

Innovative folk high school programs

Ahn, Song Ee, Hallqvist, Anders & Harlin, Eva-Marie
Institution of behavioural Science and Learning
Linköping University
Sweden

Introduction

This paper concerns innovative processes in folk high schools. More specifically, we try to understand 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 particular form of adult education with over 140 years' history. Each folk high school is unique and self-managed. They have their own admission and assessment system. They offer a broad 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 available in specialised 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 a university, college and vocational college.

The folk high schools have no national curriculum, but instead, four aims are set up by the national parliament to control the public funding. They are expressed in general terms, why schools can operate with significant 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 characterised by democratic ideals and empowerment and interpretations of popular education. Research has pointed out that folk high schools have been an attractive alternative for those adults who have not completed their education because of their particular pedagogy and methods. It is believed that a folk high school offers a creative and socially supporting environment and opportunities to work together and that the learning environment is characterised by the informal and democratic relationship between teachers and students. Folk high school

programs are also described to be individually tailored and to focus on individual's need, experience and development. (Andersson, Larson & Wärvik, 2000; Maliszewski, 2003, Larsson 2013, see also Folkbildningsrådet 2016, Prop.2013/14:172).

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 the identification of a 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 kinds 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 are a great variety of 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. However, even so, those schools show a great unity and uphold a strong identity as folk high schools and as providers of popular education. The diversity and the tendency to continuous renewal do not seem to counteract this unity (Paldanius 2007).

We have thus educational institutions with roots back in the 19th century and with particular educational ideals, dealing with processes of continuity and change. Below we examine such processes, suggesting that they may be understood in terms of translation (and materialisation): as new courses and programs develop, the shared idea of folk high school is translated and materialised into the local situation. 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 legitimate ones. Här ska vi sedan introducera forskningsfrågorna som f.n. lyder så här:

1. How do the educational concept arise initially?
2. What characterizes the process through which the concept is materialized/realized?
3. How is the idea of folk high school interpreted during this process?

Theoretical frame

Trying to describe and articulate the process through which innovative folk high school programs emerge and become 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 the 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 an 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 stabilises 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 relationships between other actors and to define common goals and interests among them (*problematization*). *Interessement* refers to the work done, to force and stabilise 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 set up and interpose relationships and connects among different actors within the network (*enrollment*). Finally, they need to use various technics to ensure the enrolled association (*mobilization*). It is important to point out 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 stabilised, there is also another kind of translation process ongoing where the program becomes accepted as a part of the folk high school. It concerns translation of a symbol/concept. Latour's translation model (1986, 2003) gives us a theoretical tool to explore how certain ideas, orders, claims and artefacts are spread in time and space. He takes a 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 as long as it does not encounter resistance. The symbol is supposed to move without changing. Latour presents the translation model as an alternative. It argues that various actors do the distribution of ideas, claims, orders or artefacts, 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 different actors use the symbol for different purposes – the various actors' interests are created, connected and represented.

To 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 involves a process of legitimating, and the process includes translation of identity of the organisation, its mission and participants as well. Through the process, the innovative and unfamiliar program can be claimed to be a legitimate part of the folk high school.

Method

Four folk high school programs have been selected as examples of innovative program development. To be considered an innovative program, it should concern a new area of the subject for the school and /or aim at a new group of participants. The main aim of 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): Theatre program. Four semi-structured group interviews with teachers and principals were conducted at the folk high schools. The lengths 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. Inspired by constant comparative analysis as described by Boeije (2002), the analysis scheme comprised different phases of collaborative activities. 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, we followed an inductive approach. At a second stage, the theoretical concept of translation (ref) was introduced to gain a deeper understanding and to articulate what we saw in data. We focused on how the idea of a new program arose, which different actors were involved, what roles they were given by the program initiatives, and also how the different concepts are mobilised and translated to legitimate the new program as a part of the folk high school. Each researcher took responsibility to code one or two cases. Nvivo X was used to code and analyse data. Based on this analysis process, the descriptions of each case were conducted to display our findings. The final step we compared all the cases to search for similarities and differences and understand the research object beyond the individual cases.

Case one: Video games creation

When this program was developed, there were already many participants enrolled at the school who 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 lose its identity as a folk high school.

