

## ABSTRACT

### TRENDS IN GENERAL AND ALTERNATIVE MODES OF EDUCATION IN THEIR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL SETTINGS: A CASE STUDY IN SWEDEN

By

Ellen Heyting

#### Rationale for the Study

Since the Second World War there has been a world-wide trend towards more and extended general education as a means of promoting national and international social and economic equality. This has caused educational costs to soar to unbearable heights while inequalities have in many cases been aggravated. At the same time there has been a trend towards increased unemployment and social-psychological problems, especially among youth. These developments have led to a growing interest in alternative modes of education. Little is known, however, about a possible relationship between increased general education and the other developments, and about what alternative modes of education might be most effective for the reaching of the social and economic goals. Therefore, it was considered desirable to study trends in various types of education in social-psychological and economic perspectives in a country which has various modes of education and has introduced more general education. Sweden met these

requirements and had, moreover, enjoyed a greatly increased prosperity concomitant with the introduction of more general education.

### Methodology

For background information historical, geographic, economic and social developments were studied. Statistical data were gathered and information was obtained from relevant literature and extensive interviews and personal observation in the country.

The reasons for the introduction of more general education were studied together with the degree to which it had promoted the expressed goals.

The educational changes and the concomitant social-psychological and economic developments were studied. An attempt was made to assess the importance of possible educational and non-educational influences on the developments.

### Findings

The study shows that:

The introduction of more general education was based on social, economic and political grounds rather than on psychological and educational ones.

Social equality has not been much improved by the measures, while they have caused educational problems.

Social-psychological problems among youngsters have increased among ever younger age-groups, although not among the adults.

There has been growing unemployment and need for labor market training and increased job-absenteeism among youngsters.

Sweden's economic prosperity cannot be ascribed to increased general education but rather to other favorable circumstances. Sweden's economic growth is less than in some other comparable European countries.

The various problems have necessitated disproportionately large increases in expenditure on the prevention and treatment of alcoholism, the keeping of law and order, and labor market training.

The study of other possible causes for the various problems indicate that working mothers, illegitimacy of children, urbanization, increased wealth and structural change do not, or only in a minor degree, contribute to the increased problems.

It is possible that unobserved factors or the interaction of various developments have contributed to the unfavorable trends, but it seems reasonable to assume that the introduction of more and general education has played a major part.

There are strong indications that more general and formal education does not promote love of learning, while certain nonformal modes do.

Enrollment figures in various types and levels of education are not as important as the kind of education received.

The best modes for adult education are being studied in Sweden, while alternate periods of practical work and schooling, after eleven to thirteen years of formal schooling are proposed, as a means for bridging the generation, social and educational gaps.

Recommendations

The problem should be further studied in other countries. Educational and other developments should be studied as a total system. An attempt should be made to find the relative values of different influences by means of the information theory.



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## CHAPTER I

### THE PROBLEM

#### Introduction

This dissertation is a descriptive report, supported by statistical data of trends in general and alternative modes of education in their economic and social-psychological settings.

The object of the study was twofold:

1. To get some insight into the interaction between the following world-wide phenomena in education:
  - a. a trend, since the last World War, towards extended compulsory education and more general education for all;
  - b. growing unemployment with attendant social-psychological problems, especially among the young; and
  - c. a new interest in alternative forms of education of various kinds and at various levels.
2. To acquire useful information as to the kinds and forms of education that might be most effective.

To achieve these two objectives it was considered necessary to shed some light on the following points:

1. what the overt and covert goals were for which compulsory education was extended and more general education for everyone introduced;
2. to what extent the measures introduced have been effective in reaching these goals;
3. what influence the measures have had on the development of voluntary and other forms of alternative education, and the desire for further learning;
4. what educational problems have been encountered and what measures have been suggested to solve them;
5. what concomitant economic and social--psychological developments have taken place; and
6. what might be the relationship between these changes and the educational ones.

#### The Need for the Study

It is a well-known fact that these days, all over the world, more children stay in school longer and get more general education than ever before. This development rests mainly on two factors:

1. The popular assumptions that more general education for everyone:
  - a. makes for more social equality within and among countries;
  - b. is necessary to improve the quality and versatility of the labor force, which is necessary to combat unemployment;

- c. improves the quality of life for the individual and the country; and
- d. stimulates the desire for further education, which is necessary for:
  - (1) the keeping up with the ever-changing stock of knowledge, and the resulting changes in job-requirements; and
  - (2) making increasing leisure time more meaningful.

2. Theories and research with regard to the economics of education pointing to high rates of return on educational expenditure:

- a. for the individual in the form of greater occupational choice, better employability, higher status, higher income and a richer emotional and cultural life;
- b. for the country as a result of the contribution of education to economic growth; and
- c. for society in general as a result of the emergence of a more educated, more responsible, better adapted, and more satisfied citizenry.

The combination of these assumptions and theories has caused what sometimes is called an "educational explosion," which has precipitated an "educational crisis." The words "explosion" and "crisis" suggest that the world is faced by a serious problem which not only has suddenly come upon it, but which also requires a speedy solution.

Some aspects of the "crisis" are:

1. Educational costs which are skyrocketing by geometric ratios. While school enrollments worldwide, are doubling every 14 years, school expenditures are increasing at an annual rate of approximately 10 percent and are doubling every 7 years.<sup>1</sup>
2. The alleged inefficiency of the educational system, which receives increasing attention and which comes to the fore in the following points:
  - a. Many children drop out of school because what they learn seems irrelevant to them.<sup>2</sup>
  - b. Youth unemployment increases, due to the fact that youngsters come ill-prepared on to the job-market.<sup>3</sup>
  - c. There are complaints about lack of achievement and the dropping of academic standards.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>"Program of Studies in Non-formal Education A.I.D." [csd 3279], (a report to the Administrator's Advisory Council, International Studies and Programs, Michigan State University, Jan., 1973).

<sup>2</sup>Colin Greer, The Great School Legend: A Revisionist Interpretation of American Public Education (New York: Basic Books, 1972); Keith Goldhammer and Robert E. Taylor, Career Education: Perspective and Promise (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1972).

<sup>3</sup>Howard Hayghe, "Employment of High School Graduates and Dropouts," Monthly Labor Review, XCIII, No. 8 (August, 1970), 35-42; Hammond Reese, "Effective Preparation for Apprenticeship," [IRRA Conference Papers], Monthly Labor Review, XCIII, No. 4 (April, 1970), 44-45.

<sup>4</sup>Annie Stein, "Strategies of Failure," Harvard Educational Review, XLI, No. 2 (1971), 158-204.

- d. These days more inputs calculated in constant purchasing power are needed to produce a standard secondary school graduate than some ten years ago.<sup>5</sup>

3. Findings that social differences have been maintained and even aggravated with increased general education.<sup>6</sup>

These points will be fully dealt with in Chapter II, which discusses the relevant literature with respect to educational assumptions and theories.

All these developments have led to a widespread re-evaluation of educational practices, and research has been done to test the soundness of the assumptions and theories upon which the drive for more education has been based. This in turn has led to various proposals designed to remedy the situation. These have included plans for shoring up the old system with modern methods and media, for leaving the familiar system--slightly freshened up--intact but building additional alternative educational possibilities into or onto it, for replacing some parts or aspects of the old system by alternative possibilities, and for abolishing the old system altogether to be replaced by something entirely new.

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<sup>5</sup>Mark Blaug, An Introduction to the Economics of Education (Penguin Books Ltd., 1972); Greer, The Great School Legend; and Jerome Judson, Culture Out of Anarchy: The Reconstruction of American Higher Learning (New York: Herder and Herder, 1971).

<sup>6</sup>E. W. Sudale, Continued Education [a study of the education of young European school leavers during their last years at school and early years at work] (Strasbourg: Council of Cultural Cooperation, Council of Europe, 1971).



All these plans will be discussed and documented in Chapter III. As will be shown, the various plans and suggestions are not based on relevant educational research findings, however. Many are in contradiction with available findings and with each other. To make the situation even more confused, there are trends in Europe which go in the opposite direction. In many European countries, where non-formal education has always played an important part, is a tendency to introduce extended compulsory and general education.<sup>7</sup> This is done at the very moment that in the United States and in some developing countries there is a growing awareness of the need for other forms of education, and official American studies were made of vocational and apprenticeship training in various European countries. This was done in view of the high rates of unemployment among American youth.<sup>8</sup> The European reforms have hardly been based on practical research findings, but rather on ideologies and assumptions.

Finally, in the various proposals for educational reforms little serious attention is paid to a possible connection between the extension of general education and the wave of youth problems which has swept over many countries. Papers, journals, books all over the world report and discuss youth dissatisfaction and revolt. Drug and

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas W. Gavett, "Youth Unemployment and Minimum Wages," Monthly Labor Review, XCIII, No. 3 (March, 1970); Margret S. Gordon, Retraining and Labor Market Adjustment in Western Europe [report submitted to the Office of Manpower, Automation and Training, U.S. Dept. of Labor, July, 1964] (Berkeley: Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, 1964); Harvey Hilaski, "Labor Standards and Job Training in Foreign Countries," Monthly Labor Review, XC, No. 9 (September, 1967), 36-42; and J. Kundig, Manpower Aspects of Recent Economic Development in Europe (Geneva: International Labour Office, 1969).

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alcohol abuse, theft, fraud, alienation draw the attention as never before. There have been student revolts before, and it is sometimes said that they are cyclical, but the situation is somewhat different now. There is a growing concern about the fact that the problems have spread to secondary and even elementary school youth, that ever younger children seem to be affected by the general unrest and dissatisfaction; with disenchantment with schooling.

All the developments thus far discussed suggest that there is a great need for a comprehensive, coordinating study of the practical developments and the possible connections between educational and economic and social-psychological developments.

The information that such a study might yield may promote the making of more sound educational decisions. It might yield some knowledge of possible favorable or adverse results of certain practices. This would make decision-making less hazardous, for as Poincaré said: "le hasard n'est que le mesure de notre ignorance" (the risk is but the measure of our ignorance).

#### Reasons for the Study in One Country

The main reason to do the research in one country rather than as a comparative international study is that there are too many differences between countries to make international comparisons reliable or even possible. This is especially true if educational developments are to be studied in conjunction with other trends. The differences between countries are not only very large but also very complex,

because various national characteristics influence each other. This is pointed out by Beckerman.<sup>9</sup>

Countries progress along a variety of manpower growth paths and the range of alternatives is almost as wide as the range of their living standards. Differences in attitudes and political systems, not to mention the costs and finance of educational systems, widen the range even further. In short, we learn from international comparisons, at least in this area, that we do not learn from international comparisons.<sup>10</sup>

Further he says:

it is not enough simply to add up the number of doctors, engineers, teachers and so on. "Quality in the sense of product definition and categories are essential to quantification." Does a doctor in country 1 mean the same thing as a doctor in country 2? If not, little significance can be attached to comparisons of the number of doctors in the two countries. Second, how can one compare x doctors plus y dentists in country 1 with m doctors and n dentists in country 2, unless some means of weighting them together can be found. . . .<sup>11</sup>

Beckerman also points out that in the same country there may be large differences over time in the quality of say a scientist. This touches upon change in quality of education due to various circumstances.

An "International Study of Achievement in Mathematics"<sup>12</sup> attempted to compare achievement in mathematics in twelve different

<sup>9</sup>Wilfred Beckerman, "Human Resources and Economic Developments: Some Problems of Measurement," International Social Science Journal, XXIV, No. 4 (1972).

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 734.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 725 (quotation from A. Allan Schmid, "Nonmarket Values and Efficiency of Public Investment in Water Resources," American Economic Review, May, 1967, p. 159).

