

Innovative Program Development in Swedish Folk High Schools

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Introduction

This paper concerns innovative processes in folk high schools. Specifically it concerns how a new program that can be seen as innovative in folk high schools, is emerging and is being established as a legitimate folk high school program. A folk high school in Sweden is a specific form of education, open for all adults older than 18 years old. Each folk high school is unique and self managed. They have their own admission and assessment system. They offer a wide range of courses and programs of different levels, with both short courses and long programs. The long programs are available as both general and specific ones. In the general programs, a folk high school offers students opportunity to complete primary and secondary education, while special programs are offered in specialized areas, including artistic subjects such as literature, art and music. Folk high schools also arrange some vocational programs to become for example journalists, drama teachers, youth leaders and cantors. Folk high school courses can provide access to further studies such as university, college and vocational college.

The folk high schools have no national curriculum but instead four aims are formulated: The objectives set up by the national parliament to control the public funding are formulated in general terms, why schools can operate with large degrees of freedom and independence.

- strengthen and develop democracy,
- make it possible for people to influence their life situation and create participative involvement in societal development,
- bridge educational gaps and raise the level of education and cultural awareness in society,
- broaden the interest for and increase participation in cultural life.(Prop.2013/14:172, p. 26)

Based on these goals, folk high schools formulate curricula locally. This makes possible for individual schools to act innovatively and reform the programs offered as the environment changes. Local, regional and national needs may influence the design and content of the programs. New target groups can be identified and recruited.

The folk high schools encourage particular educational ideas characterized by democratic ideals and empowerment and interpretations of *Bildung*. Research has pointed out that folk high schools have been attractive alternative for those adults who have not completed their education because of their specific pedagogy and methods (Andersson, Larson & Wärvik, 2000; Maliszewski, 2003, Larsson 2013, see also Folkbildningsrådet 2016, Prop.2013/14:172). Factors such as that the folk high school programs are more individually tailored, that it focuses on individual's need, experience and development, that it offers creative and socially supporting environment and opportunities to work together, and that the learning environment is characterized by informal and democratic relationship between

teachers and students are identified as reasons why this particular school forms can be complementary educational institution for the ordinary school system.

From a historical perspective there are many examples of folk high school programs, when they proved sustainable, have been taken over by the public schools. In this sense, folk high schools have served as a kind of laboratory for the development of new educational programs. Larsson (2013) shows how the folk high schools have been able to identify the society's needs of "new" programs throughout history. It has been about identifying new target group of participants and meeting their specific educational needs through new programs such as programs for workers, women, people with different types of disabilities and immigrants. The folk high schools have also been able to offer courses and programs with new kind of contents, such as aesthetic programs and various types of vocational training. They are also shown to draw upon new pedagogical approaches and methods. According to Larsson (2005; 2013), change is so characteristic to folk high schools that it may be considered as part of its identity. This matter of fact suggests there is a great variety among Swedish folk high schools. This is even more evident if we consider the existing variety among owners, stemming from conservative to radical, and with a considerable diversity when it comes to their respective philosophical and religious preferences. But even so, those schools show a great unity and uphold a strong identity as folk high schools and as providers of *bildung* (popular education). The diversity and the tendency to continuous renewal, does not seem to counteract this unity. (Paldanius 2007)

Below we examine processes of change in Swedish folk high schools, suggesting that those changes may be understood in terms of translation (and materialization): as the shared idea of folk high school are translated and materialized in to the local situation, both continuity and change are accomplished. The aim, thus, is to describe and understand how new programs that can be seen as innovative in folk high schools, is emerging and is being established as legitimated ones.

Theory

Trying to describe and articulate the process through which innovative folk high school programs emerge and becomes legitimate, we draw upon the concept of translation (Callon, 1986; Callon & Law, 1982; Latour, 1986; Law; 1992). We suggest that the process involves two different but parallel processes of translation: the first one concerns building a network and the second one concerns identity of folk high school. Moreover, both a folk high school and folk high school program are understood as a network, i.e. an assemblage of dispersed elements that have been brought and linked together over time. The very concept of network indicates the structure of ties are not fixed and static but always ongoing process and also that the resources are concentrated in a few places – nodes – which are connected with one another (Latour, 2003). A Networks is an effect of translation processes.

