

The Role of Social Movements in the Long-Term Swedish Involvement in Tanzanian Folk Developments Colleges

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Abstract

In this paper we examine the long-standing Swedish involvement in Tanzanian Folk Development Colleges. We also address the wider issue of how continuity in transnational engagement can be maintained in the field of popular and adult education during periods of significant political and ideological shifts. Folk Development Colleges in Tanzania are a clear example of adult education institutions that have survived dramatic fluctuations in political trends. The over 50 Folk Development Colleges (FDC) established in Tanzania during the 1970s, as part of the Tanzanian Government and President Julius Nyerere's adult education policy plus the support of Swedish aid, have survived significant political changes in both Tanzania and Sweden. The Swedish aid to FDCs ended in the 1990s and adult education is in Tanzania today far from being a prioritized political area as it was during the 1970s and 1980s. Therefore, in addition to contributing to the existing knowledge developed regarding these colleges (Rogers, 2000; 2013; 2018), the study of FDCs and the context that surrounded them can also provide lessons of importance for understanding factors contributing to the continuity global solidarity and transnational popular education activities.

Background and Literature Review

The history of folk high school- and their inspiration on *the establishment of Folk Development Colleges* in Tanzania in 1970s is highlighted in a number of studies (see, for example, Albinsson et al. 2000; Nordvall 2009; Rogers 2000). This paper goes beyond both the establishment of the FDCs and the contemporary state and traces the role of these institutions. The paper traces *the long-term relative stability that has characterized Swedish support and commitment to FDC*. The Swedish actors have been working with FDCs for so long, despite large changes in both Swedish aid policy and Tanzanian education policies? The paper puts an argument for the significance of *social movements* as crucial factor if we are to understand the continuity that has characterized both Folk High Schools and the Swedish governmental organisations involvement in the FDC.

The FDCs were established as part of the Tanzanian government and former President Julius Nyerere's investment in adult education and a financial and educational-consultative support from SIDA. In 1990s the Swedish aid to FDCs ceased. Unlike in the 1970s and 80s adult

education in Tanzania is recently relatively less prioritized policy area (Rogers 2013). There are a number of different explanations for the fact that FDCs, which today are 55 in number, have survived despite this. A large measure of local ingenuity and entrepreneurial spirit at FDCs as well as institutions initiative of raising funds through participant fees have been highlighted as contributing to their survival (Rogers 2013). Moreover, despite the Swedish government withdraw of assistance, the Swedish Folk High Schools and other actors in the Swedish civil society continued in various ways to support the FDCs (Nankler, 2018). The purpose of this paper is to contribute to a deeper understanding of the drivers of the long - lived and extensive Swedish support to the FDCs.

In literature, Swedish involvement in the FDCs, has among other things been explained with reference to the ideological proximity between the Swedish social democracy that Olof Palme represented, and the Tanzanian socialist project that Julius Nyerere represented (Rogers, 2000). However, this can only partly explain the Swedish commitment to FDCs. It has also drawn attention to how the Swedish involvement in the FDC was characterized by duality, where an anti-colonial involvement united Nations with the formation of a Swedish identity in contrast to "the other" that bears traces of a colonial legacy (Dahlstedt & Nordvall, 2011). However, that does not explain the extent and continuity of the engagement as such, or why it was developed in relation to FDCs in Tanzania specifically.

In this paper, which is based on both review of historical archive materials and semi-structured interviews with involved Swedish actors, we concentrate on the significance of social movements for the Swedish involvement in FDC.

