employment demands, yet each course is financed if not directed most clearly through the Adult Education Department of the country's Educational Ministry.

Broadly, three types of institutes for retraining these technologically displaced adults are readily categorized. One of these utilizes existing vocational schools that are already equipped to turn out qualified technicians. As retraining facilities, these are used during after-school hours so that the adults are retrained while holding their regular work. Skilled workers are also getting refresher courses sponsored by the central government's Labor Directorate. This is a form of inservice training to assure that the most seasoned and valuable employees keep abreast of the improved skills in their vocations.

A third facility, and prerequisite to the others, is the preparation of retraining teachers for both types of instruction noted above. Schools such as the State Technological Institute or the Foreman's Institute at Kongsberg handle the professional education of these instructors who must have had some years of practical work experience following their apprenticeship before qualifying for training as instructors.

### *Floating Missions*

Two current experiments reflect the country's effort to extend the benefits of a liberal education to the most remote places. We recognize both of these samples as cultural Mission-HOPE ships as they ply the most inaccessible waters to bear music and reading exclusively to the most diminutive, clinging hamlets.

After the winter's ice and storms cluttered the western fjords last winter, the hardy vessel *Epos* stopped at 335 village ports along Norway's west coast. It contained a floating library of 37,000 volumes and its circulation would bring a smile of success to the most sober librarian. This novel form



CHAPTER XVII  
NORWAY  
Colleges to Meet Area's Economic Needs

*Introduction*

Our own history of education texts tell us that for three centuries the United States inherited and borrowed many of its school ideas from Europe, then was inclined to tailor these to our most pressing domestic educational demands. First our colonizers brought with them their native country's education, then we continued to borrow generously such things as France's liberated educational philosophy, Germany's kindergarten, practical schooling and state operated systems of education as well as that country's university concept. More spottily we have been impressed with school manifestations extending from Sweden to the Alps and from Russia to Scotland.<sup>1</sup>

Especially since the Second World War the tide of ideas has turned. Our educational system survived both wars relatively uninterrupted and unscathed and our somewhat idealized extension of education to the masses, in its many forms, has proven to be downright contagious, not only within Europe, but universally. Our own professional literature is pregnant with examples. Gerald Read, for instance, has recently declared that our secondary education for everyone has been the most alluring of our indigenous movements to be courted abroad.<sup>2</sup>

One of our more recently workable institutions which has enjoyed monumental success first here, and has subsequently spread around the world is our community college. The international broadcast of this movement has been reflected in the *Junior College Journal* which, in the past eight years, has contained articles on this innovation's effects in Canada, South America, England and several continental countries, Africa and across the Middle East. Several articles on Japanese junior colleges complement this world circuit.

Over a number of years the writer has expressed an extended interest in Norway's education. His concern and curiosity there has centered far more

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<sup>1</sup> Our total borrowings, country by country, are paraded in Richard E. Gross (ed.), *Heritage of American Education*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1962.

<sup>2</sup> Gerald Read, "The Revolutionary Movement in Secondary Education Throughout the World," *Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals*, No. 353 (March 1971), pp. 13-24.



on how that nation brings functional schooling to the common people of outlying areas than on the better-known channels of academic preparation.<sup>3</sup>

To serve as a springboard for an intensive, on-the-spot investigation of Norway's newly created "district" colleges, the author searched the available literature on the topic and developed an overview news item for *School and Society* magazine.<sup>4</sup> That article reviewed developments and plans for Norway's two-year colleges as of October, 1969. By then three district colleges had been established in outlying communities. Remarkable features reported on these neophyte institutions were: 1) the efficiency with which they were legislated, funded and put into operation, 2) the relevance of their curricular offerings to the peculiar economic demands of the districts in which each was established.

Central concerns of those who planned these two-year colleges were that students in attendance should be able to transfer credits earned to the third year of Norwegian universities, and that other attenders would be trained to enter, immediately, existing jobs within the area. Norway's apprehension has been to retain population in less urbanized areas and the immediacy of this problem has prompted the country's *Storting* (parliament) to take uncommonly swift action in creating these district colleges with special programs to assure that the economies of outlying areas are supported and strengthened.

### *A Questionable Luggage*

During the autumn months of 1970 the writer undertook research into the nature of Norway's district colleges by jetting to the scene of action. He went forth armed with certain basic questions central to an understanding of these institutions, and spent much of his time in conference with the school directors in an effort to answer the questions. The queries are representative of those that might be asked by American professionals in the community college area,<sup>5</sup> and seem to have constituted the framework for other country articles appearing in earlier issues of the *Junior College Journal*.

### *What Bodies Planned the Colleges and Who Perpetuates Them?*

The *State (Federal) Commission for Advanced Education* initiated the

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<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Robert E. Belding, "A Long Way to School," *The Norseman*, No. 3, 1970, pp. 75-78. Also "Norway's Far-Out Education," *The American-Scandinavian Review* (Autumn 1971).

<sup>4</sup> Robert E. Belding, "Norway's District Colleges," *School and Society*, Vol. 99, No. 2330 (January 1971), pp. 54-55.

<sup>5</sup> The armament of questions was provided from extended conversation with Professor Duane Anderson, specialist in community colleges within the Division of Higher Education at The University of Iowa.



The new college seems to be a going concern and its administration is stabilized, although it may be too much a manifestation of one strong and venerated man's views and hobbies.