<sup>12</sup>Torsten Huzén, International Study of Achievement in Mathematics: A Comparison of Twelve Countries [International Project for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, I.E.A.] (Stockholm: Almqvist; New York: Wiley, 1967).

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developed countries. The age of the students, the years of education received, the numbers of other subjects studied, the use of new methods for the teaching of mathematics, educational expenditure and other factors were also taken into consideration. The study shows that there are great differences on all counts and that these cannot be clearly ascribed to any single factor. The study gave rise to reactions from various countries. One such reaction showed that low achievement in a country might be viewed as high achievement, if the percentage of youngsters receiving a certain kind of education is taken into consideration.<sup>13</sup>

This, of course, touches upon the controversy relating to quantity versus quality. A decision in this respect depends on ideological and national values and on the availability of the necessary funds which must make the implementation of the ideological principles possible. The ability to invest in educational expansion depends also on the economic situation of a country, which in turn is influenced by the availability of natural resources, world markets for particular commodities, the population/land ratio, the stability of political institutions, and many other factors, including social and cultural traditions.<sup>14</sup>

These facts give sufficient indication of the difficulties by which international studies in the field of education are beset. They

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<sup>13</sup>Torsten Husén, "Does Broader Educational Opportunity Mean Lower Standards?" International Review of Education, XVII, No. 1 (1971), 77-91.

<sup>14</sup>F. Harbison and Charles Myers, Manpower and Education: Country Studies in Economic Development (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1965).

clearly suggest that the study in one single country might yield more reliable and more valuable information.

That such information may also be valuable for other countries is hinted at by Coombs<sup>15</sup> who is of the opinion that it is possible to borrow from and combine in new ways experiences in other countries. Hardin<sup>16</sup> gives a similar indication when he suggests that an exchange of information across national boundaries may help accelerate the testing and development of methods and findings, though he recognizes that the methods and results in rich nations may not be wholly appropriate to poor nations. He is of the opinion that one or more international institutes could help promote such an exchange of information.

The seeming gap between these opinions and the earlier mentioned impossibility of making international comparisons is bridged by the warning given by Brembeck<sup>17</sup> when he says that no educational program can be adequately understood apart from its milieu, because some of the

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<sup>15</sup>Philip H. Coombs, "How Shall We Plan Nonformal Education?" New Strategies for Educational Development: The Cross-Cultural Search for Nonformal Alternatives, ed. by Cole S. Brembeck and Timothy Thompson [Institute for International Studies, College of Education, Michigan State University] (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1973), pp. 145-59.

<sup>16</sup>Einar Hardin, "Economic Evaluation of Nonformal Education," New Strategies for Educational Development: The Cross-Cultural Search for Nonformal Alternatives, ed. by Cole S. Brembeck and Timothy Thompson (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1973), pp. 159-70.

<sup>17</sup>Cole S. Brembeck, The Strategic Uses of Formal and Nonformal Education (a paper prepared for the SEAMS/SEADAG and Korea/SEADAG Seminars, October, 1971).

most important aspects of an educational program are its links with other institutions in society.

All that has been said in this section suggests that a study as outlined can best be done in one country, but that it is necessary to give full attention to all types of other circumstances in the country. Only then can the findings be of use to decision-making in other countries.

#### Selection of Sweden

In the first place the researcher thought it desirable to choose a European country for her study, not only because she is familiar with European approaches to education, but also because European education has evolved over a long period of time and has produced a great variety of types of education side by side in one country, which would facilitate the making of comparisons between formal and alternative forms of education and their interrelationship.

Out of the various European countries Sweden was chosen for the following reasons:

1. Since 1950 it has introduced a great number of educational reforms all in the direction of extended general education and of more of the same general education for all.
2. The reforms were introduced after extensive and lengthy public deliberations, which makes it possible to ascertain what the reasons for and the objectives of the reforms were, and in what measure the latter have been achieved.
3. Sweden has a great variety of very old and very popular institutions for voluntary and alternative forms of education,



which makes it possible to study the developments of such education and the impact the reforms in the formal educational system have had on the other forms of education and on the desire for further learning.

4. Sweden has a highly centralized formal educational system and excellent statistics which facilitate the study of the implications of the introduction of the educational reforms.
5. Of late years the formal educational system has received a great deal of publicity in Europe and it has been held up as an example for the other European countries.
6. Sweden has long been backward in comparison with most other Western European countries, but has made a sudden economic spurt in the early 20th century, so that it has the highest G.N.P. in Europe.<sup>18</sup> This development may yield some insight in the possible influence of education on economic development.
7. The researcher speaks four European languages, including Dutch, so that grasping the meaning of publications in Swedish would not pose too great a problem.

#### Definition of Terms

Because there is a wide variety of terms covering the same idea, and on the other hand, the same term may cover different types

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<sup>18</sup>Kurt Samuelsson, From Great Power to Welfare State: 300 Years of Swedish Social Development [written at the request of the Swedish State Bank] (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1968); United Nations, Statistical Yearbook, 1970; (according to radio-reports, July 6, 1973, Germany has now the highest G.N.P. in the world).

of education, it is desirable to give some definitions of terms as used in this dissertation.

Alternative education, or alternative forms or modes of education, refers to all education which does not follow the schedule and pattern of the familiar school system, public or private, in which students follow an officially pre-determined program during a consecutive period of years, mostly during their youth years, to obtain an official certification.

Alternative education can, therefore, be taken at any period in a life-time, can be adapted to student requirements, can be taken on a full- or a part-time basis, can be consecutive or non-consecutive, has no or few academic prerequisites, and does not primarily prepare for officially recognized diplomas or degrees, though such certification can be obtained, if desired, mostly through outside examinations.

Compensatory education refers to all education given to younger or older persons to make up for handicaps acquired in whatever way, but mostly linked with social and economic disadvantages.

Formal education refers to all education which follows the methods, curricula, grading systems, certification, of the formal educational system, whether this education is given during the normal school hours or not. Some part-time education may, therefore, be termed formal education. Such education is classified in this research report as "alternative education," however, though the attention is drawn to the formal aspect of the education. It is hard to

draw a clear dividing line between formal and alternative education, since each may shift into the other's direction over time.

Labor market training refers to all education and training offered by or through the National Labor Market Board, whether in the formal educational system or in any other institution. Such training may be general education or training for specific skills.

#### Some Terms Referring to Swedish Schools

Common school refers to the old, now abolished elementary school, which depending on the period in time, comprised three, four and six years. The entrance age was seven.

Comprehensive school refers to the present nine-year compulsory school.

Continuation school refers to a two-year school, building on to the nine-year comprehensive school. This school is now incorporated in the Gymnasium school as a two-year stream.

Girls school refers to a now abolished secondary school which could be entered from the third, the fourth or the sixth grade of the common or comprehensive school and which led up to an educational level which is more or less similar to that of the continuation school.

Real school refers to a now abolished lower secondary school which, like the girls school could be entered from the third, the fourth or the sixth grade, but which led up to an educational level more or less similar to that of the present nine-year comprehensive school.

Gymnasium refers to the upper-secondary school. It used to be entered from either the Girls school or the Real school, but is now entered from the Comprehensive school.

The New Gymnasium had various courses of three and of four years but also the two year continuation school was incorporated into it.

The Gymnasium school may be looked upon as the New Gymnasium in which also two-year vocational streams are incorporated. This school, therefore, contains two-, three-, and four-year courses, the last two of which prepare for university entrance.

### Methodology

#### Study of Literature in the United States

Before going to Sweden the researcher studied the literature relevant to:

1. educational developments in Sweden;
2. historical, social and economic developments in that country, together with its position in international context;
3. the latest findings and opinion as to the validity and/or relevance of various assumptions and theories relating to education in general; and
4. various trends and suggestions with regard to alternative forms of education.

After her visit to Sweden the researcher supplemented this information by means of further library research.

### Interviews and Conversations in Sweden

From the end of January until the beginning of April, 1972 the researcher stayed in Sweden--mainly in Stockholm. In that period she interviewed a great number of knowledgeable persons in various fields, as enumerated on the appended list. On every issue she attempted to interview persons who might be assumed to have opposing views, so as to get an unbiased impression. New leads which emerged during an interview were followed up by new interviews, or by personal investigation and observation.

The researcher visited many parts of Stockholm and its surroundings by train, by bus and on foot. Wherever possible she engaged in conversations with persons in shops, in restaurants, in trains and in railway stations.

### Visits to Educational Institutions

The researcher visited the following schools, of which she was assured that they were not the best nor the worst in their sort. Official assurances in that respect were confirmed by personal investigation.

1. a comprehensive school in Stockholm;
2. a public gymnasium school just outside Stockholm; and
3. a private gymnasium in Stockholm.

Furthermore she visited:

1. a number of infant playgrounds in Stockholm and some infant schools;

2. a study-circle cum Folk high school institute in Stockholm; and
3. a Folk high school outside Stockholm.

In all the educational institutions the researcher engaged in conversations with the principal or leader, with teachers and with students.

#### Information Gathering as to Milieu and Social Climate

When the researcher was informed that some of the problems might be ascribed to conditions with respect to housing and the design of certain new suburbs, she visited, on her own, various residential areas and suburbs. She usually did this on Saturdays because the youngsters would then be about. She gave special attention to what the youngsters were doing, and what recreation facilities were available. She visited the local libraries, and gave special attention to the youth-section in these libraries.

In Stockholm's downtown she would go to the places where the youngsters would gather and observe what was going on.

#### Processing the Information Obtained in These Ways

Every night the researcher made memos of what she had experienced and heard. Reports of official interviews were made and sent to the interviewees for approval. Thus an attempt was made to obtain a fair representation of what had been said and implied.

#### Information Obtained from Printed Sources in Sweden

Official booklets, fact sheets and handouts, received from the various offices and agencies were studied.

Relevant Swedish research was studied in the Royal Library in Stockholm, old research reports were obtained from various official bodies, and books and booklets were bought in bookstores.

Newspapers were scanned. If an article seemed of interest the researcher had it translated for the details in it.

She obtained the help of a translator for the grasping of the exact content of booklets and reports of which no English translations were available. Such a translator was made graciously available by the "Swedish Institute." The texts were read through and translations were written over it.

#### Statistical Data Gathering

Statistical data were obtained from the Swedish Statistical yearbooks, supplemented by statistics contained in the various official publications, and by international statistics available in the United States.

Raw data were converted into more meaningful data by computing percentages of age groups, of enrolled students, of G.N.P. and so on. They are mostly reported in the form of tables showing the various trends in educational enrollments and in social, psychological and economic developments.

#### Limitations

Findings with respect to Swedish developments may not be made directly applicable to other countries. The Swedish experiences may be valuable in that they give indications of what may happen under certain conditions. The trends found in Sweden must therefore always

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be viewed against the local background as given in the dissertation. It must, however, be pointed out that within the scope of this study the information had to be limited to what was most essential.

Detailed information on total educational costs was practically unobtainable. The national statistics only give state educational expenditure, and global figures for local and county costs. The localities are reimbursed by the state for what they spend on buildings and teachers, but the rest must be covered out of local taxes which may be different in the various localities.

The researcher tried to obtain more detailed figures on developments in educational costs from the official at the Ministry of Education, who is entrusted with the drafting of the yearly budget proposals, it proved that the information she sought was not directly available even here, and that it could only be gathered through a very difficult and time-consuming investigation by this official.

Consequently educational costs are sometimes reported as "total costs" and sometimes as state-costs. This is, however, clearly indicated on the tables.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

#### General Introduction

The literature relevant to the study deals with two main issues, each of which consists of two sub-issues. The literature review will, therefore, be given according to the following outline.

1. The value and efficiency of formal education in the early years of life.
  - a. Four findings with regard to a number of popular assumptions.
  - b. Four theories with respect to the economics of education.
2. Various modes of alternative education
  - a. Existing alternative education
  - b. Proposals for alternative modes of education.

