

Medborgarskapande och folkbildning i individualismens tidevarv

Andreas Fejes

Professor i vuxenpedagogik

Linköpings universitet

Projektet

- Medborgarskapande i och utanför vuxenutbildning och folkbildning
- Utgångspunkt i det problematiska i att vuxna positioneras såsom ej varandes medborgare, utan något de skall bli genom deltagande i utbildning och bildning.
- Vad för medborgarskapande "gör" vuxna deltagare och elever i sin vardag innanför och utanför vuxenutbildning och folkhögskola? Vilka diskursiva och materiella villkor gör vissa aktiviteter mer eller mindre möjliga?
- Projektdeltagare: Professor Andreas Fejes (LiU) (Projektledare), doktorand Lina Rahm (LiU), Universitetslektor Fredrik Sandberg (LiU), Professor Magnus Dahlstedt (LiU), Professor Maria Olson, (Högskolan i Dalarna och SU)

- Intervjuer med 62 elever och deltagare (26 i Komvux, 36 i folkhögskola)
- Intervjuer med 10 lärare (4 i Komvux, 6 i folkhögskola)
- Grund i dokumentation av ”medborgaraktiviteter”
- 1200 sidor intervjuutskrift för analys

Individualisering och kollektivisering

- Syftet i den analys jag nu kommer presentera för er är att identifiera hur principer om demokrati och marknad opererar i elever, deltagares och lärares berättelser. Mer specifikt tittar jag på hur kollektivt och individualistiskt orienterade idéer om vad det innebär att vara medborgare, formar elev- och deltagarsubjektiviteter.
- Analysen fokuserar på regelbundenheter i intervjuerna, dvs. vad som är återkommande. Men även ambivalens identifieras.

Demokrati och marknad

- Utgångspunkt för vår analys är två begrepp, den ena mer kollektivistiskt orienterad, den andra mer individualistiskt orienterad.
- Demokrati
 - Formering av medborgare som är del av ett större kollektiv och bärare av vissa rättigheter och skyldigheter
- Marknad
 - Formering av autonoma medborgare som drivs av nyttomaximering

Vuxenutbildningens uppdrag

- Målet för den kommunala vuxenutbildningen är att vuxna ska stödjas och stimuleras i sitt lärande. **De ska ges möjlighet att utveckla sina kunskaper och sin kompetens i syfte att stärka sin ställning i arbets- och samhällslivet samt att främja sin personliga utveckling.**

Utgångspunkten för utbildningen ska vara den enskildes behov och förutsättningar. De som fått minst utbildning ska prioriteras. (Skollagen)

Statens mål med folkbildningen

- Folkbildningen ska ge alla möjlighet att tillsammans med andra öka sin kunskap och bildning för personlig utveckling och delaktighet i samhället.
- Syftena med statens bidrag till folkbildningen:
 - Stödja verksamhet som bidrar till att stärka och utveckla demokratin,
 - Bidra till att göra det möjligt för en ökad mångfald människor att påverka sin livssituation och skapa engagemang att delta i samhällsutvecklingen (genom t ex politiskt, fackligt, kulturellt eller annat ideellt arbete)
 - Bidra till att utjämna utbildningsklyftor och höja bildnings- och utbildningsnivån i samhället,
 - Bidra till att bredda intresset för och delaktig- heten i kulturlivet.

Analysens struktur

- I analysen jämförs elevers, deltagares och lärares berättelser inom Komvux och folkhögskola med varandra. Fyra områden diskuteras:
 - Vuxenutbildning som plats
 - Undervisningspraktiken
 - Kollektiva och individuella platser för lärande
 - Att göra kollektivisering och individualisering möjligt

VUXENUTBILDNING SOM PLATS

Individualisering

- I see this [participation in MAE] as going from point A to B. Of course, you attend the lessons, but I'm not going to put much time and effort in engaging in new relationships and...to stay in the cafeteria, that's not the experience I'm looking for. I wish to get my grades, and I wish to get going with this [studying] again, I wish to progress. (Elev, Komvux)

Individualisering

- At MAE, it's not the same [as upper secondary school]. At MAE students are there more as individuals than as a group, they are more fragmented, and there is more room for them to be themselves. For good and for bad, you are not forced, or you do not have to commit yourself [to things other than studying], at the same time as you could if you wish. But there is a risk at MAE, this sounds a bit negative, that students distance themselves, that they are not drawn into their studies. You have to have a greater will to be there concerning attendance and engagement or results. (Lärare, Komvux)

Kollektivisering

- Yes, I thought it was good, a good fellowship, good teachers, and such things. I would be able to, I wanted to improve my grades in order to be able to...but I could do it really, and be more motivated. (deltagare, Folkhögskola)
- You are also very engaged in issues pertaining to the school here. It could be anything from the food in the canteen, to how lessons are planned. It's a very open climate here. You can feel that you are more than a student here. (deltagare, Folkhögskola)