By contrast the Molde District College, serving the Møre and Ramsdal district in the mid-section of the endless west coast, stands in interesting contrast to its sister institution at Stavanger. The college itself has been established in a modified hotel, with former bedrooms renovated into offices and conference rooms redesigned for lecture halls. The hotel's restaurant has become the student cafeteria and lounge, and a few non-commuting students occupy the top floor rooms of the converted hotel, although a new residence house is being built for these relative "outlanders." The first director of this school is returning to his headmastership of the local *gymnas*, but other members of the ongoing administration and staff are better stabilized in their positions.

Molde's unique features, meriting a district college, are even more pronounced than those of Stavanger. Forty-two bus routes converge on the community, which serves as hub for a vast network of fjord-hopping transportation extending over a broad but crenelated area along the west coast. Buses are coordinated with ferries which in turn are coordinated with other buses, with rail heads and air arrivals and departures met. The curriculum for this form of intricate transport planning has now shifted from Oslo to the environment of the unique problem. A "terminal" offering of the school has thus become transport management.<sup>8</sup>

Another employment need that is related to the existing transport system is the existence of an abundance of small shops in the city of Molde. It is a trade center of some magnitude. People are disgorged from buses and do their purchasing in the town. The need for medium trained managers and workers in these stores is apparent. University graduates would hardly be attracted to such remotely situated, non-specialist positions, but those acquainted with the region are ready to learn, through schooling, the types of versatile bookkeeping, of window dressing, of floor walking and other personnel techniques necessary for the small retail stores. This has already proven to be a popular course, with full support from the retail establishments.

Molde is also a center for manufacture of ready-to-wear clothing. Stu-

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<sup>8</sup> Inadvertently but delightfully the author was exposed to the area's intricate web of transportation. While visiting the district colleges the airline carrying him to the nearest commercial airport was struck and grounded the morning he planned to leave Molde. Consequently he spent an entire day skirting beautiful fjords by bus, crossing them by ferry, and ultimately traveling by train through Norway's spectacular Alps. Had it not been for the stewardess strike he would have missed out on a major, unprofessional side adventure to his research.



dents at the district college acquire skills in using the various machines, often going into the factories to operate them. Supervisory personnel in training are thus given experience in the tasks involved in running and maintaining the cutting and sewing machines and other intricate equipment used in the local clothing factories.

As in the case of Stavanger, the planning board for establishing this school was run by local individuals, including the management that would most immediately profit from the school. There has also been some assurance that certain graduates of the two-year college could be transferred to a Norwegian state university. Demands for specialists seemed as critical in Molde as they were in Stavanger, yet the shift in economic priorities seemed less obvious. Because of its location, Molde is more tradition bound than Stavanger, yet modern Molde, with a sparkingly new city hall and multi-leveled park incorporated in its essential market place, seems to be more in tune with the times than much of quaint Stavanger. Both communities are doing what they can to assure that trained residents of the area will see fit to remain rather than moving to the congested city areas. Both schools have retained local District College Boards comprising, by legislation, a university representative, a member of the college's own teaching staff, a member of its student body, plus three individuals selected by the local Board. The college's rector is secretary to the Board, but without a vote. A second student representative also sits without a vote on the Board.

Interview with a fellow researcher<sup>9</sup> who had just returned from a visit to the third original district college at Kristiansand (south coast) yielded the following information that is comparable to that drawn from the personal visits to Stavanger and Molde.

The school was established in a portion of the city's museum, where its director has served as curator. Thus the curricular emphasis is cultural. Ties with humanistic elements of the University of Oslo are strong and expect to be perpetuated. However, the newly appointed Director of Studies is an economist who should spread the base of art studies to a concern for local needs. As will presently be seen in a review of its teaching staff, much of the endeavor has sprung from what human and physical resources were available, rather than from a total recruitment of outside personnel.

As was hoped by planners of the Kristiansand college, there is a unique course offering at this institution. A plan for expansion of the arts emphasis will incorporate a core of musicians, for Norway badly needs accomplished musicians—especially those qualified to teach. The program would also pre-

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<sup>9</sup> Miss Dorotea Furth from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in Paris, gave generously from her notes. Much of her material gained from the Norway visit has been subsequently incorporated in the report *Towards New Structures of Post-Secondary Education*, Paris: O.E.C.D., 1971.



pare potential orchestra leaders to handle batons, albeit at the amateur level. Municipal, regional and federal administrators are needed and the Kristiansand school aspires to do their training. New resources in social sciences are being explored. Norway's second largest labor union—containing both blue and white collar workers, is the federation of municipal workers. The need for versatile, regional administrators is apparent and may be compared to Molde's need for small shopkeepers who can turn their hands to many tasks; the Kristiansand school is building a program to prepare these administrators.

More a national concern than a national need is the demand for interpreters and translators, and Kristiansand stands ready to help build a faculty in this area. Thus far this need has mainly been filled by disorganized, small, private courses, and the moment appears ripe to incorporate such a program under the politically popular umbrella of a district college. Again, Kristiansand is poised to assume this task. Perhaps a unique feature of this south coast institution is its willingness to train people that will be useful to many outlying areas across Norway. While its emphasis does not seem narrowly oriented to its district, it does have smaller communities in mind.

The district, itself, is not being neglected, however. Some of the less clean-handed occupations already existing there are having trainees prepared in this institution which is so readily identified with the arts. The town is Norway's principal south coast port, and fishing industries there are being retooled, with new, technical skills demanded to perpetuate this essential business. The port town itself is an aluminum production center, and middle management personnel are needed in this; inasmuch as the Board for the institution contains key men from the locale, these needs are already being met by its own district college.