Methodology

This study adopted a qualitative approach using semi-structured interviews with 21 informants who have been involved in various ways in the international work of the Swedish Folk High Schools for a period of time ranging from the 1960s until to date, and partly archival materials. In addition, published and unpublished materials were used also as sources, (e.g. journals, organizations' websites and reports). Most of the participants had been working at Linköping University. Among those interviewed several had (and in some cases still have) central roles in the Swedish work with support for Folk Development Colleges. The interviews were analysed focusing on the research questions including reasons for and experience of international engagement. During interview some newer themes emerged and

guided further data collection in the form of more interviews or control of data in relation to other sources. The interviewees have given consent that their interviews are used for research purposes. For ethical reasons, we have omitted their names in this paper

Social movements, social movement organizations and Swedish popular education

As a theoretical analysis tool, we use the distinction between *social movement organizations*, which are clearly defined and formal, and *social movements* that are understood here as a further culturally and ideologically coherent flow that both transcends and consists of social movement organizations (Thörn, 2002). Through an understanding of social movements as slightly wider than the social movement organizations, we believe it is possible to understand how different social movement involvement come to influence the behaviour of individuals within organizations that formally belongs to the state administration or organizations who have no formal links to social movement organizations.

The findings in the present study suggest that different movements have been and are still important for the Swedish involvement. To begin with, the Christian movement, the Labour movement and the New Left of the 1960s and 70s and the Solidarity movement are among the key movements. Other movements include the Cooperative movement, the Temperance movement, the Women's movement and the Disability. In addition to this heterogeneity, we also point out the importance of different cohesive cross-border movement factors, which have brought the diversity of movements together and have given the Swedish support to the FDCs both continuity and in some parts a common direction. The combination of a variety of different movement commitments and different cohesive cross-border factors is highlighted as an important explanation for the long-term Swedish support for FDCs.

The concept that we use to analyse the Swedish involvement in the FDC, social movement, is contested. In primarily sociological research the concept has been central, and debated and redefined ever since it was coined in the mid nineteenth century. The term has been used to describe everything between an inherent direction of movement in society, which tends to be embodied in different historical subjects (eg the working class) at different times (Peterson & Thörn 1992, p. 9), to much less demanding definitions such as "appropriate and to a varying degree structured collective action" (Bjurström 1997, p. 66). Thus, there are more or less strict definitions of what constitutes a social movement, which has also been dealt with extensively

by others (see, for example, Thörn 1997; Wettergren & Jamison 2006; Edelman 2001; Mayo 2005).

In this paper, we assume a relatively broad definition of the term, that a social movement can be understood as a form of collective action that promotes radical changes in society. A social movement is constituted by different types of knowledge, information and symbols, resource mobilization, the formation of organizations, networks, campaigns, demonstrations and actions of various kinds (Diani, 1992; Thörn, 2002). We particularly emphasize that a social movement is something more than a clearly defined organization. A social movement, such as the environmental movement, can certainly include several organizations working on environmental issues, but at the same time is much more. It can also include individuals who share the worldview and identity of the movement but formally do not belong to any organization. A social movement is constituted of different skills, values and ideas, which may be reflected in different organizational contexts as well as the surface of these.

In this paper the term 'Solidarity movement and the New Left' suggest a movement unified by different symbols, knowledge ideas and a collective actions. People are bound together in a movement through common actions, such as demonstrations against the US war in Vietnam and the boycott of goods from South Africa during apartheid. They are also held together by sharing a critical perspective on the world, as an imperialist and colonial era world order, and a different degree of long-standing criticism of the system regarding the capitalist society. They are also bound together in different organizations and networks: FNL' groups, various leftist groups, international solidarity organizations, trade organizations and, in some cases, educational institutions such as Folk High Schools.

The concept of social movement organization was a reserve for formal organizations linked to social movements. A trade union organization or a socialist party can thus be understood s as a social movement organization with links to the labour movement. A church organization can be understood s as a social movement organization linked to a Christian movement.

Sometimes different social movements, and associated social movement organizations, are united in different forms of coalitions that can be both short and long term. It is based on a shared understanding of something that ties the movements together. It may be a common question or a common interpretation of the world. One term used to point out such a cohesive way of looking at the outside world is the master frame or coalitional frame (Benford & Snow 2000). In this way, movements can be made up of several movements. The global justice movement that emerged during the 1990s

and 00s can be understood as such a movement that binds unions, environmental organizations, and church organizations in a criticism of a neoliberal global world order that was considered unfair (Nordvall, 2013).