We define translation as a process in which sets of relations between projects, interests, goals, and naturally occurring entities – objects which might otherwise be quite separate from one another – are proposed and brought into being (Callon & Law, 1989, p. 58-59).

Callon (1996) uses four concepts to describe the different moments of translation in order to describe how a network creator establishes and stabilizes a network for example an educational program. The moments are not separated but rather they are overlapping, and the process is constantly ongoing. The moments are problematization, interessement, enrolment

and mobilization. A network creator tries to create relationship between other actors and define common goals and interests among them (*problematization*). *Interessement* refers to the work done, in order to force and stabilize the other actors' identity as the network's creator has created by creating barriers between these actors and the other networks. A network creator also needs to create and interpose relationships and connects among different actors within the network (*enrollment*). Finally, they need to use various technics in order to ensure the enrolled association (*mobilization*). It is important to point that translation process is not a process that can be completed but is constantly ongoing process that the network will sustain.

While Callon's translation model is useful to describe and understand how a program as a network becomes established and stabilized, there is also other kind of translation process ongoing where the program becomes accepted as a part of folk high school. It concerns translation of a symbol/concept. Latour's translation model (1986, 2003) gives us theoretical tool to explore how certain ideas, orders, claims and artefacts are spread in time and space. He takes position against what he calls a diffusion model. According to this model, a symbol, regardless of its form, is considered to have an inner strength that is similar inertia rule in physics. It moves in the same direction if it encounters resistance. The symbol is considered to move without changing. The translation model is presented as an alternative. It considers that the distribution of ideas, claims, orders or artefacts are done by various actors, and every actor can act with the symbol differently. Different players can be associated with the symbol and create new networks. The symbol defines the network, but the network redefines the symbol. It is important to consider that a translation always means both faithfulness to and betrayal from the original (Law, 1994; 1996). That a symbol does not retain its shape does not mean that it disappears and dies. Moreover, the changing will continue, driven by different hands, different interests and with different possibilities. Following this line of thought, the focus thus moves from the idea of a symbol's "inner power" to the process when players use the symbol for different purposes – the various actors' interest is created, connected and represented.

To create and launch a new program that is not familiar to people working within a particular educational setting, in this case a program in folk high school, also involves a process of making it legitimate – that is how the innovative and unfamiliar program can be claimed to be a legitimate part of folk high school. This process involves translation of identity of the organization, its mission and participants.

Method

Four folk high school programs have been selected as example of didactic innovation. To be considered innovative program, it should concern a new area of subject for the school and / or aim at a new group of participants. The main aim with data collection was to gather information on how the new program in the folk high schools aroused. The four selected programs are Case one (C1): Video Game Creation , Case two (C2): Bilingual integration worker, Case three (C3): Sustainable design and Case Four (C4): Dramatic Art. Four semi-structured group interviews with teachers and principals were conducted at the folk high schools. The length of interviews were from xx to xx minutes and all interviews were transcribed. The interviews gave an empirical basis for a reconstruction of the process of program development. The interviewees have been informed of the study's purpose. Names of programs and people involved have been changed to gain confidentiality.

The analysis scheme comprised different phases of collaborative activities. The process can be described as constant comparative analysis procedure (Boeije, 2002). As a first step, all researchers read all interviews to understand how the very idea of an innovative program

aroused, how it became established and legitimate as a folk high school program. The researchers compared their preliminary analysis to gain a common understanding. At this stage, it was an inductive approach. At a second stage, the theoretical concept of translation was introduced in order to gain a deeper understanding and to articulate what we saw in data. After that Nvivo X was used to code and analyse data. Each researcher took responsibility to code one or two cases. Based on this coding four stories were created to display our findings. Finally all the cases were analyzed together. During the whole process a comparative approach were applied.

Findings

Case one: Video games creation

When this program were developed a lot of participants enrolled at the school were diagnosed as neuropsychiatric disabled. The particular group of participants took general courses aimed at giving a diploma for basic qualifications. To be able to create good learning opportunities the school received funding from the National Agency for Special Needs Education and Schools. However, the number of disabled participants (representing a variety of diagnoses) had been growing for some time why some of the teachers saw a risk that the school would become a caring institution. If they did not make any change, they felt that the school would loose its identity as folk high school.