#### *Who Are the Teachers at the District Colleges?*

In order to give immediate status to teachers in these institutions, those hired to teach are called "lecturers." Because all district colleges are experimental, "lecturers" are best compared to our assistant professors without tenure. Formal qualifications for these teachers include holding a first "main topic" degree, positioned someplace between our masters and Ph.D. Each should have had either teaching or work experience. A "typical" lecturer has received his degree in business from Bergen University, or in engineering from Trondheim.

Although it has not been easy to lure lecturers to these far-out regions, there has been a genuine effort to keep selection of faculty comparable to standards established by the three state universities.

A persistent question asked by this writer was "Why would anyone leave Oslo or Bergen to teach in some outlying college?" Five answers were forthcoming and reiterated:



A) Redistribution of the country's economy is a reality; civil servants and others are being relocated in an effort to decentralize industries, businesses and government services.

B) Better housing and living conditions exist in remote areas. Prestige may be lowered, but pay is good and houses are available at low rent. Those who have waited on an apartment list for eight years in Oslo should be vulnerable to such "outlandish" lures.

C) The innovative, pioneer atmosphere of the district colleges gives freedom for experimentation to some younger teachers. Indeed, the very legislation into existence of the colleges stresses their freedom to try new ideas.

D) The work burden in universities has become unbearable as student bodies increase out of proportion to faculty additions. Enrollments at district colleges are small and faculty-student relations informal.

E) Graduates of city universities must spend an apprenticeship time in outlying areas before returning to be inbred with their *alma maters*.

Despite these points of attraction, there is copious evidence that, in assignment of teachers, expediency predominates. For example, lecturers at Kristiansand are mainly on part-time appointments from local businesses and industries. This assures a rapport between what is taught and the needs of the area, but it does not necessarily help the stature of the college. Admittedly a job has been created for an available chemist who has expressed interest in work at Kristiansand. He and the newly uncovered lecturer in English, although in some ways irrelevant to the immediate needs of the district, will at least smooth the transfer of students to upper years of Norway's liberal arts universities.

### *How Are the Colleges Financed?*

Post-secondary schooling in Norway is an important business of the federal government; district colleges are no exception. Inasmuch as the two-year colleges are planted in outside areas to retain or resurrect whatever economy and human resources these areas possess, none of the districts are presently wealthy enough to finance their own new institutions. A present concern of the federal government is to add life to these areas by installing the cultural amenities and economic advantages of big cities.

The central Ministry is ready to fund somewhat liberally these newly created institutions, not by standing behind the building of new campuses, but by paying attractive faculty salaries and maintaining the general budget of each. Beyond contributing existing buildings for these institutions, local communities have been funding conversion of donated structures as well as constructing new housing and paying for some appended facilities and equipment to the existing edifices.

Regret over generous federal financing was expressed by one foresighted



Stavanger official who suggested that if the district were required to contribute a third of the budget, people of the area might continue to remain interested in its school's perpetuation.

*What Voice Does Oslo's Central Ministry Have in the Curriculum of Colleges Intended to Meet Outlying Economic Needs?*

A relatively young man, with fresh curricular ideas and the proper modicum of tolerance, has been appointed within the central Ministry of Education to plan and advise on the new curricula of district colleges. There must be some control exercised over new offerings, especially if an aura of "respectability" is to be maintained and if universities are to be served. Thus far there has been much local planning, but some control of the experimental aspects comes from Mr. Langlo, Curriculum Director in the capital city.

Despite the centralized nature of schools in Norway, a certain local autonomy is assured by the mere facts of geography; communities such as Molde are isolated for winter months on end, and central authorities cannot be reached. Mr. Sørheim, the Ministry's Director of District Colleges, is dedicated to relinquishing curricular control to his outlying colleges. The trend to more district control is manifested especially in what transpires in the four newest colleges which opened in September 1971. Directors chosen for these institutions, already benefiting from lessons learned from 1969-founded schools, are younger men; none represent the classical tradition of education in Norway and each is already known for conducting classes in non-lecturing patterns.

*How Are District Colleges Publicized?*

To date the responsibility for writing news concerning the district colleges has been assumed by each director. As indicated earlier in the case of Stavanger, there is need in Norway for careful and responsible news reporters. Lack of faith in quality news reporting was evidenced at several points, so that each school director, and Sørheim himself, as principal public relations men, produce their own copy. If the colleges enjoy favorable publicity generally, it is because the popularization of this level of education is politically the thing of the moment and the directors themselves—each dedicated to promoting his own institution—are writing their 'scripts.

Newspapers have been generous in providing space for stories and pictures. In the words of one ardent supporter, district colleges may have become too popular a topic for journalists; more control is being exercised over the quantity and quality of reports than was earlier apparent when the newborn baby was first celebrated.

The college at Molde recently conducted a workshop for employers of the entire area—with special concentration on businesses beyond Molde but still



within the district. That school's Academic Dean reported to have sold businessmen on the idea of A) helping to build varied curricula around the jobs they needed filled, and B) hiring graduates to retain trained individuals in the district. The fact that more such workshops, especially for the planned colleges, are being generously financed by the Ministry would attest to the effectiveness of such public relations devices.