It is clear that some of the literature discussed under different headings is interrelated and sometimes overlaps but for clarity's sake, it is desirable to make a distinction between the various topics.

The Value and Efficiency of Formal General  
Education in the Early Years of Life

As has been outlined, attention shall first be given to the first issue under this heading.

Findings With Regard to a Number of  
Popular Assumptions

Educational practices have largely rested on a number of assumptions whose validity is increasingly being subjected to investigation. A picture of the latest findings and opinions is important for the evaluation of existing educational practices and for proposals for educational reforms. The first assumption that will be discussed is:

Early youth is the best time for the learning of cognitive skills.--Although the majority of people still believe this to be true, Thorndike<sup>1</sup> and Lorge<sup>2</sup> found that learning ability keeps increasing with age; that therefore adults learn better than children, who may be better at imitating. Older adults may, however, need some more time than younger adults. The issue is fully dealt with in the report on the 1971 White House Conference on Aging.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Edward Thorndike et al., Adult Learning (New York: McMillan Co., 1936).

<sup>2</sup>Irvin Lorge, "The Adult Learner," Adult Education Theory and Method (Washington, D.C.: Adult Education Association in the U.S.A., 1963), pp. 1-9.

<sup>3</sup>"White House Conference on Aging," a report to the delegates from the Conference Board, Arthur S. Fleming, Chairman (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1971), ED 057 335.

The findings suggest that:

1. It may be more economical to extend the learning experience over the entire life span of the individual rather than over a continuous period in youth.
2. It may be more efficient and economical to start academic learning at some later age.

It is, therefore, not surprising that with respect to Ethiopia it has been suggested that it would be better to have the children enter school at a later age "because an older student can absorb more and faster."<sup>4</sup> This suggestion was made to cope with the pressing need to curb rising educational cost, while offering the greatest amount of education to the greatest number of youngsters.

The soundness of the argument is supported by findings by Rohwer.<sup>5</sup> He found that the students who could learn rows of pairs of unconnected words well could put the pairs of words together in some form of context. The poor performers on the learning task did not do so. They also had lower I.Q.s. When the pairs of words were offered in some context, the poor performers showed better achievements but the good performers achieved better if they made their own "elaborations"--put the pairs of words in their self-made context.

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<sup>4</sup>Niehoff/Wilder, "Rural Mass Education for Ethiopia" (unpublished paper, Michigan State University, May, 1972).

<sup>5</sup>William D. Rohwer, Jr., "Mental Elaborations and Learning Proficiency" (Berkeley: University of California, Office of Economic Opportunity Contract No. 24204, 1970), (mimeographed); and William D. Rohwer, Jr., "Prime Time for Education: Early Childhood or Adolescence," Harvard Educational Review, XL, No. 3 (August, 1971), 316-41.

Subsequent attempts to teach the poor learners to make their own "elaborations" proved inefficient before the students had reached a certain age. It took more time and energy than the original inefficient way of learning in which the poor learners engaged. It was found that the earliest age at which the making of elaboration could be learned was early adolescence but that the more disadvantaged the learner was, the later the age was at which the making of elaborations could be learned.

As a result of his findings, Rohwer suggested that the prime time for education may be early adolescence, rather than early childhood--at least if his findings with regard to the learning of paired associates apply to all kinds of cognitive learning. Rohwer suggested further, that if young children must be sent to school, for whatever reasons, they had better be taught social and manipulative skills, rather than cognitive ones. Rohwer's findings cast doubt on the validity of the following assumption:

More of the same general education for all will promote equality of opportunity and lessen socio-economic differences.--If, as Rohwer's findings suggest, children can be taught to learn efficiently at different ages, depending on their socio-economic backgrounds, socio-economic differences will be increased if all children are required to learn the same cognitive skills at approximately the same age. Differences in academic performance at the lower educational levels must, of necessity, increase over the years. This is exactly what is found in actual practice. Furthermore, since academic performance at the lower educational levels is required for entrance into the higher educational institutions, and degrees from these

institutions are required for the obtaining of the more prestigious and well-paying positions, the original disadvantages become cumulative. The educational system then perpetuates socio-economic differences if it does not aggravate them. Of late, growing inequality has received increasing attention with respect to the developing as well as to the developed world. This is evident from what follows.

In the "Meaning of Development,"<sup>6</sup> the opinion is expressed that it is possible that with the increase of education, inequalities in most countries have not been reduced, but, as a matter of fact, these may well have increased in most countries.

Greer<sup>7</sup> also found that, in spite of the "Great school legend" the common school in the United States has in fact promoted upward mobility for certain classes and ethnic groups only. The consistent pattern has been that the poor do poorly in school. They have always experienced extremely high failure and drop-out rates, and consequently have only been able to get the lowest paying jobs and have often been unemployed. Much of their lack of success must be ascribed to economic pressures and irrelevance of what had to be learned. In reading this one cannot but think of Rohwer's finding that the putting of the pairs of words that had to be learned in some meaningful context--which is a kind of relevance--made efficient learning

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<sup>6</sup>Dudley Seers, "The Meaning of Development," reprint of a paper given at the 11th World Conference of the Society for International Development, New Delhi, November 14-17, 1969, under the title "Challenges to Development Theories and Strategies" (New York: Agricultural Development Council, Inc., September, 1972), pp. 1-11.

<sup>7</sup>Colin Greer, The Great School Legend: A Revisionist Interpretation of American Public Education (New York: Basic Books, 1972).

possible. This may explain Greer's observation that in spite of considerably increased enrollments, the ratio of success has not greatly improved over the years. The conclusion Greer draws is that to make the public schools truly an instrument for creating mobility among poor people, requires something quite new, something of which there have not been models in the past.

Greer's observation with regard to the high failure and drop-out rates among the poor are supported by data in "Education of the American Population."<sup>8</sup>

The findings do not only apply to the lower levels of education, either. Karabel of Harvard University<sup>9</sup> points to the perpetuation of social differences through the community college movement and the social pressures within the colleges, which have produced submerged class conflicts in higher education. He found that the rate of drop-out at a college or university is inversely related to the class composition of its student population. He is of the opinion that class and social differences will increasingly determine who graduates among college entrants. But what is worse is that Hansen<sup>10</sup> in a study in California found that the poor people who cannot afford

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<sup>8</sup>John K. Folger and Charles B. Nam, Education of the American Population (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1967).

<sup>9</sup>Jerome Karabel, "Community Colleges and Social Stratification," Harvard Educational Review, XL, No. 2 (November, 1972), 521-62.

<sup>10</sup>Lee W. Hansen, "Who Benefits from Higher Education Subsidies?" Monthly Labor Review, XCIII, No. 3 (March, 1970), 43-46.

to send their children to public institutions of higher learning pay for the education of the youngsters whose parents are in a better financial position.

A new dimension to the entire relationship between upward mobility and the common school is given by Karabel when he says in a footnote:

Contrary to popular perception, American and European rates of social mobility from manual to non-manual occupations, are very similar. . . .<sup>11</sup>

This suggests that the degree of selectivity of an educational system need not necessarily influence social mobility. This is supported by Jencks who found that:

Neither track nor curriculum content seems to have an appreciable effect on student's cognitive development.<sup>12</sup>

Jencks furthermore found that:

The relationship between test-score and economic background also seems stronger in the United States than in other countries. This reinforces our conviction that the range of environmental variation is greater in the United States than in most other industrialized countries.<sup>13</sup>

In view of the findings thus far discussed it is not surprising that Judson writes:

Like many other liberal inventions, well-intended to solve social problems, schooling exacerbates the condition it is intended to relieve. It increases class differences, leads

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<sup>11</sup>Lipset and Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society [mentioned in Jerome Karabel "Community Colleges and Social Stratification"] (Berkeley University Press, 1967), p. 522.

<sup>12</sup>C. Jencks et al., Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America (New York: Basic Books, 1972), p. 34.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 78.



to further oppression and burdens the earth with a technology and specialized elite which we are hard pressed to live with and sustain.<sup>14</sup>

What is more, the "Statement on Equal Educational Opportunity" published by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development--the OECD--shows that the phenomenon is world-wide rather than typically American, as apparent from the following quotation:

. . . a careful analysis reveals that, in many cases, this tremendous [educational] expansion has had little effect on social disparities in educational participation. Although everyone is getting more in absolute terms, in relative terms the situation is much the same as before.<sup>15</sup>

The evidence was presented to the recent OECD Conference on Policies for Educational Growth, and will be published in a series presenting the Conference Proceedings.

In the same statement one can read:

In almost every country reviewed, the opportunities for education are very great for children from the upper classes, good for those from the middle classes, and distinctly poor for those from the lower classes or with an agricultural background. . . .

. . . . .  
In short, social differences in educational participation seem to be a pervasive and constant characteristic of educational structures in all countries. What change has taken place has been gradual and has not so far appreciably altered the above picture. . . .

. . . . .  
To sum up, one can say that children from lower classes enter the educational system with a handicap which manifests itself first in the low levels of achievement, then, in high

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<sup>14</sup>Jerome Judson, Culture Out of Anarchy: The Reconstruction of American Higher Learning (New York: Herder and Herder, 1971), p. xxi.

<sup>15</sup>OECD, Centre for Educational Research and Innovation, Equal Educational Opportunity: A Statement of the Problem With Special Reference to Recurrent Education (Paris, n.d.), p. 15.

drop-out rates. These findings, which trace the causes of this situation back to early childhood, have resulted in the introduction of so-called compensatory educational programmes. . . .<sup>16</sup>

Since the OECD findings refer to the developed countries and the remark earlier taken from "The Meaning of Development"<sup>17</sup> to the developing countries, it is clear that all over the world more general education has not reduced inequalities.

In some countries equal opportunities for higher education have even officially been reduced. In the OECD statement is mentioned that the increase of enrollments due to the extension of compulsory and the introduction of more general education caused such increases in educational costs that discriminatory measures had to be taken at higher levels of education.

The pressure, notably on higher education, has become so great that, even in countries where access to higher education was traditionally opened to all those who had successfully completed the appropriate secondary level, restrictive policies, such as numerous fixus or numerus clausus, had to be introduced or are being seriously considered.<sup>18</sup>

The Latin terms mean limitation of the number of students that can be accepted in higher education or in certain faculties. It is clear that this entails a great deal of selectivity and the blocking of the road to higher education for many persons whose previous education had been directed towards such further education.

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., pp. 16-17.

<sup>17</sup>Seers, "The Meaning of Development."

<sup>18</sup>OECD, Equal Educational Opportunity, p. 38.

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Such a situation exists in Sweden and Norway. It is of interest to mention that some years ago a proposal to restrict the admittance to the medical schools in the Netherlands was defeated in Parliament as unconstitutional. Under the pressure of financial necessity a numerus fixus has now been introduced, however, for a number of faculties.

These measures and the way in which the selection must take place are hot issues in the various countries.<sup>19</sup>

The OECD Statement discusses compensatory education as a means of solving the problem of differences in achievement due to socio-economic differences. This leads to the discussion of the following assumption.

The influence of social differences can be lessened by compensatory education.--Rohwer's findings<sup>20</sup> discussed earlier, cast serious doubt on the efficacy of extra education given in early childhood to make up for social handicaps. It is, therefore, not surprising that Erickson<sup>21</sup> in his evaluation of experiments in "Headstart" and "Early Education" found that the programs did yield some initial advantages, but that these soon disappeared. After a short time in school the customary gap between the advantaged and

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<sup>19</sup> Information obtained in Sweden. For the Netherlands--personal readings. For Norway--personal information received in Oslo in April, 1972.

<sup>20</sup> Rohwer, Mental Elaborations and Learning Proficiency.