The teachers noticed that the participants were very engaged in computer gaming and one of them begun thinking if this engagement could be a point of departure for designing a whole program.

We recognized that several of the participants in the general program were very interested in videogames, and more and more of them wanted to play, and they sat playing all night long

Instead of a top down approach – trying to make the participants doing what teachers thought they should do – she suggested a bottom up approach, i.e. make a program based on what the participants were interested in. She claimed that such an approach was supported by people representing the disabled’s organization (“It is important that we find something that motivates our members”). The teacher was rather experienced in ICT based learning due to participation in several national projects run by a related organization, and this was why he was able to connect their interest and develop pedagogical activities with the participants. In order to launch the program, the school applied for and received external funding from an organization having the aim to develop activities and strategies to support disabled people. This funding was crucial for starting the program as it covered the necessary material investment and also teacher salary. The funding also made legitimate that participants must be only persons with neuropsychiatric diagnoses.

The recruitment of participants was never a problem. Even at the very first year the school early on had 15 participants. However, there were no content and no teachers only a few months before the program should be launched! To people with the proper skills the gaming-industry was attractive and a folk high school could not match the salary. Thus, one of the challenges that were defined as a main problem, regarded how to find people capable to teach.

The problem was solved though temporarily as the initiator contacted a university program in the particular area of knowledge and found one student that had not finished his exam. This student was taken in to service as teacher and when he left two years later he recruited one of his student-mates as stand in. In this way staffing was secured on a short time

basis and by using the external teachers' own connections to the gaming industry's professional network.

So, the teachers were professional computer programmers rather than teachers, and they were certainly not folk high school teachers with the particular educational ideals and approach to the art of teaching. This matter of fact was identified as another challenge. The folk high school teachers needed to make the new teachers think and act as not only as a *teacher* for the game design, but also as a *folk high school* teacher.

The program arose as the school went through a chaotic period; employees did loose their position and some programs were closed down. Some of staffs did not see the program as a part of folk high school, however the responsible teachers claimed that this program was exactly a 'folk high school program', because it was innovative and developed from the participants' perspective.

initially when we had the basic course [some teachers said]: "they need ADL-training" and they need this and they need that, instead of starting from "what do they want" or "which are their interests". And when you start with their interest one get the motivation in addition (...) Then you get a better motivation. So it has been amazing.

Also, they stressed the program's impacts on the participants. According to them, the program even had good influence on their social development ("they played football"), which was important considering their diagnose, however, the most crucial change concerned the participants as active members of society:

First and foremost: because one give those participants a chance getting a job. There is a common value in this, that is incredible, really. People who come here, it is people that (...) And how one change their life, basically. One hear such stories all the time, those who sit at home with no friends and nothing, and the parents are in despair. And here they have begun socialize, meet each other and think of things (...) The very foundation is that we find a way to help them to participate in society

Case two: Bilingual integration worker

The initiator, John, situates the origin of the program-development in certain deliberations regarding society and integration, and more precisely: the crucial function of interpreters in the process of integration. When studying to become a folk high school teacher he was at the same time working as a refugee-coordinator at the municipality. Doing this, he thought a lot about the need for bilingual people within a lot of different contexts, especially among people working with refugees but also among professional care workers. Referring to his experience he substantiates "how dependent one is" on the interpreter, and "how wrong it can turn out", thus underlining that processes of integration was wholly dependent on trustworthy and skilled interpreters. He also found arguments supporting the program development in the context of elderly care: "in a few years when migrants gets old and demented, not able to use the Swedish they possibly have learned, we will have problems".