Mary and Peter who developed the program, noticed that the participants were very engaged in computer gaming and begun thinking if this engagement could be a point of departure for designing a whole program. Instead of a top-down approach – trying to make the participants doing what the others believed they should do – they suggested a bottom-up approach, i.e. create a program based on what the participants were interested in. Mary (headmaster) claimed that people representing the disabled's organisation supported such an approach ("It is important that we find something that motivates our members"). Peter had also experienced in ICT-based learning due to participation in several EU funded projects, and this was why she was able to connect their interest and develop pedagogical activities with the participants. To start the program, the school applied for and received external funding from an organisation 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 conditioned 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 biggest challenges was how to find people capable of teaching.

The problem was solved temporarily as the initiator contacted a university program in the particular area of knowledge and found one student. This student took a position as a teacher, and when he left two years later, he recruited one of his peers from the university. In this way, staffing was secured on a short time basis and by using the external teachers' connections to the gaming industry's professional network.

The teachers of the program were professional computer programmers rather than teaching staff, and they were certainly not folk high school teachers trained with the particular educational ideas and particular didactical approach. This matter of fact was identified as another challenge by the program initiatives. They stressed that they worked side by side, as a pedagogical mentor in order that the teachers would think and act as a *folk high school* teacher.

The program arose as the school went through a chaotic period; some employees did lose their position, and some programs were closed down. Some of the teaching staffs did not see the program as a part of the folk high school, considering its subject. 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" (Activities of Daily Training) and they need this and they need that, instead of starting from "what do they want" or "which are their interests". Moreover, when you start with their interest one get the motivation also (...) Then you get a better motivation. So it has been amazing. (Peter)

Also, they stressed the program's impacts on the participants. According to them, the program even had real 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 gives those participants a chance getting a job. There is a common value in this, that is incredible, really. (...) Moreover, how one change their life, basically. One hears 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 socialising, meet each other and together find out something to do (Mary)

They found those who have the same interests, they can discuss this in the physical space. And that may have occurred in the past, but they do it over the net. But here (...) yes, I think many are growing. (Peter)

[...] The very foundation is that we find a way to help them to participate in society (Mary)

In sum: The program emerges as the headmaster and teachers engage with extensive discussions regarding the idea of folk high school, partly in conflict with a related caring-

discourse. Different partner-organizations were involved as the program-idea took shape and networking with them was a significant part of the program development. To legitimate the new program both initiators emphasize its transformative capacity on the participants.

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 professionals within different contexts, especially among people working with refugees but also among professional care workers. He also found arguments in the context of elderly care: "in a few years when migrants get old and demented, not able to use the Swedish they possibly have learned, we will have problems".

John said there was a need for a formal arrangement to 'authorise' such workers. Considering what a proper title would be, and a related formal education, he did 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. Moreover, he approached two successive headmasters at the folk high school to discuss a possible educational program located at the folk high school but having no success. 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.

A working team was created and assigned responsibility to develop the program. They contacted partner-organisations such as the public employment service and the regional authorities, which showed interest in the program. Also, the owner, which is the Lutheran Church of Sweden, and its bishop, supported the idea, claiming great concern in questions regarding migration/integration. The school's board reinforced the plans. However, they urged the headmaster to limit the financial risk involved. All this support and positive feedback made the idea legitimate and it became possible for the headmaster to move on developing the program-idea.

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 headmaster, Name)

The program was developed in dialogue with and is co-arranged with the municipality's adult education institution. The two organizations were already engaged in cooperative projects and they work in the same building. Thus, network relations were already established and also materialistic [?] conditions for cooperation were at hand. When it comes to recruitment, in the beginning, they hoped that the public employment service would buy the place, but it didn't happen ("The organisation is sluggish"). Information was spread not only through the public employment service but different other channels such as local media, Facebook and study counsellors. Some of the first participants were previous students. According to the headmaster, the program connects various institutions as the

municipality's social and employment services, refugee-orphan-housing and asylum housing and other organisations.

During the program, the students will visit institutions like the ones mentioned, and will be part of different networks. Possible labour market positions are 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 presupposes 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 made its position legitimate within the school and society.

Case three: Theatre program

This case is a two-year professional theatre program. According to the initiators, the program intends 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 are thus trained not only to act but also to create their own material and collectively set up performances.