<sup>21</sup> Edsel L. Erickson et al., Experiments in Headstart and Early Education, Final Report O.E.O. 4150 (Division of Research and Evaluation, November, 1969). (Mimeographed.)

disadvantaged grew again. He found that neither Headstart nor kindergarten attendance improved cognitive performance in elementary school even if it might facilitate social interaction. On the basis of his findings Erickson suggests that other, highly structured compensatory cognitive education be given to the disadvantaged. Insufficient data are available about the efficacy of this program.

While "Headstart" was for disadvantaged children, the popular T.V. program "Sesame Street" was made to solve the increasing reading problems among all school children. The Educational Testing Service in Princeton evaluated the impact of this program<sup>22</sup> and found that the advantaged as well as the disadvantaged learned from the program; that the more a child watched the more he profited, and that school-environment and teacher-supervision did not necessarily enhance learning from the program. The implication would be that the disadvantaged would have to watch more than the advantaged to make up for their initial disadvantage. One wonders how the disadvantaged children can be forced to watch the program more frequently. Furthermore, what impact "Sesame Street" will have on later school performance and attitude towards school learning has not yet been ascertained.

Thus far only pre-school compensatory education has been discussed. The OECD Statement also discusses compensatory education at the primary and secondary level and the impact of the United States

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<sup>22</sup> Educational Testing Service, Sesame Street: Summative Research (September 7, 1971), ED 057 914; Samuel Ball and Gerry Ann Bogatz, Research on Sesame Street: Some Implications for Compensatory Education, Proceedings of the Second Annual Human Blumberg Symposium on Research in Early Childhood Education (Princeton, N.J.: Johns Hopkins Press, 1972).

Title I of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The Statement mentions that a report evaluating Title I points out:

. . . that very little change in reading achievements has occurred as a result of the implementation of Title I projects. . . .

. . . . .  
The reports for 1967 and 1968 indicated that less than one-fifth of the Title I participants achieved a significant gain in reading, roughly two-thirds showed no change, and the rest showed some loss.

It is also interesting to note that the majority of gains were attained in the higher grades. This is contrary to popular impression. Thus, it would appear that Title I programmes which motivated older children were more successful than the remedial programmes at a lower age.<sup>23</sup>

The OECD Statement also discusses the "More Effective Schools Programme (MES) in New York City in which the pupils exhibited the classical pattern of increasing academic retardation.

The Statement points out that:

The general criticism of the American Compensatory educational programmes is that they have concentrated heavily upon deficiencies of children, and neglected to give serious attention to the deficiencies of schools. . . .

. . . . .  
Most programmes provide additional services which are supposed to make up for cumulative effects of poverty and discrimination, but they leave the rest of the educational system unchanged. In that sense one could say that they are piling wooden ploughs on wooden ploughs.<sup>24</sup>

Also Greer<sup>25</sup> points to the fact that there has been a tendency to promote equality by giving more of the same of what thus far has proved ineffective.

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<sup>23</sup>OECD, Equal Educational Opportunity, p. 21.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>25</sup>Greer, The Great School Legend.

If many youngsters suffer from increasing retardation due to the environment into which they were born, and they consequently have unrewarding educational experiences, one wonders if the following assumption can be valid in its generality.

More general education creates a desire for continuing education.--This assumption is based on data which may be found in all countries showing that there is a relationship between the amount of education received and the inclination to engage in further learning. As far as could be ascertained, no causal relationship has been established, however. It is quite well possible, and even probable, that not education per se causes the phenomenon. One may assume that unrewarding earlier educational experiences deter many persons from seeking further education. It is of interest to note that the OECD Statement mentions that:

The risk that, given the chance of returning to school at some future date, too many pupils would leave earlier than they otherwise might, and that those early leavers would later feel least motivated to resume their education, cannot be disregarded.<sup>26</sup>

One wonders whether it is the chance of taking further education at some later date or frustration with the educational experience which makes many pupils leave earlier. Also, if persons experience that the education received has not prepared them for the jobs they must later perform, they may be disinclined to seek further education. Kaufman and Brown wonder about the kind of education that is best suited for the production of high quality workers.

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<sup>26</sup>OECD, Equal Educational Opportunity, p. 36.

The basic but unanswered question is this: Which form of education has a greater positive effect on the quality of the worker?<sup>27</sup>

The quality of the worker is undoubtedly affected by the willingness to learn further to cope with changes in job requirements.

Little is known yet about the entire problem. The Council of Europe held a symposium on what kind of education might lead to life-long learning.<sup>28</sup>

As has been said in the introduction, it is hoped that this study will shed some light on this complicated question.

Summary.--One may say that the literature on the four popular assumptions seems to indicate that the first three are invalid and that the last needs further research.

#### Theories and Findings With Regard to the Economics of Education

All the literature discusses increasing educational costs, whether directly mentioned or implied. The cost aspect of education has led to various theories with respect to return on educational expenditure. These theories can be subdivided into four topics which will be discussed separately.

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<sup>27</sup> Jacob J. Kaufman and Anne F. Brown, "Manpower Supply and Demand," Review of Educational Research, XXXVIII, No. 4 (October, 1968), 334.

<sup>28</sup> Comparative Education, VIII, No. 3 (December, 1972), 103.



Schultz<sup>29</sup> and Denison<sup>30</sup> broached the subject and found that increased formal schooling yields increased economic growth and increased personal incomes. Since then many economists have criticized, supported and extended the theories and the methods used for measuring the various returns.<sup>31</sup> What has been mainly argued about is:

1. whether human beings can be viewed as capital;
2. what is cause and what effect of a possible relationship;
3. what the relative value is of various levels and types of education and how the values can be assessed in different countries;

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<sup>29</sup>Theodore W. Schultz, The Economic Value of Education (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963).

<sup>30</sup>Edward F. Denison, The Sources of Economic Growth in the United States and the Alternatives Before Us, Supplementary Paper No. 13 of the Committee for Economic Development (New York, 1962); and Edward F. Denison, The Residual Factor and Economic Growth (Paris: OECD, 1964).

<sup>31</sup>Mark Blaug, An Introduction to the Economics of Education (reissued 1972; Penguin Books, 1970); Mark Blaug, ed., Readings: Economics of Education 1 (reprint 1971; Penguin Books, 1968); Mary Jean Bowman, "Economics of Education," Review of Educational Research, XXXIX, No. 5 (December, 1969); Edward F. Denison, Why Growth Rates Differ: Postwar Experience in Nine Western Countries (Washington: Brookings Institute, 1967); R. S. Eckhaus, "Economic Criteria for Education and Training," Review of Economics and Statistics, XLVI, No. 2 (May, 1964), 181-90; Frederick Harbison and Charles Meyers, Education, Manpower, and Economic Growth: Strategies of Human Resource Development (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964); Kaufman and Brown, "Manpower Supply and Demand"; Theodore W. Schultz, Investment in Human Capital: The Role of Education and of Research (New York: The Free Press, 1971); Donald Sanders and Peter S. Barth, "Education and Economic Development," Review of Educational Research, XXXVIII, No. 3 (June, 1968); Maureen Woodhall, "The Economics of Education," Review of Educational Research, XXXVII (October 4, 1967); and UNESCO, Readings in the Economics of Education (1968).

4. the amounts that must be taken into consideration for "income foregone" (the income the student would have received if he had taken a job instead of going to school);
5. what the interaction is between the results of expenditure on social measures, education and capital investment; and
6. what the influence is of the labor market supply-and-demand on income and therefore on return on educational expenditure.

With the exception of the first point, these issues will be discussed under the main theories with regard to the economics of education. The first one is:

More general education promotes economic growth.--This theory is strongly linked with the question of cause and effect. Bowen and Anderson<sup>32</sup> found that for a number of countries:

1. 1938 income predicted 1950 primary enrollments better than 1938 enrollments did 1950 income; and
2. 1938 income predicted 1966 income better than any of the education indices and much better than 1930 primary enrollments.

Their conclusion was that there is no support to the assumption that increased schooling is uniformly followed by rising income. The findings indicate that in some countries at least, educational enrollments are the result of increased income and not the cause.

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<sup>32</sup>Mary Jean Bowen and C. Arnold Anderson, "Concerning the Role of Education in Development," Readings in the Economics of Education (UNESCO, 1968).

Harbison and Meyers<sup>33</sup> point to an interaction between economic growth and educational development, while Blaug<sup>34</sup> is of the opinion that the relationship between the various types of expenditure is important; what is spent on education cannot be spent on social measures or capital investment.

Sanders and Barth point to the possible irrelevance of the issue itself when they say:

Even if we found an entirely unambiguous and universally agreed-upon estimate of the contribution of formal education to past rates of U.S. economic growth, it is not readily apparent how this would assist decision making about future investment in education.<sup>35</sup>

In saying this they hint at the lack of knowledge about what kind of education contributes most to economic growth.

Furthermore, of recent years the principle of G.N.P. and of economic growth has been subjected to questions such as:

1. What is G.N.P.?
2. How must it be measured?
3. What relationship is there between G.N.P. and "development?"
4. What is "development?"

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<sup>33</sup>Harbison and Meyers, Education, Manpower, and Economic Growth.

<sup>34</sup>Blaug, An Introduction to the Economics of Education.

<sup>35</sup>Sanders and Barth, "Education and Economic Development," p. 220.

Beckerman<sup>36</sup> expresses the opinion that much that is usually included in national product may be costs that should be deducted. Also, assets such as leisure time are not taken into consideration, though they may have to be put on the credit side of the balance.

How questionable G.N.P. is as a standard for measuring the value of education has very recently been brought to the attention by the fact that suddenly--due to the drop in the value of the U.S. dollar--no longer the United States, but Germany has the highest G.N.P. in the world. According to various radio interviews, the drop in the value of the dollar is largely due to the influence of the Watergate affair. This shows that psychological factors too influence the G.N.P.

Furthermore, G.N.P. need not necessarily denote "development." Beckerman<sup>37</sup> points out that what is "development" and "welfare" depends on personal and national value judgments. This point is highly relevant to the developments in Sweden, as will be shown later.

Finally, the desirability of economic growth is increasingly questioned. A study done by M.I.T., Massachusetts, for the "Club of Rome" unambiguously points to the necessity of curbing growth and striving after "equilibrium." The "Club of Rome" was formed by one

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<sup>36</sup>Wilfred Beckerman, "Human Resources and Economic Development: Some Problems of Measurement," International Social Science Journal, XXIV, No. 4 (1972), 725-44.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid.

of the leading industrialists in Europe, and the report is one of the most discussed topics in Western Europe.<sup>38</sup>

If economic growth should not be striven after, the entire attitude towards education might have to be reviewed. This could influence the following economic theory.

More general education is required to meet the new and rapidly changing job demands.--Doubt on the soundness of this theory is cast by the fact that, in spite of enormous increases in educational enrollments, unemployment has grown almost everywhere.

. . . in fourteen Third World countries of which usable figures are available, the value of overt unemployment has been growing at an average of about 8-1/2% a year, or more than three times the rate of population growth.<sup>39</sup>

Also in the developed countries and especially in the United States, growing youth unemployment causes increasing concern.<sup>40</sup> In the latter country this has led to a growing awareness of the need for more vocational education and the importance of work-experience.

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<sup>38</sup>The Club of Rome, The Limits to Growth: A Report for the Club of Rome's Project on the Predicament of Mankind (New York: Universe Books.

<sup>39</sup>Seers, "The Meaning of Development," p. 4.

<sup>40</sup>U.S., Department of Labor, The Transition from School to Work (a report on the Princeton Manpower Symposium, organized by the U.S. Department of Labor, the Woodrow Wilson School and the Industrial Relations Section, Princeton University, May 9-10, 1968), PB 182 965; and U.S., Department of Labor, Youth Unemployment and Minimum Wages, Bulletin 1657 (U.S., Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1970).