Ambivalens

- Now it is like some secondary school class. They can't do anything on time and they can't help each other as they have enough to handle themselves. Then you hope that some of them will grow and change, but it can't happen yet, it is like talking to...I don't know, it is like, we have for many years had problems with coffee mugs at this school. Then it is like, if I tell you, ok, there is a coffee mug standing there at the table, could you bring it with you when you leave? "No, it is not my mug". That kind of answer is what you get, they think so damn much about themselves. Only about themselves. "I have not done that", and such answers you didn't get 10-15 years ago. Then it was more about fellowship and community. So, those who are young now, they are different I believe. (Lärare, Folkhögskola)

UNDERVISNINGSPRAKTIKEN

Individualisering

- Here at MAE, you choose to study, most of the students coming here study and they are quiet at lessons, and they listen, and they attend the exams. (Elev, Komvux)
-
- It's a lot of people here. It's hard to make contact with other students. If you attend a lesson, you wish to listen to the teachers. And then you can't sit there [at the lessons] and talk to other students. And after the lesson, one student is going home, the other is going to another lesson, and the third is having lunch. (Elev, Komvux)

Individualisering

- It's a very nice school, as I said before, you can express your opinions a bit more. It feels very open here, and it's nice. If you compare to MAE. I attended MAE last year, and it was very rigid and boring, if you are allowed to express it in that way. It was really crappy. You came there the first day, and it was a roll call and then directly the teacher conducted a review using the blackboard. (deltagare, Folkhögskola)

Kollektivisering

- What's really good at this school, and especially in the class I'm attending, is how well discussions work, you can really feel, yes, he or she thinks in that way, that's one way you could think. I think that's really good. (deltagare, Folkhögskola)
-
- We often use "rounds" which I like. Then everyone is allowed to speak. Then we do something, which is called a "round". We sit in a ring. And then we say: the ball is in the air, and then someone can catch the ball and say "I take the ball" and then that persons starts speaking, in relation o the issue of the day. (detagare, Folkhögskola)

Ambivalens

- Popular education....for me it is about extracting – this is something positive – as much information as possible from all persons in order to turn it into some kind of individual knowledge. (Lärare, Folkhögskola)
- MEN, lärarna beskriver hur de tvingas bli mer “traditionella” I sin undervisning, då eleverna har dållig närvaro, samtidigt som Folkhögskolor i viss utsträckning även ger kurser inom det formella utbildningssystemet och olika former av arbetsmarknadsutbildningar.

INDIVIDUELLA OCH KOLLEKTIVA PLATSER FÖR LÄRANDE

Individualisering

- What I miss at MAE is, for example, which one probably should learn from life as a student in academia, is to study together. But what do you do then? Suddenly we have different roles in life, which could be nice for the person with a job, or family or stuff. But I feel a lack at MAE, that I don't have any real connection with those with whom I work, which makes group assignments much more difficult. (Elev, Komvux)

Kollektivisering

- It's much about conviviality, and to be together and get to learn to know other people. And those at the youth creation leader program organise field days, and activity groups and such. It seems like they wish to create a community across the program at the school. They organise a lot of movie nights, groups, which you can attend just for community building and sense of belonging, I think. So I would like to say that the school puts lot of effort in community building. (deltagare, Folkhögskola)

-

Kollektivisering

- All of us getting together, to eat lunch together, that we are all a big group, as friends and I think, that's being a citizen to me at this school, this sense of belonging. (deltagare, Folkhögskola)

ATT GÖRA INDIVIDUALISERING OCH
KOLLEKTIVISERING MÖJLIGT

Individualisering

- While I meet 25 students in history and then I meet 25 other students in social science, and they have nothing to do with each other. By the way, two of them do both classes, but they are the only ones, but it doesn't mean they are necessarily friends. (Lärare, Komvux)

Individualisering

- It's very flexible in that sense that you begin at different dates. There is a small core group, who begin and end during traditional dates, but then there are large changes during the semester in terms of student enrolment. This might be negative for teaching, as you don't get any continuity, you don't get any team spirit. And this has to do with the course format [in MAE], i.e. we do not have cohesive groups that makes it possible for us to work with the entire group and its development. (Lärare, Komvux)

Individualisering

- At some lessons five students attend, and sometimes the entire student cohort attends, and then they are usually 25. But most often it is ten to fifteen students attending. And it's always, everyone have reasons [not to attend], suddenly one is home with sick children. You wouldn't find that at upper secondary school in the same way. People are sick or people have received work schedules which do not fit with them attending on Wednesday, so there are reasons for most [absence]. (Lärare, Komvux)

Kollektivisering

- If you attend four terms in the same class, if you work with leadership and such things, then it's really worth putting time and effort into working with the group and group processes. (Lärare, Folkhögskola)
-
- Continuity is of great importance too, and it is worth working with personal development and things I relate to popular education. (Lärare, Folkhögskola)

Ambivalens

- When I started here, it was a perfect mix of different ages. There were also those who were 50-60 years old, it was unusual, but they were very welcome. There were those who were 20 years old, but this range, it was very good in that way. And it's not anything wrong to be in any age, but it is also this mix, which I find. Exciting, and the dynamic. (Lärare, Folkhögskola).