According to Holford (1995), even adult education itself can be understood as a movement. Kept together by shared ideas on the right of adults to knowledge and education on their own conditions, linked with various movements with different political or religious orientations. In the Swedish context, popular education and Folk High Schools have in a similar way been considered a movement consisting of institutions, organizations and individuals linked to different ideological movements, but which are brought together through a shared identification, and relationship to, a non- formal type of adult education characterized by ideas about participants influence and democratic working methods.

This theoretical understanding of social movements, social movement organizations and the importance of movement-framing factors (master frames) have been indicative when we in this paper have interpreted the background to the extensive and long-term Swedish involvement in FDC.

The emergence of the Swedish Folk High School's global commitment

To understand the importance of social movements for the Swedish commitment to FDCs, a historical background is given. Even though the Folk High Schools were established in Sweden in 1868, they had no formal connection to social movements. It was not until the early 1900's that several schools connected to social movements were founded. Various movements such as, The Labour movement, the Temperance movement and the Christian movement started their own Folk High Schools. The social movements were international - the Free Church, as well as the Labour and the Temperance movements originated from international ideological movements with contacts in other countries. Their Folk High Schools had a natural approach to international issues from the perspective of their own movement. When it comes to the Christian movement, the Folk High Schools were used to train missionaries, among other things. At the Labour Folk High Schools international conferences and seminars were arranged already in the 1920's. (Thornberg & Sandler, 1925). At Marieborgs Folk High School international solidarity was part of the concept already when it started in 1934. Filip Stenson, the school's first principal, was active in introducing actively international issues in a problem-based, cross-cutting approach (Wallin, 2013; Giertz,

2014). In 1931, the Labour movement started a Nordic Folk High School in Geneva to enable people without language skills and academic degrees to become familiar with international issues at the center of events. The school was located to Geneva because both the League of Nations (NF) and the International Labour Organization (ILO) had their headquarters there. The courses were open to members of trade union, political and cooperative organizations in the Nordic countries and aimed at deepening Nordic cooperation, increasing the knowledge of the ILO, and to stimulate union activities nationally and internationally (www.genèveskolan.org).

The international and movement-oriented character that many Christian Folk High Schools had developed, for example through missionary education, meant that there was an experience here to train for practical tasks that became relevant for people who would work with development cooperation in various forms.

The Swedish equivalent of Peace Corps courses, which emerged in Europe and North America after the Second World War, was in Sweden stationed at Folk High Schools and not at universities that were the case in, for example, the United States, Britain and West Germany (Ekman 2007).

The Peace Corps, which in these countries contributed to many university students getting involved in peace and international development aid work, gained a strong foothold in the Folk High Schools in Sweden. The Folk High Schools international involvement and the emergence of a Swedish international development cooperation policy early became closely linked. To a significant extent there was also a personal connection here. Individuals who were, or had been, involved in Swedish Folk High Schools, as teachers or principal, also had significant influence over the formulation of Swedish international development cooperation policy. This also helped to give the Folk High schools the task of organizing the first targeted training programs for coming development workers. Torgil Ringmar, teacher and principal at Åsa Folk High School, worked for the governmental institutions NIB and Sida (Swedish International Development Agency) and took the initiative to station education of the Swedish Peace Corps at Folk High Schools, instead of the university (Nankler, 2018). Historically there are strong connections between Folk High Schools and international development aid in Sweden, not only through personal connections, but also at a discursive level, where language and ideological beliefs move between contexts (Österborg Wiklund 2019).

It is also in relation to the general shaping of Swedish aid policy that the direct link with Tanzania and Julius Nyerere becomes clear. A contact with the Swedish political

leadership occurred early. When the then Prime Minister Tage Erlander, together with the following Prime Minister Olof Palme, were about to develop the Swedish aid policy, they introduced to Julius Nyerere through a joint acquaintance, Barbro Johansson, who went to school with Tage Erlander but as a missionary moved to Tanzania and came to be deeply engaged in the political development and a close friend of Nyerere (Sellström, 1999).¹ In order to understand the conditions of this seemingly random coincidence, we must consider the Swedish Christian mission in Tanzania.