There are complaints, however, about the vocational education that is offered in the schools. Reese comments:

Despite the expenditure of some \$50 billion per year for education, less than \$1 billion is spent on vocational education and most of that doesn't prepare youngsters for work.<sup>41</sup>

Ruttenberg concurs as he says:

The school system, at great expense, keeps turning out ill-prepared persons for the labor force; and the Federal Government, at great expense, attempts to mold these persons into productive citizens with the aid of private industry, using the same basic training which was available in the school system.<sup>42</sup>

and further:

The school system both vocational and academic, has tended to recede from the realistic needs of the present and the future. Learning for the sake of learning, arbitrary academic requirements and poor teaching tools have taken their toll of pupils.<sup>43</sup>

Marland expresses himself even stronger when he says:

Half of our high school students, a total of approximately 1,500,000 a year are being offered what amounts to irrelevant general educational pap.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>41</sup>Hammond Reese, "Effective Preparation for Apprenticeship" [IRRA Conference Papers], Monthly Labor Review, XCIII, No. 3 (April, 1970), 44-45.

<sup>42</sup>Stanley Ruttenberg, "Manpower Training: The Seeds of a Dilemma," Manpower, I, No. 1 (January, 1969), 3.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.

<sup>44</sup>S. P. Marland, Jr., "Career Education Now," Career Education Perspective and Promise, ed. by Keith Goldhammer and Robert E. Taylor (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1972), p. 36.

These are but a few forcibly expressed opinions, and labor-market literature abounds with additional information supporting these opinions.

The literature indicates that general education does not necessarily prepare persons efficiently for the job market. If this is so, the soundness of the following theory must also be questioned.

It pays for the individual to get more (general) education because it improves his chances of getting a higher income and better promotion opportunities.--There is no doubt about the fact that there is some relationship between income and amount of schooling received. There is considerable doubt, however, about what is cause and what is effect and whether the relationship is sound.

Parness<sup>45</sup> mentions legal certification as one of the causes of higher incomes due to education, while Berg<sup>46</sup> is of the opinion that the entire relationship is unsound. He points to unrealistic and discriminatory hiring practices and to the fact that insufficient is known about the influence of education received on productivity. In one aspect Blaug agrees with Berg when he says:

A university degree or a secondary school diploma may function more as a certificate of diligence and perseverance than as evidence of the possession of particular verbal and mathematical skills. Employers may regard a paper qualification as a reliable indication of personal ability, achievement drive and perhaps docility, reasoning that, say, a graduate must

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<sup>45</sup>S. Parness, "Relation of Occupation to Educational Qualification," Readings: Economics of Education 1, ed. by Blaug (Penguin Books, 1968).

<sup>46</sup>Ivar Berg, Education and Jobs: The Great Training Robbery [Center for Urban Education] (New York: Praeger, 1970).

make a better salesman than a man who has never met the challenge of higher education; the graduate gets the job and better pay, not because higher education has improved his skills, but simply because the degree identifies him as the better man.<sup>47</sup>

The same idea is expressed by Kershaw when he says:

A prime attraction of the bachelor's degree to employers is evidence it affords that the holder normally disciplines himself to carry out tasks somewhat conscientiously and on time, no matter how irrelevant they may seem to be.<sup>48</sup>

Also native ability is mentioned as a cause of higher income. Jencks<sup>49</sup> found that incomes depend on competencies that have very little relation to education and cognitive skills. This opinion is supported by Pettitt.<sup>50</sup>

Bailey and Schotta<sup>51</sup> studied the return on graduate education and found that in general it is zero or less than 1 percent.

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<sup>47</sup>Blaug, An Introduction to the Economics of Education, p. 30.

<sup>48</sup>J. A. Kershaw and A. M. Mood, "Resource Allocation in Higher Education," Monthly Labor Review, XCIII, No. 3 (March, 1970), 47.

<sup>49</sup>Jencks et al., Inequality: A Reassessment.

<sup>50</sup>George A. Pettitt, Prisoners of Culture (New York: Charles Scribner, 1970).

<sup>51</sup>Duncan Bailey and Charles Schotta, "Private and Social Rates of Return to Education of Academicians," American Economic Review, LXII, No. 1 (March, 1972), 19-31.



What has been said thus far refers to higher education. Wiener<sup>52</sup> and Shaw Hamilton<sup>53</sup> found that also high school diplomas are used as a screening device. For many jobs such a diploma is required while only the ability to read and write, ability to understand and accept instruction, and motivation to learn and work are needed for the job.

A growing imbalance between the demand and the supply with respect to certain educational levels is discussed by various writers. Pettitt<sup>54</sup> mentions that jobs requiring much schooling and training increase less than jobs requiring less education. In 1900, 4.3 percent of the work force was made up of professional and technical workers; in 1975 they will constitute 14.3 percent, while clerical workers, who represented 3 percent of the work force in 1900 will constitute 16.2 percent of it by 1975. He says:

Almost 60 percent of the young people now in school must earn their livings as clerks, salespeople or blue collar workers.<sup>55</sup>

Also in "The Courage to Change"<sup>56</sup> it is mentioned that 80 percent of the jobs in the seventies will require less than a bachelor's

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<sup>52</sup>Rose Wiener, "Does Everybody Need a High School Diploma?" Manpower, I, No. 2 (February/March, 1969), 7-9.

<sup>53</sup>Gloria Shaw Hamilton and J. David Reassner, "How Employers Screen Disadvantaged Job Applicants," Monthly Labor Review, XCX, No. 9 (September, 1972), 14-21.

<sup>54</sup>Pettitt, Prisoners of Culture.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 225.

<sup>56</sup>Roman C. Pucinski and Sharlene Pearlman Hirsch, The Courage to Change: New Directions for Career Education (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971).

degree, while 70 percent of the American parents expect their sons to go to college. How serious the problem is, is shown by the following quotation from Berg:

There will be about 3.1 million more high-school graduates, 850,000 more people with some college education, and 3.3 million more college graduates than will be required.<sup>57</sup>

The literature discussed thus far does not only indicate that the higher incomes received for more schooling may be unrealistic, but also that an oversupply of persons with much education may cause a drop in the incomes, while a shortage in persons with less schooling but with certain skills may cause incomes for these kinds of persons to rise. Furthermore, increased education may lead to unemployment. All this may have an influence on the following theory.

More general education will improve the quality of life for the individual and for society. This theory could only be valid if the education received is experienced as relevant and rewarding by the individual, and makes him a better balanced and adapted person in social and economic respect. Pettitt,<sup>58</sup> however, points to various undesirable social and psychological developments which have accompanied increased general education. Also Drucker<sup>59</sup> discusses frustration and undesirable behaviors combined with

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<sup>57</sup> Berg, Education and Jobs [referring to Folger and Nam, Education of the American Population].

<sup>58</sup> Pettitt, Prisoners of Culture.

<sup>59</sup> Peter F. Drucker, The Age of Discontinuity: Guidelines to Our Changing Society (New York: Harper Row, 1969).

psychological problems. He ascribes them to enforced extension of schooling combined with earlier maturation. According to him "adolescence" is an abnormal period in a person's life, caused by the stress of being half child and half adult. In some cultures it is normal to step from the one stage into the other quickly and smoothly.

This problem is also discussed by Marin who says:

Yet it is just during this period in his life that we adults seem compelled by a persistent lunacy to isolate them. . . . Through law and custom we make the only legal place for him the school, and then, to make sure he remains dependent, manipulable, we empty the school of all vivid life.

. . . . .  
The young are displaced. There seems no other word for it. They are trapped in a prolonged childhood almost unique in the world. We can no longer imagine learning outside the schools, or child-adult relationships in the community.<sup>60</sup>

Brembeck adds to this:

Not only do schools set children and youth apart from adult society; they further segregate them among themselves. . . .<sup>61</sup>

and further:

If the aim of education is to widen the generation gap, isolate them from the inherited culture, and sort out for election to the elite those who learn well through abstract symbols, then the formal secondary school is admirably suited to the purpose.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>60</sup>Peter Marin, "The Fiery Vehemence of Youth," Challenges to Education: Readings for Analysis of Major Issues, ed. by Manuel Hurwitz, Jr. and Charles A. Tescond, Jr. (New York: Dodd, Mead Co., 1972), 300.

<sup>61</sup>Cole S. Brembeck, "The Strategic Uses of Formal and Non-formal Education" (paper prepared for the SEAMS/SEADAG and Korea/SEADAG Seminars, October, 1971), p. 11.

<sup>62</sup>Cole S. Brembeck, "The Strategic Uses of Formal and Nonformal Education," New Strategies for Educational Development: The Cross-Cultural Search for Nonformal Alternatives (Lexington Books, D.C. Heath and Co., 1973).

The increase of youth unemployment has been discussed earlier, while also mention has been made of the fact that too much general education may lead to further unemployment. Drucker,<sup>63</sup> Bowen and Finegan<sup>64</sup> and David<sup>65</sup> discuss the unfavorable effect of unemployment on immature young people. Furthermore, Berg<sup>66</sup> points out that many persons are under-employed, have to perform work which does not require the education they have received. This causes job-dissatisfaction, which in turn leads to costly turn-over and absenteeism.

Summary.--All these comments do not only cast doubt on the validity of the theory that prolonged education yields social returns but they suggest also that they may unfavorably affect the economic return on education. If more general education leads to the necessity of increased expenditure on training and retraining programs for the young, and for the keeping of law and order to curb undesirable social behavior, these costs should be calculated in the educational costs of the country. What is worse, however, more general education may adversely affect individual satisfaction and happiness.

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<sup>63</sup>Drucker, The Age of Discontinuity.

<sup>64</sup>William G. Bowen and T. Aldrich Finegan, The Economics of Labor Force Participation (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969).

<sup>65</sup>Paul T. David, "Barriers to Youth Employment," White House Conference on Children in a Democracy (prepared for the American Youth Commission, American Council of Education, Washington, D.C., 1942).

<sup>66</sup>Berg, Education and Jobs.

In view of all this it is not surprising that Illich<sup>67</sup> makes a case for "deschooling society" and that Margaret Mead writes:

In thinking about an effective educational system we should recognize that the adolescent's need and right to work is as great (perhaps greater than) his immediate need and right to study. And we must recognize that the adult's need and right to study more is as great as (perhaps greater than) his need and right to hold the same job until he is 65 years old. . . .<sup>68</sup>

### Various Modes of Alternative Education

#### Existing Alternative Education

First existing and well-tried out modes of alternative education will be discussed.

Sudale and other writers<sup>69</sup> give an overview of nonformal or vocational education and training in various European countries. In many of these countries large numbers of 13-15 year olds go to a vocational and/or apprenticeship program. These types of education vary widely with respect to administrative organization. The skills for which one can be trained vary considerably in the various

<sup>67</sup> Ivan Illich, Deschooling Society (New York: Harper Row, 1971).

<sup>68</sup> Margaret Mead, "Thinking Ahead," Harvard Business Review, XXXVI, No. 6 (November/December, 1958), 170.

<sup>69</sup> E. W. Sudale, Continued Education: A Study of the Education of Young European School Leavers During Their Last Years at School and Early Years at Work (Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-operation, Council of Europe, 1971); P. Deheuvels, Aims and Development of Secondary Education (OECD, Spring, 1969); International Labour Office, European Apprenticeships, Cirf Monograph I, No. 2 (Geneva, 1966); OECD, Developments of Secondary Education: Trends and Implications, 1961-1969 (Paris: Council for Cultural Cooperation of the Council of Europe, Technical and Vocational Education, Six Area Studies, Strasbourg, 1970).

countries, but mostly include office-skills, and skills for the catering trades as well as technical education.