-

Ambivalens

- And it is one thing if there is one or two in each class [weak students], then there are many peers that, but it's almost easier for them when "Fuck, now you need to attend, o my God, what are you doing?" That's what a peer might say, I guess. And they have that kind of relationship, and culture in the group. But those [with high attendance rate] who are often here, they do not have the energy to take such a role, as there are so many [weak students] in each group. (Lärare, Folkhögskola)

Komvux som individualiseringsfabrik?

- Komvux som en plats för formering av den "individualistiska" medborgaren.
- Elever och lärares berättelser relativt samstämmiga i både vad gäller sak (komvux som väg till högre utbildning och/eller arbete) och temporalitet (här och nu).
- Lärarna har dock viss nostalgisk tillbakablick på kunskapslyftet och den (motiverade) elevgrupp som då befolkade Komvux

Folkhögskolan som individualiseringsfabrik?

- Folkhögskola som en plats för formering av den individualistiska medborgaren?
- Deltagares och lärares berättelser relativt samstämmiga vad gäller folkhögskolan som en plats för kollektivt medborgarskapande
- Temporaliteten skiljer sig dock åt, och något tillspetsat:
 - Deltagare ser kollektivt medborgarskapande som något som sker här och nu
 - Lärare ser kollektivt medborgarskapande som något som skedde i en svunnen tid då deltagargruppen passade in i kollektiva ideal

Varför sådan skillnad mellan Komvux och Folkhögskola?

- Olika uppdrag
- Olika finansieringskällor
- Olika historiska rörelser

Olika uppdrag

- Komvux
 - Formell vuxenutbildning
- Folkhögskola
 - Icke-formell vuxenutbildning
 - Formell vuxenutbildning (t.ex. vissa folkhögskolor levererar komvuxkurser, inte bara i form av allmän kurs).

Olika finansieringskällor

- Komvux
 - Lagstiftat anslag (grundvux, sÄrvux)
 - Frivilligt anslag (gymnasievux)
 - Statliga riktade anslag (t.ex. yrkesvux och lÄrlingsvux)
- Folkhögskola
 - Statliga anslag via Folkbildningsrådet
 - Kommunala anslag (som har minskat drastiskt senaste åren)
 - Inkomster via olika uppdrag (t.ex. kommunal vuxenutbildning, arbetsmarknadsutbildning)

Olika historiska rörelser

- Komvux
 - 1968 som led i att höja befolkningens formella utbildningsnivå
 - Grund i kvällsgymnasier och studieförbundens verksamhet
 - Målgrupp: från begåvningsreserv till riskgrupper
- Folkhögskola
 - 1860-tal och bondesönernas skolning
 - Folkrörelserna (arbetar-, nykterhets-, kvinno- och frikyrkorörelsen)
 - Disciplinering av de breda massorna
 - Olika bildningsideal

Men skillnaden är kanske inte så stor?

- Unga elever och deltagare
 - Många elever och deltagare direkt från gymnasiet
- Många elever och deltagare i behov av särskilt stöd
 - Ökad andel elever och deltagare med diagnoser
 - Ökad andel elever och deltagare med behov av stöd i svenska
- Individualismens tidevarv?
 - Individualisering och individualism är ett bredare samhällsfenomen som tar sig uttryck i Komvux och Folkhögskola. Del av bredare neoliberala ideal där frihet tas som både utgångspunkt och blir till effekt av styrning (utbildning och bildning).

Hur möta dessa utmaningar?

- Vilken roll spelar folkbildningen i medborgarskapandet i individualismens tidevarv?
- Om de motstridiga bilder som vår studie pekar på stämmer, hur kan folkhögskolan möta detta? Är det eleverna som skall ändra sig eller folkhögskolan? Både ock?

Vidare läsning

- Sandberg, F., Fejes, A., Dahlstedt, M., & Olson, M. (2015) Adult education as a heterotopia of deviation: a dwelling for the abnormal citizen. *Adult Education Quarterly*, published ahead of print.
- Olson, M., Fejes, A., Dahlstedt, M., & Nicoll, K. (2015). Citizenship discourses: Production and curriculum. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 36(7), 1036-1053.
- Rahm, L. & Fejes, A. (2015) Ubiquitous computing, digital failures and citizenship learning in swedish popular education. *Citizenship Teaching & Learning*, 10(2), 127-142.
- Nicoll, K., Fejes, A., Olson, M., Dahlstedt, M., & Biesta, G. (2013) Opening discourses of citizenship education: A theorization with Foucault. *Journal of Education Policy*, 28(6), 828-846.