John understood there was a need for a formal arrangement to 'authorize' such workers, and he considered what a proper title would be, and a related formal education. He made some research and wrote to an old friend having a strategic position in educational issues in the regional authority. Also he talked to representatives of the public employment services and of the county administration. And he approached two successive headmasters at the folk high school in order to discuss a possible educational program located at the folk high school, but having no success however. However when another headmaster entered the school, he

made a new attempt. This new headmaster – himself experienced in the field of integration as a former headmaster for second language education – found the idea interesting. Entering his position this new headmaster sent an invitation to all personnel to make suggestions regarding strategic issues, and in this way all the colleagues as well as the local trade union were included in the process of educational renewal. A working team was created and assigned responsibility to develop the course. The school's board reinforced the plans but urged the headmaster to limit the financial risk involved. Also the owner, which is the Lutheran church of Sweden, and its bishop, supported the idea, having great concern in questions regarding migration/integration. Considering the appropriateness of a folk high school as owner of the program, the headmaster defined the folk high school as an "environment of possibilities":

The folk high school as such is an environment of possibilities. Starting this kind of education because we have a chunk called optional subjects, and we have a rich supply of optional subjects, so they who apply will get the opportunity to study something

The program were developed in dialogue with and is co-arranged with the municipality's adult education institution. The public employment service and the regional authorities showed interest in the program too. When it comes to recruitment, information were spread not only through the public employment service but through different other channels as local media, Facebook and study counsellors. Some of the first participants were previous students. According to the headmaster the program connects different institutions as the municipality's social and employment services, refugee-orphan-housing and asylum housing and other institutions.

During the program the students will visit institutions like the ones mentioned, and will be part of different networks. Possible labour market positions are personnel working with refugee-orphan-housing and asylum housing, teacher assistants and informants. The aim of the course according to the initiator is to make people "become good examples to those who arrive", and this presuppose that people have "a sound attitude to the Swedish society both when it comes to duties and rights". Thus, students will learn and discuss ideas as democracy and tolerance. In this way the program is made legitimate within the school and society.

Case three: Theatre

This case is a two-year professional theatre program. Initially, the initiators were asked to teach drama at the program for recreation leaders. The theatre program was launched not until twenty years thereafter, however the initiators define their first appearance at the school as part of the development of the theatre program. Moreover, they considered the emergence of the program as part of their own life rather than part of the schools history:

We have successively developed our education at different places ... and at one section of time it was mature to return to Sweden (...) and we decided to (...) create a group here and also to work with theatre while we were working with the group

Important attempts were made in 2008 when the initiators were cooperating with another adult education organization having strong ties to the folk high school. The intention was to set up the program in another place and within this other institution. However the plans were postponed because of a recession and lack of funding. Three years later, the ideas were dusted off in the context of the folk high school as a new headmaster arrived. He was recruited from the mentioned related organization and had been part of the planning back in 2008. When the initiators met with him in the dining hall the new headmaster approached them and frankly he said 'is it time now to start that program uh?' The planning was then taken up again and the program was launched.

Initially there were tensions among colleagues, partly due to other teachers being made redundant as the new program was started. The initiators were part of the teachers group but ran the program not as employed by the school but as self employed and claimed a somewhat autonomous position in relation to the school.

As the initiators had extensive and international experiences from the field, participants were recruited from their international stock of disciples. “A lot of people” had been waiting for them to launch the program:

we travelled around, I went to Estonia , I went to London and fished some people that I knew were there and then we had about 80-90 applicants so we got a class

When it came to educational ideals, again the teachers claimed autonomy, saying that no one really understood what they were doing, that pedagogical discussions were totally missing and that the foundation of the program is “the idea of *bildung*”:

but the original idea that Irene and I have created by ourselves and which is the foundation of the whole [program] is the idea of *bildung*, that is that they have different legs. Some are good at singing, some at dancing, some at acting, some are younger and some older and then they start to help each other. So we are mirrors and guides, but after a while they begin to stay and support each other and help, and together it becomes something new. And then, now they help the new group so the family are growing and of course we use the network we have built , to introduce them to come in to television or film or theatre or dance

The purpose of the program was to educate ‘creative performers having the abilities to develop original material and devise new work’. Participation meant that people were part of a collective endeavour, and they were encouraged to network and cooperate. Participants thus trained not only to act but to create their own material and collectively set up performances.