The literature indicates that not enrollments in these programs per se is important, but that the efficiency of the education and training depends very much on a balanced combination of theoretical and on-the-job experience.

Table II-1 gives an impression of the enrollments in different types of education at the secondary and at the tertiary level, in various countries. The attention is drawn to the fact that most European countries have various possibilities for non-university tertiary education, which is mostly more vocationally oriented. It usually has lower entrance requirements and accepts students from lower vocational schools, allows graduates from the higher vocational schools to enter universities. In this way there is a kind of "second route" to university degrees, which need not run through the institutions for general education. The higher vocational schools can mostly be attended on part- or full-time basis and by persons of various ages.

Studies also show that not only total unemployment but also the relative youth unemployment is much lower in most European countries than in the United States. This is accompanied with lower educational costs as expressed in U.S. dollars while higher education is mostly free or practically so. Table II-2 gives some relevant figures.

A study of the data shows that Germany has the greatest percentage of persons in vocational education, the lowest educational cost, and very low youth unemployment figures.

TABLE II-1.--Educational Enrollments in Various European Countries.

	Percent Age Group 15-19					Percent Age Group 20-24				
	Sec.-General			Vocational		Total Third Level	Non-univ.	% Total		
	1955	1965	1968	1955	1965				1968	
Belgium	41.1	42.6	41.9	41.0	45.0	68.2	9.09	10.32	40.9	69.25
France	36.2	56.7	68.2	10.3	18.0	22.8	7.44	15.93	--	19.94
Germany	26.0	42.8	52.7	55.2	60.0	56.6	5.77	12.05	26.04	28.37
Netherlands	38.8	44.0	49.7	42.4	47.4	50.4	13.4	18.88(69)	61.32	50
Sweden	39.5	62.5	71.0	29.2	39.4	37.0	8.04	18.21	2.16	3.28
U.K.	86.9	84.4	93.5	--	4.0	4.6	6.15	9.75	38.98	47.64
U.S.A.	69.0	100.0	100.0	--	--	--	32.23	48.06	--	0.02

Sources: World Survey of Education, Educational Policy; Universal Statistical Yearbook.

TABLE II-2.--Unemployment and Educational Cost.

Country	Year	Unemployment				Educational Expenditure		
		All ages	25+	15-19	20-24	% G.N.P. 1969	US\$ per cap. 1968	
							Public exp.	Government exp.
Belgium	1960	2.5	--	4.0	3.3	5.57	108	
	1969	1.6	--	3.2	2.7			
France	1960	2.1	--	--	--	--	--	--
	1962	--	1.7	6.3	2.4	--	--	--
	1969	1.7	--	4.6	2.6	4.81		
Germany	1963/64	0.3	--	--	--	--	--	--
	1965	--	2.0	2.0	2.0	--	--	--
	1968	1.5	--	3.8	1.4	3.0	59	
Netherlands	1960	0.9	0.8	1.4	1.1	6.71	104	
Sweden	1960	1.7	--	--	--	--	--	--
	1964	--	1.5	3.9	1.9	--	--	--
	1968	2.2	--	5.6	3.2	7.80	193	
U.K.	1961	1.4	--	0.9	1.4	--	--	--
	1968	3.7	--	4.4	4.0	4.15	62	
U.S.A.	1968	3.6	12.7	5.8	5.10	5.10	217	

Sources: OECD, Statistical Årsbok 1971 Sweden; The Swedish Budget, 1961/72, Stockholm, 1971.



The German law requires that all youngsters follow part time education until the age of 18, and apprenticeship programs are well-regulated.

In spite of the favorable situation there is a trend in Europe to introduce more general education for all, and to include more general subjects in the vocational programs at the secondary level. This is caused by social and ideological considerations; the desire to strive after more equality of opportunity.

This trend leads to the discussion of proposals for other forms of education.

#### Proposals for Alternative Modes of Education

Under "Studies on Permanent Education" the Council of Europe has published two studies which approach the issue from two different directions. Tessa Blackstone<sup>70</sup> discusses the desirability of more pre-school education as a means of attacking the problems caused by social differences. This seems in contradiction with the findings discussed earlier in this chapter.

Jocker<sup>71</sup> sees vocational education as the second phase of full-time education, preceding a career choice. He suggests a broadly-based common trunk of programs branching off into smaller and gradually more specified sub-systems. Both the common trunk and the

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<sup>70</sup>Tessa Blackstone, Pre-School Education in Europe, Studies on Permanent Education No. 13 (Strasbourg, Decs 3/Decs 6, 1970). 17/579.

<sup>71</sup>Herbert Jocker, The Future Shape of Permanent Education, Studies on Permanent Education No. 15 (Strasbourg, Decs 3/Decs 6, 1970). 16.702 04.3/51.03.

branches should have to consist of very small credit units offering the maximum possible number of combinations and permutations. He says:

Such an accumulative credit system would in theory enable every individual to follow an appropriate lifelong course of education by combining the appropriate type and number of units according to ability, interest and need.<sup>72</sup>

Jocker discusses the fact that a considerable portion of our present educational investment is misplaced and wasteful and that what is taught--also in adult education programs--is often stale in method and content.

It is of interest to note what Jocker means by permanent education.

. . . permanent education does not mean, as many people still suppose, the prolongation of schooling or yet the absorption of dilettante adult education into a continuing school system; on the contrary, it demands that professional responsibility should be conferred and accepted as early as possible. This will tend to reduce paternalistic and compulsory schooling unrelated to daily life and work, and to make our schools more flexible, differentiated and democratic, with greater regard for the individual and more intimately connected with work and life, as modern adult education requires.<sup>73</sup>

Much of what is proposed by Jocker is supported by Drucker<sup>74</sup> who also pleads for curricula composed of standard units that can be put together to serve individual needs.

He is of the opinion that adolescents must work with adults.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>72</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid.

<sup>74</sup>Drucker, The Age of Discontinuity.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid.

Much of the same theme runs through "New Strategies for Educational Development,"<sup>76</sup> while Illich suggests that every person be given a kind of "edu-creditcard," an educational passport which can be used at any time in a life. To promote equality and to favor the poor, provisions should be made that interest accrued to later users of cumulative "entitlements."

Such credits would permit most people to acquire the skills most in demand, at their convenience, better, faster, cheaper, and with fewer undesirable side effects than in school.<sup>77</sup>

The plea for more flexibility and adaptability, voiced by these writers is supported by Anderson and Bowman when they discuss the problems in educational planning.

Most important of all is men wise enough not only to plan for others but also to plan so as to encourage others to plan for themselves. . . . In the end that might prove to be the most important guide to educational planning even when economic development is the sole goal. It is assuredly essential if the non-measurables are to be given adequate scope.<sup>78</sup>

Thus far there seems to be a great amount of agreement among the various writers, but there are also significant differences.

While Illich<sup>79</sup> wants to do away with all schools in the present sense of the word, Brembeck<sup>80</sup> regards elementary school as a

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<sup>76</sup>Brembeck, "The Strategic Uses of Formal and Nonformal Education."

<sup>77</sup>Illich, Deschooling Society, p. 14.

<sup>78</sup>C. A. Anderson and M. J. Bowman, "Theoretical Considerations in Educational Planning," Readings: Economics of Education 1, ed. by Mark Blaug (reprinted 1971; 1968), 382.

<sup>79</sup>Illich, Deschooling Society.

<sup>80</sup>Brembeck, "The Strategic Uses of Formal and Nonformal Education."

reasonably effective means of teaching basic literacy and for introducing the child to the larger community in which he must live. This seems in contradiction with the findings by Rohwer.<sup>81</sup> Brembeck also suggests that adults might profit more from formal education.<sup>82</sup> The White House Conference on Aging<sup>83</sup> however, comes to the conclusion that informal systems appeal as much or more to adults than the normal formal system.

Also OECD suggestions for alternative education are in many respects contrary to the opinions expressed by the writers mentioned earlier. The suggestions seem strongly influenced by the Swedish opinions about education. Extensive quotes are given of Mr. Palme's opinion, who was then Minister of Education in Sweden and now Prime Minister.

From an address given at the Sixth Conference of European Ministers of Education the following quotation is given here<sup>84</sup>:

A restriction of school education, including upper secondary education would presumably hit pupils from lower social groups. For reasons of equality we, therefore, cannot refrain from a youth education for all of 11-12 years as normal length. Moreover, upper secondary education in one form or another will certainly be needed to satisfy the labour market's increasing demand of trained manpower.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>81</sup>Rohwer, Mental Elaborations and Learning Proficiency.

<sup>82</sup>Brembeck, "The Strategic Uses of Formal and Nonformal Education."

<sup>83</sup>"White House Conference on Aging."

<sup>84</sup>Address delivered in Versailles, May, 1969; quoted in OECD Statement.

<sup>85</sup>OECD, Equal Educational Opportunity, p. 25.

and further:

. . . upper-secondary education would be the basis for entry into the labor market and for continued education.<sup>86</sup>

In the general introduction of the OECD Statement the following information is given about what is meant by recurrent education:

It would be clearly understood that recurrent education will apply for post-secondary levels of education (after a compulsory school period of 11-12 years).<sup>87</sup>

The OECD Statement further defines recurrent education as follows:

Adult education, in the traditional sense, is a type of informal education embracing any kind of training, retraining, refresher courses, etc., given in a variety of ways, such as evening classes, correspondence courses, on and off-the-job training, people's universities, etc., and usually of a part-time nature.

. . . . .  
Recurrent education is formal, and preferably full-time, education for adults who want to resume their education, interrupted earlier for a variety of reasons. In contrast with most adult education schemes, it is meant to give access to higher levels of education, and is not, therefore, a blind alley.<sup>88</sup>

As regards secondary education as a prerequisite for recurrent education the following is said:

. . . recurrent education can probably yield its full benefits only if secondary education is made comprehensive, so that eventually everybody can attain the minimum level of education which is to be the basis for further education.<sup>89</sup>

To link recurrent education and adult education the following points are suggested:

. . . as many adult education schemes as possible should be transformed so as to give access to further education. One

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<sup>86</sup>Ibid.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid., p. 43.

could then conceive both as one system differing only in the way in which education is given--full-time courses, on the one hand, part-time courses during the day or evening, during the week-end, during the vacation, etc. on the other.<sup>90</sup>

Recurrent education is viewed as formal education at the tertiary level requiring a comprehensive school of some ten years, while secondary education must be of the nature of general culture oriented towards the modern aspects of society (whatever that may mean).

As will be shown there are both similarities and differences between the recurrent education as suggested by the OECD and those suggested in "Career Education."<sup>91</sup>

Marland suggests:

. . . that a universal goal of American education, starting now be this that every young person completing our school program at grade 12 be ready to enter higher education or to enter useful rewarding employment.<sup>92</sup>

He is of the opinion that the present relatively narrow vocational program must be broadened. He mentions that vocational students need much more than limited skills training. The same is suggested by Mr. Palme.

Marland furthermore suggests that substantial improvement in vocational education can be brought about by bringing people from business, industry and organized labor into closer collaboration with the schools and that:

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<sup>90</sup>Ibid., pp. 43-44.

<sup>91</sup>Keith Goldhammer and Robert E. Taylor, Career Education: Perspective and Promise (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1972).

<sup>92</sup>S. P. Marland, Jr., "Career Education Now," Career Education, CII.

Youngsters should be given the opportunity to explore a great many occupations before choosing one to pursue in depth.<sup>93</sup>

Parnell<sup>94</sup> in the same book discusses the career-cluster approach in secondary education, which must do away with the present tracking system and will introduce instruction built around the career-cluster of family of occupations concept.