Initially, the initiators were asked to teach drama at the program for recreation leaders. The theatre program was launched not until twenty years after that. 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 in the course of their life rather than part of the school's history:

We have successively developed our education at different places (...) and at one section of time it was time 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

Notable attempts were made several years before, when the initiators were cooperating with another adult education organisation 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. The new headmaster was recruited from the mentioned related organisation and had been part of the planning. 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 teacher's group but ran the program not as employed by the school but as self-employed and claimed an outlier 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 was “the idea of *popular education*”:

However, the original idea that Irene and I have created by ourselves and which is the foundation of the whole [program] is the idea of popular education,(...). 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. Moreover, 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 into television or film or theatre or dance

To achieve legitimacy, the initiators point out that the program is a collective endeavour and to cooperation as fundamental to the idea of popular education.

All in all, the development of the theatre program were strongly dependent on the international network upheld by the two initiators, and also dependent on the link established between the two adult education institutions as the headmaster were recruited from the one to the other. As people were made redundant when the program was launched, the question of legitimacy was important to deal with. The teachers’ translation of building points out cooperation and the collective aspect of the education as central parts, situating the program in the midst of the schools ideological tradition.

Case four: Sustainable design

The fourth case is the *Sustainable design* program. It 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 affect people and environment and how one may contribute to change. One of the key actors, when the program started up, was George. He contacted the school, 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 much theory. Moreover, 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 needs to be scientific reports.

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

The folk high school is unique in the world, in Sweden, I believe. That is one thing. Moreover, (...) 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. Diverse backgrounds. Migrants. Whatever. Outsiders, a little. Because young people whom the hell are a 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 realise 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 organisation, i.e. the public employment office. The both partners decided to give the idea a chance: the folk high school organised the program, and the public employment office found the participants among the unemployed people. One of the textile handicraft teachers was 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. Moreover, here Sara entered the scene. She knew about the program because she had met with George. Being unemployed, 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 was low. Through exhibitions and social media, the teacher, as well as the participants, made significant 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 with a range of different people and organisations, 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 was 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 ... 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.

This kind of argumentation is probably important because the initiator simultaneously claims a position somewhere on the fringe of the organization, being questioned by one of his colleagues. He also points out that the program is located in another building than the other programs. Soon this peripheral position will become even more apparent as the program is being relocated to another part of the city, in the context of the municipal's recycling plant. It is possible to argue that this program were inserted into the school, by people from related organizations, with the headmaster's content and initially with financial support from the public employment service. Networking was important both before the program started, during the second year when the responsible teacher was recruiting new participants, and to recruit teachers skilled in the particular field and knowledge.

Analysis

The analysis focuses 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).

Looking at the cases, the heterogeneity of the other organisations that had an important role was striking. The associated organisations were different and specific in each story. Only a few organisations (e.g., the public employment service) appeared in more than one case. This shows that folk high schools indeed are organisations that move into *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 organisation.

Another salient particularity was that other organisations seemed to have easy access to the steering functions [e.g., the headmaster] and to a significant extent they were allowed to influence the program being developed. This is partly because folk high schools are relatively autonomous and free from central regulations. The school and the partner organisations were allowed to cooperate without hard restraint; it was possible to discuss, develop and launch new businesses in a rather flexible manner. This study shows that in some cases, the initiators (the network creators) are not located inside the folk high school. Thus sometimes people outside folk high schools bring educational concepts in to the folk high school and are allowed to influence the folk high school to a significant extent. It is important to mark we are not talking about education on commission here but the programs were considered to be a *folk high school programs*.

The new program needs to be attached to other organisations, in our terms networks. The development of new programs was possible because a folk high school is a network connected and associated with other networks. The creating of a new program is an effect of cooperation and interaction through an array of relations that consists of already established and newly added actors. 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 could be an effect of a particular association with other organisations 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 excellent and accurate it is, is never enough to make a program start. When a network creator (coming from within the school or from other organisations) has formulated the very idea of the program including its aim and benefits, s/he needs to enrol and mobilise different actors. Those include people, organisations, 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 mobilised by an extern actor. The descriptions show that it is both challenging and crucial that those actors be enrolled and mobilised. The cases also show that some actors are harder to enrol and mobilise than the others. Which actors that is difficult to enrol depends on the particular situation. For example, the teachers who have initiated the video game creation program had no problem with mobilising the very group of participants that they aimed at. However, they have had a problem with recruitment of teachers. At the interview situation, the program creators still considered the hiring of teachers as the main risk for the program's future. As a contrast, the headmaster of bilingual integration worker program stressed that even though they believed the idea of the program is "dead on target", it required "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 mobilising those organisations, for example, public employment service, for the particular enrolled association that the program creators wished to. The cases show that different strategies were used to mobilise the right actors for the programs. For example, they may choose a particular 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 a blog, Facebook, specific organisation's magazines, to recruit the "right" participants.