Folkhögskolan and the Swedish mission

Sweden has had a remarkable mission in relation to the population. Both the Swedish Church and the Free Churches have had their own missionary societies and the Free Churches have trained for missions at their Folk High Schools. In 1863, the first Swedish missionaries left for the Evangelical Motherland Foundation, EFS. They chose to mission in Ethiopia, a country which European colonialism had not yet reached. EFS, today, is the principal of six Folk High Schools, of which Åredalen has a long and still lively international exchange with both India and Tanzania. The Swedish Pentecostal Movement is, in relation to the country's population, one of the world's most missionary movements with 600 missionaries in 50 countries. The movement started Kageholm Folk High School in 1942 for the purpose of training missionaries (Lovemo, 1999). The Pentecostal Movement is the principal of Kageholm, June, Mariannelund and Dalkarlså Folk High Schools and has been preaching the Gospel in Tanzania for many years. June Folk High School established an early sister college relationship with Mwanva FDC in Tanzania.

The Swedish Church has also been preaching in Tanzania. Barbro Johansson, who came to play a central role in Tanzania's educational system, set out as a missionary for the Swedish Church. When international development aid was launched as a task for the Folk High School in the 1960s, one of the instigators of this, the Folk High School inspector Gösta Vestlund, claimed that the FHSs had good opportunities to expand their international commitment and particularly emphasized the Christian FHSs. "It is not uncommon for

³ Barbro Johansson, or Mama Barbro, whom she came to be called, travelled in 1946 as a newly graduated teacher to Tanganyika for the mission of the Swedish Church. She combined education for girls with political work and was elected Minister of Education in Tanzania's first government. Johansson was also involved in naming the Tanzanian "folk high schools", where she pointed out that Folk were doing well, but High was to be associated with the elitist English school system.

missionaries to be prepared for their work there and after a time in developing countries return as a teacher" (Martinsson 1966). The Swedish missionary societies' support for schoolwork in the decolonized countries was very extensive in the 1960s.

Åredalen Folk High School has been traveling to India and Tanzania since the 1990s. The choice of these countries has been through the Church. There has been an EFS connection to India since the 19th century. In Tanzania, the EFS began its mission work in the 1930s to replace German missionaries who had to leave the country after Germany lost its colony in the First World War. The ecclesiastical connection remains strong at, among other places, Åredalen Folk High School. Here, internships are arranged for the students through churches in India and Lund's Missionary Committee makes contributions to the participants' journeys. The sister College in Tanzania, which is paid a visit every year, was chosen by a teacher for the international courses.

Missionary work can be understood as precursor to the Swedish development cooperation, which also focused on the same geographical areas (Fur, 2009). The Swedish contacts established through the Tanzania mission thus became important in the work with Swedish development work in the region, including the support for FDCs.

The workers' movement 's involvement in southern Africa

In addition to the Swedish labour movement, through the Social Democratic Party, which has been the leading political force in the development of Swedish international aid and cooperation with Tanzania, the labour movement has in more respects been important for the Swedish support to FDC. The personal contacts between the Swedish social democracy and TANU, (Tanganyika African National Union) were not only developed at the highest level, through Palme and Nyerere. Various contact areas between Sweden and Tanzania, which later become important for the development of FDCs, were developed within the labour movement in the 1960s and 1970s. An early example is the African seminars under the auspices of the International Folk High School (s) that lasted for a number of years from 1963. The courses were conducted in collaboration with the Nordic Folk High School, the Swedish Cooperative Center and the International Assistance Committee. Participants were

youth politicians and educators from Tanzania and Sweden (Hyldgaard Nankler, 2018). This is how one of the informants expresses herself about the courses.

I represented SSU² on the course and with a scholarship of 500 SEK from Erlanderfonden I left my little village in Jämtland to go to Kungälv, a city I never heard of. There I shared a room with a woman from Bukoba in Tanzania. The participants from Tanzania were strong personalities with deep knowledge and experience, and from them we Swedish young people learned a lot about colonialism, liberation struggle and injustice, but also about solidarity and belief in the future.