Herr<sup>95</sup> stresses the importance of part-time work experience because for many students work will be the best of all try-out experiences, while for some students it will shorten the period of economic and psychological dependence. The schools should accept the responsibility for placing youth in jobs on a part-time or summer basis, to make the work experience relative to what has been learned.

How many similarities there are between what is suggested in "Career Education" and what is done and proposed in Sweden will become apparent when the situation in this country is discussed.

It is clear that the suggestions in "Career Education" do not do away with the basic principle of the school in which children must learn for a prescribed period of time until fairly late in adolescence. The freedom of the young adult is still limited.

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<sup>93</sup>S. P. Marland, Jr., "Career Education Now," Career Education, CII.

<sup>94</sup>Dale Parnell, "The Career-Club Approach in Secondary Education," Career Education, CI, p. 55.

<sup>95</sup>Edwin L. Herr, "Unifying an Entire System Around a Career Development Theme," Career Education, CI, p. 63.

Also the suggestions in "The Lifelong University"<sup>96</sup> do not change much in higher education. It suggests extra possibilities for taking part in the still formal education on part-time or non-degree basis.

Conclusions.--The conclusions that must be drawn from the literature on alternative modes of education is that there is a great variety of proposals, some of which are in clear contradiction with each other and with the earlier discussed findings with regard to educational assumptions. The proposals vary from fairly concrete to speculative but few are based on hard data obtained through the study of actual practices.

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<sup>96</sup>Michigan State University, Task Force on Lifelong Education, The Lifelong University, 1973.



## CHAPTER III

### BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON SWEDEN

To be able to place educational, economic and social trends in any country in their proper perspectives it is necessary to have some background information about that country. Some of such information must be put in international perspective to make it more meaningful. Therefore, national conditions in Sweden shall be discussed in this chapter and where desirable they shall be put in international perspective.

#### The Land and the People

How a country develops depends largely on its national characteristics, which are highly influenced by its geography, its natural resources, and by the composition of its population. Information with regard to these aspects of Sweden is given in this section.

Sweden lies on the eastern side of the Scandinavian peninsula. Its latitude is about the same as that of Alaska but, thanks to the influence of the Gulf stream, its climate is comparatively mild. Due to this Sweden produces sufficient grain and other agricultural products to make the country self-sufficient with respect to food

For its population, which is comparatively small. Sweden now has some 8 million inhabitants and a population density of 38 per square mile.<sup>1</sup> What this means in comparison to other countries can be seen in Table III-1.

The table shows that Sweden is one of the largest and the most sparsely populated country in Western Europe. The table also shows that Sweden is the richest West-European country with respect to its natural resources in combination with its landmass/population ratio. The country is very rich in iron ore but lacks high-quality coal and fuel. For centuries iron has been exported to Germany, while coal was imported from that country. This made the two countries more or less interdependent on each other.<sup>2</sup>

As for its population, Sweden is a very homogeneous country. This must be ascribed to two factors. Sweden has had a highly centralized government since the 15th century and some 90 percent of the people belong to the official Lutheran Church, though very few actually practice their religion. Until fairly recently legal regulations made it hard for other denominations to get a foothold in the country.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The Swedish Institute, Fact Sheets on Sweden (statistical data, 1971); The Swedish Institute, Facts About Sweden (Forum A.B. Sweden 1966); and Allan Kastrup, Digest of Sweden (New York: The American-Swedish News Exchange, Inc., 1959).

<sup>2</sup>Stewart Oakley, A Short History of Sweden (New York: Praeger, 1966); Richard F. Tomasson, Sweden: Prototype of a Modern Society [symposium of facts and views in 17 chapters] (New York: Random House, 1970); and Ingemar Wizelius, ed., Sweden in the Sixties (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1967).

<sup>3</sup>Tomasson, Sweden: Prototype of a Modern Society.

TABLE III-1.---International Comparison: Land/Water Area--Population--Natural Resources.

Area	1968	1968	1967	1968	1968	1965	1968	1964
	Sweden	Belgium	France	Germany F.R.	Netherlands	Switzerland	United Kingdom	U.S.A.
Area in 1,000 hectares	44,979	3,051	45,703	24,845	3,662	4,129	24,403	936,335
Cultivated land	3,031	886	19,816	8,193	913	404	7,382	76,440
Pasture	448	735	13,813	5,678	1,314	1,774	12,032	259,173
Woodland	22,794	601	13,022	7,184	295	981	1,859	296,135
Rest (including water)	18,706	829	8,052	3,790	1,140	970	3,130	204,587
Water	3,838	?	?		890	138	310	1,719
Population in 1,000's								
1950	7,042	8,639	41,943	47,969	10,114	4,715	43,830	150,697
1960	7,495	9,153	45,684	53,403	11,462	5,429	45,775	179,323
1968/69	7,968	9,619	49,655	58,653	12,878	6,150	48,827	263,214
Density per km <sup>2</sup> /69	18	317	92	240	319	151	228	22
Natural Resources								
Production 1969								
Iron ore (1,000 ton	20,691	--	18,013	1,959	--	--	3,443	52,513
Fe content)								
Copper ore (1,000	25	--	--	--	--	--	--	1,401
ton Cu content)								
Lead (1,000 ton	80	--	--	39	--	--	--	462
Pb content)								
Zinc (1,000 ton Zn		--	--		--	--	--	
content)	90	--	--	117	--	--	--	502
Aluminum (1,000 ton)	67	--	460	534	--	--	243	4,218
Silver ore (ton		--			--	--	--	
Ag content)	115	--	159	842	--	--	--	1,234
Sulphur (1,000 ton		--	--		--	--	--	
S content)	250	--	--	266	--	--	--	368
Salt (1,000 ton		--						
NaCl)	--	--	4,916	8,961	2,668	--	8,605	40,138
Cement (1,000 ton)	3,958	6,269	27,697	35,079	--	--	17,419	66,227
Coal (1,000 ton)	22	13,200	40,583	111,780	5,564	--	152,790	513,436
Natural gas (mil m <sup>3</sup> )	--	--	6,506	--	21,848	--	--	586,112
Timber (mil m <sup>3</sup> )	54	--	32	--	--	--	--	336
Wood products (mil m <sup>3</sup> )	11,659	--	8,504	--	--	--	--	88,359

Source: Statistisk Årsbok för Sverige, 1971 [Statistical Abstract of Sweden, 1971].

There are some ethnic minorities, however. In the north and northeast are some 10,000 Lapps and some 30,000 Finns. The Lapps have given up their nomadic existence and many work in the mines. The obligation to live in the high-rise apartment buildings, especially built for the miners, has of late caused some problems, however.<sup>4</sup> While these minorities have always lived in Sweden, of late years new groups have entered the country. Unskilled workers from Finland, Yugoslavia and Greece have been stimulated to immigrate into the country to make up for the shortage of unskilled labor in Sweden.<sup>5</sup>

Although many people are inclined to lump all "Scandinavians" together, there are great differences between the various peoples. One might say that the Danes are Central European, the Norwegians West European and the Swedes East European in their outlooks and attitudes. The differences are probably not only due to geographic location but also to the fact that the countries have a long history of wars among each other. Of late, however, there have been strong pressures, especially from the side of Sweden, for "Nordic" cooperation, in which also Finland is included.<sup>6</sup> Yet the relationship between the people of the various countries seems not as warm as

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<sup>4</sup>Sweden Now [What's Happening at Large in Sweden], "Striking Differences," IV, No. 3 (March, 1970), 5; Roland Huntford, "Why Did They Strike?" Sweden Now, IV, No. 6 (June, 1970), 36-38; and Roland Huntford, "Conflict on the Labor Market: An Analysis by Roland Huntford," Sweden Now, V, No. 5 (May, 1971), 27-29.

<sup>5</sup>Frederick Fleisher, The New Sweden: The Challenge of a Disciplined Democracy (New York: David McKay Co., 1967).

<sup>6</sup>Wizelius, Sweden in the Sixties.

one might expect. In the 20th century Sweden has outdistanced the other countries economically and in world prestige, and there is no doubt that Sweden feels itself the leader of the north. This is illustrated by the official Swedish emblem, the triple crown. This emblem belonged to the Norwegian king who in the 14th century ruled over Denmark and Sweden, but against whom the Swedes rebelled.<sup>7</sup>

### The Government and the Administration

To understand how educational, social and economic measures are introduced, it is necessary to know how the government of the country works.

Sweden is a constitutional monarchy but the king's powers have been and are increasingly curtailed. Legislative power rests with the Cabinet<sup>8</sup> and a parliament--the Riksdag. This body has grown out of a national assembly which already existed early in Sweden's history, but had little power. In it were represented the four estates: the nobles, the clergy, the burghers and the independent farmers. Although there was only a small nobility, it formed the most powerful group. The farmers had the fewest rights and the least power, though they had the largest numbers. Only sporadically was the Riksdag called together, and most kings wielded absolute or near-absolute power. To gain such power they sometimes called on the

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<sup>7</sup>Oakley, A Short History of Sweden.

<sup>8</sup>The Swedish Institute, Facts About Sweden.

farmers with their superior numbers to support them against the nobles.<sup>9</sup>

The constitution of the country was several times changed and gradually a universal franchise was introduced. In 1970 the Riksdag was made into a uni-cameral body, when the first chamber was abolished.

For the last decades there have been five political parties and the Social Democratic Party has been in office for some 40 years now. Most of the time, however, it did not have a clear majority and had to rely first on Liberal and then on Farmers' support.<sup>10</sup> In recent years the Socialists lost votes, the Communists gained, and the non-socialist parties decided to cooperate.<sup>11</sup> This forced the Social Democratic Party to seek Communist support. In January, 1971 the seats in the Riksdag were distributed as follows:

Conservatives	41
Center (formerly Farmers' Party)	71
Liberals	58
Social Democrats	163
Communists	17 <sup>12</sup>

The Cabinet is responsible for the drafting of Government proposals concerning social, economic and political matters. These proposals

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<sup>9</sup>Oakley, A Short History of Sweden; and Wizelius, Sweden in the Sixties.

<sup>10</sup>Oakley, A Short History of Sweden.

<sup>11</sup>Ruth Link, "Elections," Sweden Now, IV, No. 11 (November, 1970), 8-10; and "What's Happening at Large in Sweden?" [a strong co-opposition], Sweden Now, V, No. 6 (May, 1971), 5-7.

<sup>12</sup>The Swedish Budget (a summary published by the Ministry of Finance, Stockholm, 1971).

are then submitted to the Riksdag. Most of the parliamentary work is done in special committees, however, in which popular movements and interest groups often are represented. When a compromise has been reached in such a committee, the proposal is put to the vote in the Riksdag, which seldom turns it down.

The implementation and administration of the decisions made in this way are left to Central Boards and Agencies, which in principle, are independent of the Cabinet and the Riksdag. The cabinet, however, nominates the higher officials on these Boards and Agencies, and can repeal decisions made by them. Presently most of these high civil servants are Social Democrats.

Administratively Sweden is divided into twenty-four counties with Stockholm as the twenty-fifth. Each county has its own administration and its own elected county-assembly, but the Governor of the county is appointed by the central Government.

Each county is divided into a number of communes, which are governed by elected councils and by executive committees appointed by the councils. The communes impose their own taxes, but are reimbursed by the Government for many of their expenses. This is necessary because many of the tasks of the communes, such as the educational ones, are decided upon by the Central Government.<sup>13</sup>

Although various tasks have been delegated to the communes in the name of decentralization, there has been a pronounced trend

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<sup>13</sup> Kurt Samuelsson, From Great Power to Welfare State: 300 Years of Swedish Social Development (London: George Allan & Unwin, 1968); and personal information received from various sides.

towards centralization. In the important things the communes can only execute what has been decided upon by the Central Boards and Agencies, which are situated in Stockholm. This trend is very clear with respect to education.