#### *To What Extent Did Norway Look Abroad for Models of District Colleges?*

There was no clear answer to this query and the writer was unable to pursue the question beyond the individuals consulted. *Rektors* of the colleges had remained on the scene, so knew only of developments as their own institutions emerged. Central planners in Oslo admittedly looked for successful and comparable models abroad. Influence from the United States was basic but indirect; no team was sent stateside to visit our community colleges. Japan was recognized as a more pertinent exemplar for Norway to follow, for those oriental institutions have retained a fine curricular balance between theory and practice. Influences on the Japanese two-year colleges from the United States are direct and have been reported overtly by one of Japan's leaders in this level of instruction.<sup>10</sup>

Historically Scandinavians have found much cohesion in their study and exchange of institutions from each other. Sweden has established junior colleges, and Norway has peered across the border for possible lessons. But Sweden's most apparent emphasis is, for the moment, Norway's weakest point: Sweden's junior colleges are exclusively "university subsidiaries," attached to universities and ultimately planning to blossom into universities. In Sweden's institutions at this level there are no courses offered which especially serve the district, with the built-in intension that students will remain close to home in their eventual work; nor are immediately useful courses offered. The lesson from Sweden's counterpart institutions is perceived as pertinent as Norway tries to strengthen its university-transfer aspect of district colleges. The point leads into the next question:

#### *To What Extent Do District Colleges Actually Prepare for University Transfer?*

Even the "oldest" district colleges have passed their second birthday, but none, to date, have enjoyed full recognition by universities. Some courses may be transferred without repetition, but no two-year equivalent to the universities presently exists. Mathematics and language programs are principal lacks that need strengthening toward accreditation. As might be ex-

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<sup>10</sup> Akira Watanabe, "Genesis of the Japanese Junior College," *Junior College Journal*, February 1964, p. 21.



pected, the two-pronged thrust of the present colleges—innovation and practical offerings—are contradictory to university traditions.

A note of optimism was struck by Mr. Sørheim in Oslo through his statement: "As universities continue to expand beyond their limits, they will shortly be forced to permit district colleges to substitute for their initial years." Some university admissions personnel are already suggesting to applicants the alternative of attendance at district colleges to divert or temporarily delay masses of younger students from banging at their portals.

One newspaper headline, even while this writer was examining the district colleges, screamed the words: "Need for University Places Urgent." The article thereunder noted that Oslo University, in 1955, contained 3,500 students. Its new, Blindern campus was built to house 8,000 students, yet today it has twice that number. Projection for 1980 is 30,000 students. It was in September 1970 that the nation's parliament rejected the proposal to establish a second full fledged university in Oslo. By such action the popularity of district colleges as equivalents to the first university years should be assured.

A present obstacle to transfer is the system of autonomy enjoyed by the existing universities. Each sets its own examinations. Its Propaedeutic (preparatory) Year for students, built into the university's operation, is an intensive running start for its very own Philisophicum examination. Obviously, the universities have not become habituated to transferring students, even among themselves. Nor would it appear that they are yet prepared to accept students from district colleges which are not geared to Propaedeutic Years of instruction.

Changes are being aired, however, which should benefit those aspiring to move from district colleges to the upper university years. Among the goals for tertiary education recommended in the Ottosen Committee's final report were more realistic university admissions rules and a simplification of the examination system.<sup>11</sup> Both entrance and Philisophicum examinations are headed toward a central, national control. This should facilitate transfers between all types of post-secondary schools.

### *Conclusion*

From what has been said here, it should be apparent that the non-academically inclined are those who are receiving preferential treatment at the district colleges. Inasmuch as this emphasis was incorporated into the present institutions, it is bound to remain a central stress. Freedom to innovate will continue to thrive in such a nontraditional atmosphere. Geographic dis-

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<sup>11</sup> "Simplification of Exam System," *News of Norway*, Vol. 27, No. 19 (October 30, 1970), p. 75.



tance from headquarters and from existing universities will help to perpetuate the innovative and practical qualities of these new schools. In less than a decade (1980) there are plans for a total of twelve district colleges. By then they should no longer bear the label "experimental" with untenured faculties and administrations. The combination of emphasis on serving district employment needs and providing courses transferable to universities should assure their perpetuation as well as growth.



## CHAPTER XVIII

### FINLAND

#### Cultivating Selected Imports for People's Education

##### *Introduction*

It is a matter of national pride that few school administrators in Europe will admit that their educational ideas have frequently been borrowed from abroad. The foreigner, from his safely distant outlook, may perceive such appropriations more objectively than would be possible from within the country itself.

Our own educational historians have often admitted that our schools, in one form or another, have been imported from Europe. A popular view among American educators is that the United States has by policy tailored its school imports to our peculiar economic and cultural demands. Europeans recently have been jetting some of our bulkier school ideas to their lands, uncrating and incorporating them, often uncritically, into their school systems. It is refreshing to find one European nation inclined to admit peeking across borders, taking its time weighing the pertinent and casting off irrelevant practices, and adjusting foreign school ideas to its own demands.

The country is Finland; most consistent borrowing there has been in the realm of adult education for the masses.<sup>1</sup> That nation's adult education is hardly a simple business to describe; it is a varied program in which fifteen private and public agencies cooperate to produce a useful offering suited to the majority of mature citizens. Alterations in public education for school-agers have made it imperative that adults, who received far less education, return to some form of schooling in order to retain jobs, to keep abreast of a changing world, and to communicate with the younger generation.