That a program started with a teacher and participants, does not necessary mean that it succeeded in establishing itself. 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. The important thing is not that there are a teacher or students but that the 'right' actors are mobilised to the program.

In the case of the theatre program, the teachers who did not work at the folk high school brought their own network into 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.

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

Innovative program development as network creation includes moments of problematization, intressement, enrollment and mobilization (Callon, 1986). Moreover, 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. They were new, some programs such as the video game program was new for the school, both as regards content and the target group for the program.

The translation process was crucial to gain the legitimacy and become part of the folk high school. 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. 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. 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 to be part of the democracy (bilingual integration worker program). The folk high school is also "right place", "a place of possibility" for this kind of programs because this context has the opportunity to fulfil both the aim of the program and the participants needs. The Folk high school is described as a *proactive and innovative* institution *in a society* that are also a fostering institution that educates 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 focus 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 society). Both developments as an individual and as a social being are stressed as aimed results of participating in the programs (Video game creation). The focus on the individual participant's needs relates to the special pedagogical idea that the folk high school is known to follow. The programs are made legitimate by being individually tailored and socially supportive (Theatre and video game creation). The creators of the theatre program argued that the program is indeed a folk high school program because it was *Popular education* – 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 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 organisations. 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 the development of a new and innovative program because when program creators have succeeded in this, they can attach the program to other important actors in the name of a folk high school.

When a program is legitimised 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 legitimising 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 the 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, and individual development are used during the translation process but are given a different meaning. As results, folk high schools develop new programs by using the very same concepts that they previously have used 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).

References

- Andersson, E., Larson, M., & Wärvik, G-B. (2000) *Kunskapslyftet på folkhögskola*. Stockholm: Folkbildningsrådet
- Boeije, H. (2002). A Purposeful Approach to the Constant Comparative Method in the Analysis of Qualitative Interviews. *Quality & Quantity*, 36, 391–409.
- Callon, M., & Law, J. (1989). On the construction of sociotechnical networks. In Hargens, L., Jones, R.A., & Pickering, A. (eds.). (1989). *Knowledge and society: Studies in the sociology of science past and present*. Vol. 8. Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press
- Callon, M. (1986). Some element of a sociology of translation: domestication of the scallops and the fishermen of St. Brieuc Bay. In Law, J. (ed.). (1986). *Power, action and belief: A new sociology of knowledge?* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul
- Callon, M., & Law, J. (1982). On interest and their transformation: enrolment and counter-enrolment. *Social Studies of Science*, 12, 615-625
- Callon, M., & Law, J. (1989). On the construction of sociotechnical networks. In Hargens, L., Folkbildningsrådet (2016)
- Forskningsetiska principer inom humanistisk-samhällsvetenskaplig forskning. (2007). Enskede: TPB.
- Jones, R.A., & Pickering, A. (eds.). (1989). *Knowledge and society: Studies in the sociology of science past and present*. Vol. 8. Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press

- Laginder, A-M., Nordvall, H., Crowther, J. (Eds.) (2013). *Popular education, Power and Democracy*. Leicester: Niace
- Larsson, Staffan (2013). Folk high schools as educational avant-gardes in Sweden. In A-M., Laginder, H., Nordvall and J. Crowther (Eds.). *Popular education, Power and Democracy*. Leicester: Niace
- Latour, B. (1986) The power of association. In Law, J (ed.). (1986). *Power, action and belief: A new sociology of knowledge?* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul
- Latour, B. (2003). *Science in action: how to follow scientists and engineers through society*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press
- Law, J. (1992). Notes on the theory of the Actor Network: Ordering, strategy and heterogeneity. The Centre for Science Studies: Lancaster University
<http://www.lancs.ac.uk/fss/sociology/papers/law-notes-on-ant.pdf> (2004-06-22)
- Law, J (1994). *Organizing Modernity*. Oxford: Blackwell
- Law, J. (1996). *Tranduction/tranhison: Notes on ANT*. The Centre for Science Studies: Lancaster University. <http://www.comp.lancs.ac.uk/sociology/papers/Law-Tranduction-Tranhison.pdf> (2004-06-22)
- Paldanius, Sam (2007). *En folkhögskolemässig anda i förändring [Elektronisk resurs] : en studie av folkhögskoleanda och mässighet i folkhögskolans praktik*. Linköping: Institutionen för beteendevetenskap och lärande, Linköpings universitet
- Runesdotter, Caroline