Case 4: Sustainable design

The fourth case is the program *Sustainable design*. It was introduced a few years ago but was still developing and changing for the time when the interview was done. It tried to connect handicraft, design and environmental awareness. Participants would get the opportunity to try out and examine recycled material and handicraft-technics, develop ‘marketable products’ from recycled material and learn how the global economy would affects people and environment and how one may contribute to a change. One of the main actors when the program started up was George. He has been connected to the school for several years, however not as one of the employees but rather loosely related as an entrepreneur well known in the region. Running a program in the particular field of knowledge at the university's engineering program, George wanted to give more room for the practice of handicraft-techniques (“the knowledge of the hand“) and this is part of Georges rationale saying that the folk high school is the proper place for the program.

We have at the local university courses in sustainable design which we have launched, and we realised that it was a lot of theory. And we lacked practice. We were not allowed to bring in too much working with the hands. (...) The knowledge of the hand, the significance of the hand, that is possible to move in here. Because the university was not allowed to do that, it need to be scientific reports.

Additionally he says the folk high school is exceptional when it comes to including a great variety of students in to studies:

The folk high school is unique in the world, in Sweden, I believe. That is one thing. And (...) you can mix so many different students. That it can be anyone may be enrolled and get a chance to take part in a program. Completely unique. There is nothing like this in the world. Fabulous education actually. Terrific. And I have compared many educations.

But the folk high school is unique, because many different students support each other. Old and young. Different backgrounds. Migrants. Whatever. Outsiders, a little. Because young people who hell are genius in their head but have happened to miss somewhere, they too get a chance here. Fabulous education according to me. So it was a natural thing to go here and sense “here they have a place and they understand.

George enjoyed a good reputation and people listened to his ideas why he frankly approaches the headmaster at the local folk high school asking them to realize this idea and develop such a course, while offering himself as advisor and consultant. At this particular time, the number of applicants to one textile handicraft program was decreasing and the headmaster found the suggestion interesting. Even so the headmaster looked for additional funding and discussed this idea with a partner organization, i.e. the public employment office. The both partners decided to give the idea a chance: the folk high school organized the program and the public employment office found the participants among the unemployed people. One of the textile handicraft teachers were asked to manage the program and a group of unemployed people were asked to take part in it. The Sustainable design-program was launched!

Soon it turned out however that neither the participants, nor the teachers were satisfied with the arrangement. The experiment failed. The story did not end there, however, the headmaster wanted to give it a new chance, with voluntary participants and another teacher. And here Sara entered the scene. She knew about the program because she had met with George. Being accidentally without employment, Sara called the headmaster and she got the position as course-leader. A group of interested participants were recruited, the program was launched anew and this time it survived the whole period (a year) even though the number of participants were low. Through exhibitions and social media the teacher as well as the participants made important efforts to reach out, i.e. efforts to make the program known to a wider audience. Most important, the participants knew how to run a blog, and together they created one, they started to describe their doings and soon they got responses from readers. During the process of program development Sara and her colleagues made contacts to a range of different people and organizations, such as the municipality, museums, WWF, Swedish Society for Nature Conservation, the Fairtrade movement. After the first year, when the school were recruiting a new group of participants, it turned out that the number of applicants was significantly higher and individuals also came from other countries to participate because they found this program unique. When the research interview were conducted Sara and her colleagues looked forward to a new step in the development of the program. They were planning to move the program to become part of a municipal recycling plant. This move was also the effect of Sara's networking activities.

As resources were transferred from other programs to this new one, not all of the colleagues were applauding however. Some questioned the programs appropriateness, but the teacher and the headmaster defended its positions as a folk high school program:

Sara: This is not a vocational program but it is a folk high school program. But if people do not want to save the world when they start here, they want to do that when they end. And they find different ways to do that.

Headmaster: And that is our mission, the active citizen, active citizenship. It is our most general purpose.

And George provided arguments as to why the program is appropriate from a societal perspective:

But I am so happy Sara took the craft here, because there is need for this in society. Then it takes time to save the world, no question about that.

Analysis

The analysis showed that two kinds of translation-processes are ongoing. One concerns the creation of a network and the other concerns a process of making the new program legitimate. These processes of translation occur simultaneously and are interwoven.