##### *Population Shifts and Job Changes*

Finland currently supports a population of approximately 4,700,000 (1970). Like other countries of northern Europe, its forest industries have been streamlined and fisheries and farms mechanized. As the rural population has been lured to city areas, some effort has been spent on reducing

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<sup>1</sup> Factual assistance for development of this chapter has been generously accorded by Miss Kaisa Savolainen, Secretary-General of the Finnish Association of Adult Education Organizations.



the rush of population to cities by providing more appropriate education for the people of outlying areas. Today slightly under a quarter of the population lives off primary production. Thirty-five per cent of its adults are involved in industry and construction jobs; the remainder are in service positions.<sup>2</sup>

One Finnish author on adult educational matters reminds his foreign readers that the Finns endure a cold climate where reactions may flow sluggishly and where consequently new ideas may be assumed only after careful deliberation.<sup>3</sup> It is true that Finland has taken years to absorb some foreign ideas while nearby countries picked up the same ideas with far less hesitation. To the outsider it appears to have paid this unpretentious country to wait, for what it has adopted from abroad seems to have meshed comfortably with the country's needs.

### *Initial Impetus to Adult Education*

For six centuries Finland had been a part of Sweden's empire; then in 1819 it was transferred as another duchy for the Russian czar. After the Bolshevik Revolution it gained independence. Then its most pressing task was to construct a new posture of nationalism for its population—an immediate goal for adult education.<sup>4</sup>

Actually a guided tour arranged for teachers brought the initial interest in the possible adoption of foreign ideas for adult education to the Finnish mainland. In 1863 the country's first Teacher Training Seminar went to study schools in Germany and Denmark with the idea in mind that their country could benefit from lessons learned abroad.

In Germany the group visited the *Society for Adult Education*. To assure the popularization of education leveled at adults, Germany was eventually to insist that all communities of over 300 population were to extend further schooling opportunities to adults. The visitors from Finland were most impressed with the group study aspect of the German association's endeavor; equally impressive was the Society's provision of adult reading materials in public libraries.

Incidentally, while this original group of teachers was in Germany, it saw efforts to bring formal organization to dissemination of popular culture among the masses. From this visit came the impetus to create Finland's venerated organization, the *Society for Popular Education*, established in 1874.

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<sup>2</sup> Kosti Huuhka, "Adult Education in Finland," *Adult Education in Finland*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 1970, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Erkki Laurila, "Some Features of Cultural Life in Finland," *Adult Education in Finland*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 1969, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Erkki Karjalainen, "Foreign Impulses and International Cooperation in Finnish Adult Education," *Adult Education in Finland*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1970.



Among other things today that society publishes a scholarly pamphlet in English, designed to advertise abroad the diverse involvements of Finland in adult education for the masses.

On its return trip from Germany the peripatetic teacher seminar stopped in Denmark to inspect folk high schools. These unusual boarding institutions with a moral emphasis and a socially useful curriculum had already been on the Danish rural scene for twenty years and had been tried in other Scandinavian countries. The idea was to be introduced to Finland and recently labor groups there have brought fresh purposes as well as enrollments to their folk high schools. Unique qualities incorporated in Finnish folk highs were two: They were to be open equally to both sexes and the subject matter from the start was to emphasize the practical. Today there are forty such schools in Finland and they have played a significant role in bringing literacy—especially the vernacular—to vast numbers of adults.<sup>5</sup>

### *University Involvement*

It is clear that the intelligentsia did most, in early years, to stimulate interest in bringing education to the mature. Finland's universities again looked abroad for models. In 1850 certain Englishmen had convinced Oxford University it should endow professoriates in outlying provinces.<sup>6</sup> Some of England's municipal universities later grew from this effort and, more recently, its Open University, broadcast to listeners, has emerged from the effective work of bringing university studies to the masses. Finland contemplated this effort at a distance and ultimately established its own *Institute of Adult Education* at one of its universities.

A more proximate experience with university involvement, with emphasis on the natural sciences, was launched in Stockholm in 1880. By 1900 Finland had adjusted this idea to the University of Tampere and was attracting laborers to classes. Again, Finland changed the emphasis from natural sciences to the emerging social studies. Government support got this under way, yet by 1920 it was turned over to local auspices.

Finland's *Society for Popular Culture* admits that today's effort from university level holds many possibilities for improvement. Indeed, it declares its practical applications of university affiliation thus far have been modest and, in its progressive posture, indicates that universities will, in the future, assume a greater role in furthering the education of adults.<sup>7</sup>

### *Home Study in Circles*

Because Sweden has met with such outstanding success in its fascinating

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<sup>5</sup> Kosti Huuhka, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>6</sup> A. D. C. Peters, "Adult Education," Chapter IX, *A Hundred Years of Education*, London: Gerald Duckworth and Co., 1960 (revised), pp. 212-213.

<sup>7</sup> Erkki Karjalainen, *op. cit.*, p. 9.



variations on the study circle theme, it has been readily assumed that the study circle was indigenous to that country.<sup>8</sup> Systematic and guided home study was actually initiated and strengthened in the United States where, in the 1870s, the Chautauqua Institute attracted the masses to worthwhile endeavors that would fill their off-work hours.<sup>9</sup> It was well advertised; first England tried its home study aspects.

Such fireside study was introduced to Scandinavia in the early 1900s as a personalized, individual affair, but by the 1920s it was becoming socialized as neighbors gathered in study circles with a common purpose of contemplation and discussion.