Many of the Swedish Folk development educators who were active in Tanzania had a background in the labour movement, as teachers at the labour movement's FHS or active in the Workers' Education Association (ABF). Through its international work, the Labour Movement FHS, Marieborg, received early recognition from Sida and teachers with a background from Marieborg came to be involved in the work with FDCs in Tanzania. The close ties between the ANC and Swedish social democracy also affected the contacts that developed in Tanzania. As the anti-apartheid movement was strong in the Swedish a labour movement much support activities were directed towards southern Africa, including the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (SOMAFCO), which was an educational institution established by activists in exile from South African ANC in 1978 in Mazimbu , Tanzania . An example of how this commitment affected the Swedish relationship with FDC is precisely Marieborg Folk High School's sister college collaboration with Kilosa FDC, which was established during a study and support trip to SOMAFCO in 1987.

Solidarity movement and the new left

A third movement, which is also crucial to understand the Swedish development aid policy and involvement in solidarity work, is the New Left and the Solidarity movement that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s in most Western countries, triggered by anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggles which took place in Asia, Africa and South America. This radicalization in the 1960s and onward had a major impact both on the parts of the Christian movement, where Paulo Freire had a strong impact, and on large parts of the labour

² SSU is the Swedish Social Democratic Youth League

movement. But the radicalization can also be seen as a movement in itself, which went beyond these.

The politically radical currents during the 1970s had a significant impact on the FHSs in general in Sweden. A special network, Progressive Folk High School, was established, in addition to advocating a progressive and participatory pedagogy it became a meeting place for teachers with politically radical ideas. Several teachers with backgrounds as politically engaged in the 1970s came later to become active in Folk High School teacher training at Linköping University. ³ Progressive Folk High School became a context where people from FHSs with different kinds of principals came together.

From 1960/61 a wave of liberation swept across the African continent. Awareness of the vulnerability of the colonized peoples and their struggles for liberation reached Sweden through young radical writers in Sweden. In the university cities, young researchers organised groups to study the problems of developing countries. Lund's U-group (U stands for Underdeveloped, or Developing countries) was the largest and most active in the country with at most 900 members. They visited the Folk High School in Tomelilla and a new U-group emerged there. Activists from Lund went to Stockholm to hunger strike outside the Parliament House in May 1968 for parliament to decide that 1% of GNP should be allocated to international development aid (Hyldgaard Nankler 2018).

At Marieborgs FHS a course was held in 1966 to discuss what contributions of FHSs in developing countries. Three questions were discussed: How can teaching focus on developing countries' problems? What international contributions can be made at the FHS? What interventions in developing countries can FHSs make? The trade union meeting for secretaries at Vaddö FHS in 1966 decided to urge members to donate 1% of their salary during the coming year to international development aid under the name *Folk High School helps*. The fund raising - part of the 100th anniversary for FHS in 1968 - was not quite as successful as expected, even though it was extended for another year. However, during the sixties, the engagement for developing countries at FHS grew and resulted in financial support for schools in Ethiopia, Togo and Tanzania (Terning, P. of TSF 1973; Hyldgaard Nankler 2018, p. 49).

Concerning teachers from Färnebo and others involved in the FDC work, the commitment to solidarity issues and global justice is clearly evident, both in interviews and in the Journal of

³ Boozon et al (forthcoming), Excerpt presented at the PedVux Department's seminar 10 May 2019 at LiU.

the Swedish Folk High School. Many highlight that there was significant differences between charity and solidarity, where solidarity gave a meaning where a common interest in political change was brought to the fore.

The commitment in liberation movements in the South, which was prominent in the new left, in relation to, for example, the FNL in Vietnam or the ANC in South Africa, is also found among several of the Swedes who have been involved in FDCs. A central figure in the work with FDCs describes their first contact with the colleges in connection to a visit to the ANC's base for South Africans in exile in Tanzania. Many of the Swedes who took part in the establishment of FDCs describe an admiration for Nyerere and the anti-colonial, socialist approach he represents. This type of expression comes from several informants, even from people who were involved in FHSs with no connection to neither the labour movement nor the new left.