New programs arise in an array of relations

The creation of a new program is creating a new network (cf. Callon, 1986; Latour, 2003). The new program needs to be attached to other organisations, in our terms networks. The development of new programs were possible because a folk high school *is* a network connected and associated to other networks. The creating of a new program is an effect of cooperation and interaction through an array of relations which consists of already established and newly added actors.

Moreover, looking at the cases, the heterogeneity of the other organisations was striking. The associated organisations were different and specific in each story. Only few organisations (eg. the public employment service) appeared in more than one case. This shows that folk high schools indeed are organisations that move in to *different* webs of organisations. As was said previously, folk high schools are anchored locally, nationally and in some cases internationally. They are somewhat similar, but there are also major differences among them. Their partner-organizations vary a lot, dependent on the local situation and the school's responsible organization.

Looking at the cases, one other salient particularity was that other organizations had easy access to the steering functions [eg. the headmaster] and to a significant extent they were allowed to influence the program being developed. This is probably partly because folk high schools are relatively autonomous and free from central regulations. The school and the partner-organisations were allowed to cooperate without restraint; it was possible to discuss, develop and launch new businesses in a rather flexible manner. This brought about the new program.

Our cases show that the initiator (the network creator) is not always located inside the folk high school. While the creators of video game creation and bilingual integration worker program were members of the folk high schools, the creators of the theatre and sustainable design were not.

The network of the folk high school is changing all the time. New organisations attach to them and it leads to changes. The cases of both video game creation and bilingual integration worker program indicate that the very idea of new programs arouse as an effect of a specific

association with other organizations that the folk high school had at that moment. The analysis shows, therefore, that a new program is understood to arise in an array of relations to heterogeneous actors; it is an effect of networks rather than a result of an isolated folk high school.

Accordingly, the idea of a new program, how great and accurate it is, is never enough to make a program actually start. When a network creator (coming from within school or from other organizations) has formulated the very idea of the program including its aim and benefits, s/he needs to enrol and mobilize different actors. Those include people, organizations and networks such as the board, the headmaster, other organisations that can finance the program (for example public employment service or the National Agency for Special Needs Education and Schools), teachers and participants. In one case (the Sustainable Design Program) the folk high school itself is mobilized by an extern actor. The stories show that it is both difficult and crucial that those actors be enrolled and mobilized. The stories also show that some actors are more difficult to enrol and mobilize than the others. Which actors that are difficult to enrol depends on the specific situation. For example, the teachers who have initiated the video game creation program had no problem with mobilizing the very group of participants that they aimed at. However they have had problem with recruitment of teachers. They actually recruited participants without having concrete program contents and a teacher! At the interview situation, the program creator considered the recruitment of teachers as a main risk for the program's future. As a contrast, the headmaster of bilingual integration worker program stresses that even though they believe the idea of the program is "dead on target", it requires "extremely hard work" to recruit the participants. In this case, this great idea seemed to be interesting for many various actors and organisations but it did not always succeed in mobilizing those organisations, for example public employment service. The cases show that various strategies were used in order to mobilise the right actors for the programs. For example they may chose a specific concept, such as environment-awareness, in order to describe the program because the other organisation were engaged with environmental issues. A variety of medias were used, such as blog, Facebook, specific organisation's magazines, in order to recruit the "right" participants.

In some cases it can be seen as if they had succeeded in mobilizing the participants because the course started, but the program as network failed in stabilizing because they did not succeed in mobilizing the actors that they wished to. For example, when the sustainable design program was launched first time in folk high school, the participants were a group of unemployed people which did not necessary find that the aim of the program were something to them. Eventually they betrayed the program. The program as a network failed with this association. When an interested teacher and participants were mobilised, the program was successfully driven.

In the case of the theatre program, the teachers who did not work at the folk high school brought their own network in to the school. Previously, they were actors in a network to which the new headmaster also belonged. The program was possible to start in the folk high school due to this relation. The program, despite some years of operation, has not been woven into the school's overall network, but its own network extends far internationally. The program's development as a network has a weak relation to the networks of the folk high school. In this way, the folk high school can be seen as a place for the program, not a network that the program is closely interwoven to.