From another angle, this movement can be seen as a tide of the Good Templars movement which started in the United States, moved to England and ultimately died out in Sweden. For this temperance organization, home study was intended to replace visits to what were then called saloons. During one period, the enthusiastic battle cry of the temperance societies across Sweden was "Down with the distilleries, up with the schools! Out with strong drink and in with good books."<sup>10</sup> Britishers have credited the Americans with the idea and from it established their *National Home Reading Union* in 1889. The group was initially affiliated with England's temperance organizations, but was subsequently taken over and assured a membership of laborers as the all union *Workers Education Association* grew.

In 1903 Finland's own temperance organization looked to Sweden's experience with home study, and five years later Dr. Vainö Voionma became Finland's pioneer promoter of home study. As in other countries, the original temperance support in Finland has fallen away as other groups have assumed the broadening responsibilities for home study.

Study circles in Sweden have been publicized as an example of commendable cooperation among industries, unions, and government. In Finland the *Central League for Study Circle Activity* has served as chief coordinator, although a number of related groups including even the *Swedish League for Study Circle Activity*, which collaborates in promoting adult education in Finland, are also peripherally or directly involved.

What has been the uniquely Finnish twist to domestic lessons in study circles? Emphasis has been on a sensitive application reflecting Finland's

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<sup>8</sup> Robert E. Belding, "Study Circles in Sweden," *Adult Education*, XIV, No. 3 (Spring 1964), pp. 146-150.

<sup>9</sup> Herbert B. Adams, "Summer Schools and University Extension," No. 16, *Monographs on Education in the United States*, edited by Nicholas Murray Butler. Albany, New York: J. B. Lyon, 1900. Earlier pages of the monograph (pp. 3-18) treat the history and universal impact of the Chautauqua movement.

<sup>10</sup> Quoted in Paul Bergevin, *Adult Education in Sweden: An Introduction*. Indiana University Monograph Series in Adult Education, No. 1, Bloomington: Bureau of Studies in Adult Education, 1961, p. 26.



peculiar history. The centuries of occupation of Finland by outside powers had deprived it of a literature it could identify as its very own, and Swedish had too long been its imposed language. As a sense of nationalism emerged the recognition of a Finnish literature as well as history became important.

Our own school evolution contains two examples of similar patriotic emphasis: At one time our academies, precursors to our high schools, replaced the study of British authors with Americans such as James Fenimore Cooper and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. And in the early years of this century we made a special effort to form "good Americans" of adult immigrants through such media as extension classes and our foreign language press.<sup>11</sup>

In Finland public libraries have been an essential element of study circles, and librarians there made special effort to supply indigenously developed novels in the Finnish language. Too often the literature of the past centuries had been in Swedish, and although this was the language of schooling, the family tongue had remained Finnish. Almost the only literature in the Finnish language, until study circles and public libraries changed the pattern, had been the Bible.

#### *The Mail Man Helps the Cause*

The first American correspondence institute came into being in 1891. Posted lessons did not take long to catch on in Europe, and by 1898 Sweden had established its own commendable pattern. Just ten years later Finland opened its first mail-order school representing individual enterprise, and during the next decade Finland's home study groups incorporated instructions by mail as part of their formalized programs.

For Finland, Sweden remains the main source for correspondence study ideas, for that western neighbor applies its rich researching facilities to each of its educational undertakings. In recent years, selected businesses as well as industries in Finland have assumed the role of designers and promoters of a limited number of correspondence study offerings.

#### *Public Libraries and Settlement Movements*

England pioneered in establishing popular book collections for adult reading and Sweden was next in line. Finland looked selectively to both countries for ideas, but more recently the United States has made its impact through its system of book classification and open stacks; since 1900 a number of Finnish librarians have visited our country to study these practices. Denmark and Germany have also yielded ideas for Finnish librarians and

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<sup>11</sup> Robert A. Carlson, "Americanization as an Early Twentieth-Century Adult Education Movement," *History of Education Quarterly*, Winter 1970 (X, No. 4), p. 445.



the notion of libraries being floated to remote fishing ports has come from Norway.<sup>12</sup>

Charitably supported mission movements, along with their adult educational facilities, were studied by visiting Finns in England in the early 1880s; it was almost forty years before a philanthropically inclined Helsinki educator was to introduce the idea to his country. His concept of settlement work included a free institute, providing basic learning for industrial workers.<sup>13</sup>

Although the most apparent settlement efforts have been devoted to the working classes in the cities of Finland, there are a few newsworthy provincial enterprises. Indeed, one folk high school which has remained in the pastoral environment has been doing an outstanding job in accommodating workers through classrooms conducive to informal discussions. This institution, known as the *Viittakivi Folk High School*, is devoted to international understanding through course content and through foreign students and imported teachers.<sup>14</sup>

#### *Acquisitions from Other Neighbors*

Finland is situated politically and physically between democratic countries of the west and the Soviet Union to the east. Even though the USSR itself has done remarkably well in disseminating education among working adults, it also has turned mainly westward to acquire popular ideas to incorporate. Finland somewhat sparingly has assumed lessons from the East, however, and these bear mentioning.

One parcel of impact from East Europe has been credited to Estonia as an adult cultural source. From the 1880s onward, the Finns have annually celebrated a colorful festival of Estonian singing and music. Such Finnish promoters of adult education as its *Society for Popular Culture* have helped to perpetuate this lively and attractive event.