Other significant movements

In the foregoing, we have highlighted the importance of the Labour movement, the Christian movement and the New Left, which we also term the Solidarity movement. However, several other movements were involved in different ways from the Swedish side when it comes to support for FDCs. Among the FHSs, which have sister college relations with a FDC in Tanzania are FHSs with connections to Temperance, Women's and Disability movement. It is also possible to see a clear link with the Cooperative movement, which among other things was important for the establishment of correspondence training in Tanzania in the 1960s and 1970s. Many of the prime movers in the establishment of FDCs had a background in the Cooperative movement and its involvement in Tanzania and Zambia, including teacher training for study circles. This heterogeneity of movements also characterizes FHSs generally in Sweden, where the majority (112) of the current 155 schools are movement FHS in the sense that they are owned by different organizations in the civil society; other folk high schools (44) are owned by county councils and regions. Despite this heterogeneity, a clear cohesive identity for FHSs can be discerned. In the Nordic context, a unified Folk High School movement is spoken of. As the Swedish FHSs are subordinate to the same state regulations and are linked through a joint trade union organization for teachers, as well as two employers' organizations (one for Social movements FHSs - RIO - and one for county council FHSs - OFI), the schools are fenced about by a uniting infra

structure. In the following we will touch upon how these, and other unifying factors, have had an impact of bringing together a variety of movements in the Swedish commitment to the FDC.

Folkhögskolan as a common point of reference

The Swedish FHS, with its own arenas for joint discussion and coordination, collects heterogeneity of movements. It is also developing an overarching collective identity in terms of a Folk High School movement. Through this movement the Swedish commitment to the FDCs is developed. It is within the teachers' trade union as the first discussions are held about forming a support group for the FDCs. This support group, the Karibu - association (Karibu Sweden Association, KSA), is however formed independently of the union, as an association of people who have been in place in Tanzania and worked with the FDCs. The intention was to promote a developed collaboration between Swedish FHSs and Tanzanian FDCs, primarily through the establishment of friendship cooperation between sister colleges.

SFHL⁴ set up an international committee (IK) in 1956, whose first chairman was Allan Degerman, headmaster of Åsa Folk High School (SFHL organized both rectors and teachers for many years). The purpose of the committee was to stimulate schools for international cooperation and for international elements in the courses and to contribute to financing Nordic pupils' participation in Swedish folk high schools (Hyldgaard Nankler, 2018).

All SFHL's eight districts early appointed international secretaries responsible for study days and international activities. The Secretary Council in 1984 decided to establish a Solidarity Fund for development assistance. The fund is unique in its kind, as it is entirely made up of membership fees (Mustel 2011). Here, folk high school teachers can apply for grants for local development projects and for continuing education linked to global development issues. The fund continues to operate according to the same rules and has provided financial opportunities to start many solidarity projects and has been used extensively for exchange trips with Tanzania. When other scholarship funds have tightened their aid, the Solidarity Fund has always been enlarged by its members (Nankler, 2018).

⁴ Nowadays SFHL is called Lärarförbundet Folkhögskola.

A cohesive factor for Swedish FHSs is also a common teacher education since 1970, which is given at only one university in the country, Linköping University. To the teacher program many teachers with a background in the 1970's left and solidarity movements were recruited. Some of them were driving the network Progressive FHS and several of them had experience of international involvement, including in Tanzania. One of the informants testifies that those who came to work at the FHS teacher program and the nearby Adult Training Center at Linköping University shared an identity as activists. This activist commitment, combined with the resources that could be generated by both the University and the contacts, including with Sida, which, in particular some employees had, meant that relatively extensive work could be initiated in support of FDCs from the university.