Even when the translation process is successfully done, it is always a state of that moment. The process of translation continues and is constantly on-going. For example the video game creation program still has difficulties to recruit teachers. And the sustainable design program is moving to the place where the municipal sort their waste, like paper,

garden waste, glass but also things that people want to get rid of like old furniture and textiles. These recourses will in some way be recycled by the participants activities.

New programs require legitimacy which require new translations of the folk high school-idea

Innovative program development as network creation includes moments of problematization, intressement, enrollment and mobilization (Callon, 1986). And it includes persuading, negotiating and (re)creating and (re)formulation of the very idea and mission of a folk high school. This process concerns what Latour (2003) also calls for translation. The programs were not launched without conflicts (the programs were launched when the schools shut down other programs), they were new, some programs such as the video game program was new both as regards content and the target group for the program.

The translation process was crucial to gain the legitimacy and become part of folk high school. The idea of folk high school is translated by actors both inside and outside of folk high school. When George approached the folk high school with his idea of the program, it depended on his understanding on what kind of educational institution the folk high school was. Various concepts such as democracy, social development, citizenship, environmental awareness, culture, participation in society were used in the process. Often the arguments were related to the aim and goals of folk high school set up by the state, and the pedagogical ideal that a folk high school is known to stand for. It also concerns how the schools describe the society and the participants.

The view of folk high schools that appeared from the translations is that it is an educational institution ("not a caring institution") with strong relations to civil society and social responsibility. Here both the society and the mission of folk high schools are translated. The society is, according to them, inhabited by immigrants (Bilingual integration worker program), challenged by various problems, such as environmental one (sustainable design). It is the folk high school's mission to educate the participants to be active citizens (sustainable design), to introduce them to the Swedish society with one's duties and rights in order to be part of the democracy (bilingual integration worker program). The folk high school is also "right place", " a place of possibility" for these kind of programs because this context have the opportunity to fulfil both the aim of the program and the participants needs. The Folk high school is described as an *proactive and innovative* institution *in a society* that are also a fostering institution that educate students to become *more* citizen than they are before.

The other way of legitimate the program focuses on the individuals. As mentioned above, the programs are said to help individuals to become citizens that fully participate in the society and to develop their potential. It is often argued that the program focuses on the participants' perspective - what they want, not what they need from an outside perspective. It is also strongly connected to the possibility to get a job (into a society). Both development as an individual and as social being is stressed as aimed results of participating in the programs (Video game creation). The focus on the individual participant's needs relate to the special pedagogical idea that the folk high school is known to follow. The programs is made legitimate by being individually tailored and socially supportive (Theatre and video game creation). The creators of the theatre program argued that the program was indeed a folk high school program because it was *Bildung* – meaning that their program developed individuals to become parts of a collective endeavour. Without articulating further what they meant with popular education, they used the concept in order to legitimate their program as folk high school one.

The idea of what the folk school is and what kind of pedagogical activities belong to this institution are constantly and newly translated by not only the members of folk high schools but also people from other organizations. Both teachers at the Theatre program and George

from Sustainable development came from the outside and had an understanding of what folk high school was. They expressed partly idealistic thoughts on it and used words that fitted well the broad aims to adult education. Succeeding in this translation process is crucial for development of a new and innovative program because when program creators has succeeded in this, they can attach the program to other important actors in the name of a folk high school.

When a program is legitimized as described, so is a legitimization process of the entire folk high school idea translated in a more general sense. The identity of folk high school is not static but it is constantly negotiated both within and without. During the process of legitimizing a new program questions are raised primarily by actors of the folk high school, who the folk high school is for, what kind of subjects it will deal with and in which ways. "People" for today's folk high school does not mean same group as in the past, and the subjects that the programs concern have not always existed in the field of folk high school. The very same concepts, such as folk, democracy, individual development are used during the translation process but are given different meaning. As results, the new programs are developed by using the very same concepts that folk high schools have used previously, in order to identify themselves. Thus, the translation of the folk high school idea strengthens faithfully the shared identity of folk high schools but also indicates betrayal from what was previously understood as folk high school (cf. Law, 1996).

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