More recently, the radical Leftists in Finland have held open meetings to attract the masses. Such groups represent the USSR, and many Finns feel they must tolerate them although they do not represent the preferred form of government. Today the countries of East Europe are regarded by the Finns as providing more possibilities for both importing and exporting edu-

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<sup>12</sup> Georg Stang, "Epos—Book Boat in the Fjords," *The Norseman*, 1970, No. 5, pp. 135-136.

<sup>13</sup> Herman Ruge, "Further Education—Finland," *Educational Systems in Scandinavia*. Oslo: Norwegian Universities Press, 1962, p. 29.

<sup>14</sup> The Viittakivi International Folk High School has been reported by Martti Qvist, "Viittakivi—Internationalism in Practice," *Adult Education in Finland*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1970, p. 21.



cational and other ideas, as well as for developing a more tangible trade in hard goods.

### *Trends and Conclusion*

The fact that 15 organizations are involved in adult education in Finland today indicates the country's educational concern. The organizations are not as competitive as they might appear; there is much voluntary, unpaid effort, and evidence abounds that there is more cooperation than competition. Certainly the country's current practice of sharing ideas and eliminating duplication of effort is a healthy trend. The organizations tend to include all facets of adults and a fascinating variety of techniques.

Another identifiable "trend" is in the increasing self-reliance of Finland in developing its own educational innovations and institutions. One example of an indigenous institution would be the *Youth League of Finland*, which from its inception has been deeply involved with developing forms of further education for those who dropped out of school as early as legally possible.

Universities of Finland, which traditionally have shut their doors during summers, are now open year-round and attract adult seminars in the summer months. For the first time grounds and buildings formerly reserved exclusively for the favored elite are now open to "average" people who do not necessarily possess the exam passing qualities of the regular winter students.

All signs would indicate that Finland is heading in what we Americans would consider the proper direction in its abundance of conveniences leveled at educating the adult. However far Finland may be from the usual tourist's beat, other nations, including the United States, might well examine that remotest of Scandinavian lands which remains constantly on the alert for ideas to incorporate in its existing array of offerings to complement adult schooling. Indeed a lesson from Finland's experience would be to slow the process of adopting wholesale, foreign educational ideas, to contemplate and select, to test and to alter school innovations, taking into consideration all pertinent geographic, political, economic and cultural factors that might bear on the educational process.



## CHAPTER XIX

### For Facing Problems—A Fresh Orientation

You have been reading a book with chapters structured within selected political boundaries called nations of Europe. There have been successive chapters on worker education in France, England, the Soviet Union, Germany, Sweden, Norway, and Finland. What has not been historical-descriptive has been a report on the contemporary scene. Even if you are still awake you may identify an atmosphere of complacency in the reading now behind you. This final chapter is designed to elicit an air of restlessness from the subject matter at hand. Such a posture will be injected, hopefully, by a fresh, non-country approach to a review of the book's principal contents.

Political boundaries will be disregarded. It is contended here that problems in labor education as well as solutions that might be tried for size in our country should ultimately be contemplated in a context which abrogates geographic or political barriers. One way of identifying problems is by rounding up similar institutions and comparing or contrasting them with our own.

Once the cover of this book has been folded around the works inside, it is intended that the between-cover contents will provoke further discussion of what we in the United States can do about strengthening our worker education. Certainly this exertion is a central justification for any endeavor in the discipline of comparative education. A healthy exercise is suggested: Someone knowledgeable of the total labor scene in the United States might write a rebuttal to this volume with the purpose of indicating in what ways the United States is already manifesting a variety of the ideas here presented. Certainly any consideration in depth of our own comparable or contrasting institutions is beyond the scope of the opus in hand.

How does one go about scrambling the political-geographic orientation of the previous chapters of this book to come up with the suggested "institutional reorganization?" Lest it become difficult to perceive the pattern of this exercise, it is recorded in point-by-point form:

- I. One *level* of institution that has been treated in this book crossnationally is the *secondary school* and its responsibility in the retraining of youthful workers. The French effort is the most venerated and as one might expect, it springs from a philosophy. It has been reviewed in Chapter Two. From it and with certain practical embellishments has sprung the honored German apprenticeship system, which was treated in Chapter Nine.



Again, during the century when Germany made such a generous contribution to our school betterments, its already tested and improved manual training drifted to our shores and seemed to serve us best at a more advanced level than the one where it had proven most beneficial in Germany. Yet, as we have been reminded, our own renown has come, not from copying ideas exactly as they were implemented in Europe, but rather by adapting them to our own particular environment. In such instances our ingenuity was again challenged and we surfaced with answers which seemed useful at the time. But have we kept up with the changes necessary as our economy has advanced and shifted? Are there not further lessons for us in either of the two original German plans for manual training, or should we forget both as something outmoded and irrelevant?

II. Another problem area can be identified in the "institution" of retooling *adults* to mesh their skills with the economy's contemporary needs. Retraining of such technologically displaced individuals has been treated especially in the chapter on the Swedish experience (XI). Here would appear to be an instance of somewhat ideal (or idealized) cooperation among such familiar sectors as management, unions and the government. A jet trip for a myopic look at this apparently successful Swedish experience might prove worth the fare, but the important thing is that variations on this Scandinavian pattern of cooperation should be tried by us.