The movement within the state

In the foregoing discussion, we have shown how various social movement organizations and FHSs in civil society have been driving for the Swedish commitment in relation to Tanzania and Folk Development Colleges. The social movements have also, in our opinion, had significant influence within the organizational sphere that the state constitutes. Several of the Swedish actors who have been involved in the work with FDCs based on functions that formally fall within state development aid or, as in the case of Linköping University, a state university, can at the same time be seen as motivated by activism and social movement involvement of various kinds. On a theoretical level, this can be understood as social movements exerting an influence that goes beyond the organizational boundaries of the social movement organizations that make up its central components. Social movements, in the context of coherent ideas, have the ability to unite and mobilize people, and do not stop where civil society transits into state. Successful movements can, without conquering government power, make an impression on and enter the state administration. In practical terms, this could mean that individuals with strong ideological convictions in accordance with a movement's ideals, gets a position in a government organization that leaves room for the entity to as official conduct business in line with its ideological conviction. In research on popular education, the concept of in-and- against the state has been developed to describe this position of commitment from within the state (Österborg Wiklund 2019). In the event that conviction to some extent is contrary to the function that the state official is expected to have, a duplicity and conflict is clear.

“A university has an international mission. And it felt valuable to let the mission go outside the Western hemisphere and instead collaborate between the North and the South,” said one informant responsible for international projects at Linköping University. Many of the persons who have been working on the Swedish state aid on behalf of the FDCs have a clear commitment. Many express a commitment, sprung from a popular movement tradition, which they contrast with what they perceive as a more technical and traditional aid worker position. Several also have significant experience of popular movement engagement and in various contexts give expression to ideals that can be traced to the new left and to the labour movement.

Many, for example, affirm that they put a great value on not socially distancing themselves from the population in a way that their experience was common with more traditional aid experts. A number of Swedes who engage in FDC learnt Swahili, and return to the way they lived relatively simple and picked off relations with compatriots on golf clubs. There is a desire among the FHSs commitment to distinguish it from aid experts who "live colonially" (play golf, live apart from Tanzanians, etc.). Many put an honour in as far as possible living like ordinary Tanzanians and learning Swahili.

Even when it comes to Linköping University, which is a state university, we can see that the staff involved in the work with FDC has personal social movement experience. The department focusing on adult education at the institution, which is involved in the work of the FDC, largely consists of teachers with a background in or existing connections to FHS and non-profit organizations. Rather than being an edict from the university administration the globally oriented work at the Adult Education center at Linköping University is developed from employees with significant commitment and good contacts within aid, politics and different movements.

By being in, and representing, government organizations, these actors gain access to resources that enable work with, for example, FDCs. Taking this movement factor into account within state organizations can partly contribute to understanding why SIDA and Linköping University act as they act. It may also partly explain why the commitment continues even after the Swedish state policy and subsidies to the FDC ceases. The officials involved still continue, albeit with other conditions.

Conclusion

To understand both the scope and continuity that characterized the Swedish involvement in the FDC, it is not enough to take into account the highest political level that is often pointed

out; often exemplified in the close personal and ideological relationship between Olof Palme and Julius Nyerere. The Swedish commitment should be understood as a combination of economic possibilities created by the Swedish state aid policy and a widespread and diverse social movement involvement that surrounded both the Swedish adult education in general and not least support for the FDC. This social movement dimension has probably partly strengthened the effect of the state aid policy in relation to FDCs, and partly had a compensatory effect when the state aid was discontinued.

It is important, we believe, to emphasize that this commitment is not just linked to the social-democratic labour movement represented by Olof Palme. Also people with links to the new left, who sharply criticized the Social Democratic movement, are found to a significant extent among the Swedes who are committed to FDCs. This diversity of movements represented in this context, however, is held together by different movement exceeding factors. Folk High Schools and adult education in itself becomes a kind of superior ideology, or master frame, which binds together the different actors. Cross-border organizations, both in civil society (Karibu, SFHL) as well as in the state sphere (Linköping University, SIDA), also connect people with different backgrounds in what appears to be a common commitment.

What was the impact of a diversity of movements involved in the Swedish support to FDC? Was there a variation between the FDCs depending on which movement that dominated the Swedish Folk High School that supported the college? Did it matter if it was a FHS owned by the workers movement or a FHS owned by the Pentecostal movement? Knowledge of this is lacking, and is a matter for further research to determine.

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