The Soviets had admittedly looked to Sweden as possessors of the most refined and rewarding model for mass adult education, and recently the Soviet Union has utilized this established educational machinery to assure that workers remain useful to that advancing country's shifting economic needs. Among other things, some of the benefits and incentives for becoming involved in such popular education at adult level might warrant our scrutiny, then trial by application.

Other instances of concentration on *adults*—in keeping them abreast of the economy—have been treated in this book. What of England's second-chance university described, especially as it related to workers, in the fifth chapter? Or what of Norway's studied effort enmeshed not only with its economy but with its demographic problem of mobility?

We may not share—enjoy or suffer from—the same topographic peculiarities which Norway must live with, but that country's district colleges, established in outlying areas, not only have learned from ours and other countries' community colleges, but there is enough innovation beyond its mountains and fjords for us to scrutinize soberly toward possible adaptation and adoption. Another manifestation of adult retraining is pictured in the O.R.T. establishment in such places as France; its problem is equally demographic in nature, but is centered on the torrid topic of urban ghettos. As we have seen, that is for us but one aspect of the multi-faceted O.R.T. lesson.



Finland has been treated as the prototype for synthesis of many forms of adult education, with emphasis on those selected for earlier chapters of this book. Other countries possess equally comprehensive programs for popular adult schooling—liberal or vocational—and other countries, especially in Scandinavia, have as many institutions actively represented in promoting adult education. Yet Finland has been treated here as a prototype of what can be done in the digestion of a smorgasbord of inputs into a well rounded program of education designed especially for those who have been denied the niceties of a continuing education.

III. Once upon a time our own industrial revolution brought a strong interest from unions to urge legislatures to bring on training programs for our schools. The Morrell Act instituted the land-grant college, and half a century later the Smith-Hughes Act did something comparable and in more mature fashion for our secondary schools. While our unions more recently have neglected this type of concern for public education, those benefitting institutions in such places as Germany and Sweden have not only remained involved but have assumed the initiative in training workers at the secondary level as well as retraining adult members of the population.

In many ways England's trade unions can be as antagonistic and abrasive toward each other as their stateside equivalents, yet England's trade unions have cooperated so commendably in furthering education that their all-union unified effort has spread across Europe. Their Workers' Education Association has been taken up on the Continent and found a comfortable and active place in individual Scandinavian countries. The Finnish all-union effort has been cited here as one sample of lively involvement in the education of the masses.

IV. Perhaps instruction of workers, utilizing the most recent methodological *media*, may not have been "institutionalized," yet the varied forms of audio-visual use which have been suggested here should merit some contemplation. The most recent example, and perhaps the brightest, is reviewed in England's Open University report. Its problems are hardly resolved, but it is moving forward and watching, hardly complacently, its variations on the media theme.

Again, the Jewish enterprise, O.R.T., puts special effort into the development of ingenious but functional new forms of media. Its most recent necessity for this quality comes from involvement in countries where make-do is an essential characteristic for its instructors.

Sweden can readily be matched with the United States in selected aspects of its economy. Its successes in use of television, linking it with other forms of classroom transmission, might well contain lessons for an America which is striving to break from the stranglehold of commercial television to more instructional uses of that overpowering medium.



V. Selected enterprises from the *private* sector have met with encouraging success. Thus the British chocolate factory which has long since assumed responsibility over the further education of its more youthful workers has been a rewarding form of service to employees. That experiment hardly stands alone in England, yet it is quite typical and serves a humanitarian dimension of an educational system which had, for too long, favored the noble genes.

VI. The welfare work of O.R.T. also represents private initiative, at one time quite independent of governments. Such enterprise is being perpetuated by that organization as complement to its more recent involvement with nations.

Another dimension of the Genevan institution called O.R.T. is its recent help to newly emerging countries in the Middle East, in Africa and in South America. In addition to running its own philanthropic show in these countries or continents, it is conducting manpower surveys and establishing its training facilities for several governments in other economically growing countries.

VII. Cooperation is an all-Scandinavian phenomenon, and certain industries and businesses of Finland have meshed their educational enterprises with comparable efforts of the government, the unions and miscellaneous associations created to promote further education among workers. The example of such cooperation cited in the name of Finland is equally manifested in other Scandinavian countries possessing the cooperative posture. It is high time such amalgamation of academic energies was tested on our Atlantic side for incorporation of our own varied efforts to bring on appropriate further schooling for our own laboring classes.

VIII. And finally, there is a late twentieth century *genius* uncovered in many of the chapters which might be applied in our training efforts. From our side of the Atlantic we might readily perceive England's venerated educational institutions as fossilized, yet it is that country's most recently established school which is most heavy with innovation. Few would deny but that programming and computers and television and tapes as well as slides and projectors are being put to excellent use in England's "only educational innovation of the twentieth century"—its Open University.

There is much of genius going into O.R.T.'s never reclining programs in both established and emerging nations. The mass education of adults in the Soviet Union may be prepared for another shift of gears; its most recent change appears, in ways, to have achieved some marked victories. Then there is the relatively shallow experience of Norway's District Colleges which are meshing personalized teaching methods with the latest localized, economic urgencies of that nation.

There is an inherent posture, perhaps of desperation—or of survival—in all



these manifestations of worker education in this somewhat unwieldy array of practices in worker education in Europe. Let us not only take a second or third look at these European successes; let us see what we can learn from them in helping to tailor them to our streamlining economic demands. Indeed, let us go beyond, in our usual habit, and try for size some of these ideas which, when adapted to our particular situation, might refortify our economy.



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