This trend towards greater centralization and increasing Government power can be explained by Sweden's history, which will therefore be discussed.

### Historical Overview

Sweden's striving after international prestige, the long rule of the Social Democratic Party and the trend towards centralized power, cannot be understood without some knowledge of Sweden's history.

By the 6th century Sweden had emerged as a small kingdom on the east coast of the Scandinavian peninsula. By the end of the 9th century the kings of "Svear" ruled directly or indirectly over all inhabited areas of present-day Sweden, with the exception of the southern and most fertile part. This had since time immemorial belonged to the much more advanced and powerful kingdom of Denmark. In those days Sweden was made up of a somewhat loose union of various "lands," which still have observable characteristics today. The kings were elected from among the noblemen, who had to supply the king with armed troops. Though elected, the kings showed a marked tendency to hand down their crown to their offspring, which caused continual strife with the nobles.



In the Viking times, when the Danes and Norwegians went southwest, the Svears went up the rivers into Russia and as far as the Black Sea. Some Svears even became rulers of Kiev.<sup>14</sup>

The contact of the Viking raiders-traders with more cultured peoples caused the Baltic to become an important center of trade, of which the Swedes wanted to be masters.<sup>15</sup> Consequently, for many centuries, the Swedes waged wars against the other Baltic countries. These countries were Finland on the Gulf of Bothnia; Russia on the eastern Baltic; Poland and the Hanseatic Towns on the south coast of the Baltic; Denmark which country possessed the land on both sides of the narrow Sound giving entrance into the Baltic; and finally Norway on the Atlantic side of the peninsula. Any excuse was used to join or start a war which might yield territorial expansion and add to Sweden's greatness. Promises were made and broken as expediency dictated.<sup>16</sup>

In the 12th century a Swedish king conquered Finland to "Christianize" it. For helping the king with armed troops many noblemen were given large properties in Finland. This made a centralized government necessary.

When at the end of the 14th century Sweden was without a king, the king of Norway was elected king of Sweden. This king also ruled over Denmark, and it was hoped that this would strengthen Sweden's

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<sup>14</sup>Oakley, A Short History of Sweden; and Wizelius, Sweden in the Sixties.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Oakley, A Short History of Sweden.

position. Soon, however, there was a rebellion and Gustav Vasa, a noble rebel, was elected king of Sweden. This plunged Sweden in a series of wars with the other two countries. When Vasa found himself in financial difficulties, he confiscated the Church properties in the name of the Reformation, though he did not fully adhere to the new religion.<sup>17</sup>

Vasa then made himself into a hereditary monarch, hired German mercenaries to make himself independent of the nobles, and German civil servants to bring the country under strict economic control. Vasa may be seen as the founder of present-day Sweden. He welded the country into a political unity and established a centralized, efficient bureaucracy.<sup>18</sup>

Politically and culturally Sweden was still very backward in comparison to most other European countries, however. German, Dutch and Scots merchants and traders were stimulated to bring their capital and expertise into the country. These immigrants became very powerful. Germans founded mining communities over which they ruled with absolute and paternalistic power. These mining masters later formed an association, which later again formed the basis for the present semi-official Iron Office. An entrepreneur from the Low Lands established the first iron industry and laid the basis for Swedish international trade. Many towns in Sweden became practically German towns, while later Goteborg was built on the Dutch model. It

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<sup>17</sup>Oakley, A Short History of Sweden; and Wizelius, Sweden in the Sixties.

<sup>18</sup>Oakley, A Short History of Sweden.

was mainly these foreign immigrants who supplied the kings with money and arms, which made their wars possible.

At the end of the 16th century king Gustavus Adolphus modernized his army along Dutch lines, shopped around for allies to join in the Thirty Years War, and with the backing of Catholic France, entered the war to curb Protestantism, though Sweden was a Protestant country.<sup>19</sup> At first the king's troops were victorious and he himself became the great European hero. Later, however, the Swedish troops were defeated and the king was killed. Yet, with the help of France, Sweden obtained important territory on the South Baltic and parts of Norway.

Sweden had become a European power, dominating the north. Through the war European culture and luxury found their way into backward Sweden. This was Sweden's "Period of Greatness."<sup>20</sup>

The gains obtained in the war caused many new wars, however, and much of the newly acquired territory got lost again. From then on the Swedish kings and nobles have been driven by a desire to restore Sweden's lost glory. To achieve this, wars were joined in, incidents were provoked, allies were switched in midstream as the war chances changed. In the process Sweden lost all it had gained and the country was plunged in grave financial difficulties.

The situation became so bad that in 1720 some noblemen wrested the power from the king and Sweden embarked on its first

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<sup>19</sup>Oakley, A Short History of Sweden; and Tomasson, Sweden: Prototype of a Modern Society.

<sup>20</sup>Oakley, A Short History of Sweden.

parliamentary venture. The nobles had all the power, however, and two noble factions strove for supreme power. This caused a kind of civil war. The country was on the brink of bankruptcy and so weak that Russia, the arch enemy, had to defend it against the Danes. This period is called the period of freedom or of licence.

The experiment was terminated by a royal coup with peasant support. The king, who became an enlightened absolute monarch, was killed by a nobleman, however. His successor made an attempt at restoring Sweden's glory by joining in the Napoleonic Wars. This caused Finland to be lost to Sweden, and the king had to flee the country.

A new constitution was drawn up, and a search was made for a new king. After an attempt to get a Danish prince, and therewith control over Norway, the French Marshall Bernadotte was elected king. It was hoped that he would get French support for the regaining of Finland. The new king, however, dreaming of obtaining the French crown, joined the allies. He had to give up his French ambitions but obtained Norway as the prize for his cooperation with the allies.

Norway, which had been under Danish rule for some 300 years, wanted to be independent, however. It drew up its own constitution and Sweden was forced to give it some limited internal independence. Relations remained strained and there were frequent skirmishes, until in 1905 Norway gained its independence and elected its own king.

The new Swedish/French king exercised a strong personal power with the help of a secret police, but at his death, after a long rule, he was well liked. His successor made a last attempt at regaining Finland by offering Swedish help to England and France in the Crimean War. He was unsuccessful, however.<sup>21</sup>

Times had changed. A small country like Sweden, backward in almost all respects, had to give up all hope of territorial and military greatness. Practically for the first time the attention was directed towards improving the internal conditions of the country.

While the king and noblemen had striven after international power, the conditions of the workers in the towns and of the peasants were bad. The farmers lived in their closed communities and engaged in communal agriculture. They suffered from frequent crop-failures and starvation. At the end of the 19th century many left for the United States or flocked to the cities where living and working conditions were extremely bad, but at least food was to be had. Also, little was changed in the patriarchically ruled mining towns. It was not until the end of the 19th century that improved means of transport made for a beginning of industrialization, and a concentration of little enterprises which made competition possible. The timber and pulp industry also started in this period, when the wood could be transported to the coastal centers. It was in these fields that improvements were gradually brought about in the beginning of

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

the 20th century.<sup>22</sup> But as late as in 1930 Sweden was still backward in comparison to other European countries, such as England, for instance.<sup>23</sup>

When the First World War broke out, Sweden declared itself neutral. Due to Social Democratic pressures Sweden's army was ill-prepared. An enormous apparatus for rationing and distribution was set up. Sweden engaged in legal trade with the warring parties and in illicit trade with Germany. In the country was a flourishing black market. People starved, but it was a golden period for the bureaucrats and the black marketeers.<sup>24</sup> To ease the food situation, Swedish tonnage was put at the disposal of England, when the war approached its end.<sup>25</sup>

When the Russian revolution broke out and Finland declared itself independent, there was rejoicing and rioting, and demands for the forming of a republic. When order had been ruthlessly restored, Sweden found itself in an extremely favorable position, however. In time of shortage of tonnage it had a strong merchant navy, and suddenly there was food in abundance. For the first time in history Sweden was a creditor nation. Brisk trade and an influx of foreign

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<sup>22</sup>Samuelsson, From Great Power to Welfare State.

<sup>23</sup>David Jenkins, "Brains Before Beauty," Sweden Now, XII (December, 1968), 31-33.

<sup>24</sup>O. Fritiof Ander, The Building of Modern Sweden (Rock Island, Ill.: Augusta Book Concern., 1958).

<sup>25</sup>Oakley, A Short History of Sweden.

capital made industrial expansion possible. This period is sometimes called Sweden's "Second Period of Greatness."

The great depression in the thirties caused economic and political problems, however. This caused the Social Democrats to gain many seats, but not a clear majority. To get into power a deal was made with the Farmers--the so-called "cow-lition"--by which the Social Democrats dropped their demand for nationalization from their program, and the farmers got protective tariffs--which caused food prices to rise.

At this moment the economic crisis subsided. In the wake of the devaluation of the English pound in 1931 the Swedish currency had to be devaluated too.<sup>26</sup> This improved the possibilities for competition. Furthermore, Nazi Germany needed Swedish products for its re-armament. Unemployment decreased and wages rose. The improvements were ascribed to the Social Democratic Party. Since then many Swedes have feared that with a change in government the bad years might return.<sup>27</sup> This is in part an explanation for the Party's long period of power.

When the Second World War broke out, Sweden declared itself neutral again. Large amounts of raw materials were purchased, and trade agreements were signed with Germany and Russia. When Finland was attacked by the latter country, Sweden refused transit for British troops to come to the aid of Finland. Later, however, when Norway

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<sup>26</sup>Jenkins, "Brains Before Beauty."

<sup>27</sup>Personal information received from various sides.

had been occupied by Germany, German supplies and "troops on leave" got free passage through Sweden. Towards the end of the war German privileges were curtailed, however.<sup>28</sup>

Again Sweden came out of the war unscathed and prosperous. During the war there had been a "moral" re-armament, which had led to increased social expenditure and plans for educational reforms. Rising wages and prices together with increased government expenditure adversely affected possibilities for exports, however. The situation was aggravated by the fact that the newly liberated countries were slower in recovering than had been expected. Consequently, Sweden found itself in financial difficulties and applied for, and received Marshall Aid. In 1949 the Economic Cooperation Administration reported:

. . . the Swedish economy as a whole has been living beyond its resources, and, although it is tightening its belt, it will encounter a continuing dollar deficit. . . . The Swedish Government and the Swedish people are now faced with the need for vigorous and effective action, including acceptance of a somewhat austerer standard of living during the next few years.<sup>29</sup>

Though there have been years with improvement, of late years the balance of trade has again caused concern. Government expenditures have increased at disconcerting rates.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>Oakley, A Short History of Sweden.

<sup>29</sup>Economic Cooperation Administration, European Recovery Program: Sweden (Washington, D.C., February, 1949), p. 3.

<sup>30</sup>The Ministry of Finance, The Swedish Budget 1971/1972, a summary published by the Ministry of Finance (Stockholm, 1971); The Ministry of Finance, The Swedish Economy 1971-1975, and the General Outlook up to 1990 (long-term survey, main report, Government Report SOY 1971); and Secretariat for Economic Planning, National Institute of Economic Research, The Swedish Economy (Stockholm, Autumn, 1971).



Sweden did not join the Common Market but became a member of the European Free Trade Association, the EFTA, in which it was the strongest country after England. When this latter country did join the EEC recently, Sweden did not follow the example. The main reason given was that it might endanger its neutrality. It was also said, however, that there were objections to the fact that membership might force Sweden to adapt wages to those in the other countries, which would interfere with its social policies.<sup>31</sup> A trade-agreement was signed with the Common Market but feelings about it are mixed.<sup>32</sup> It is hard to say how Denmark's entrance into the EEC will influence Nordic cooperation.

#### Conclusions Drawn from Sweden's History

Sweden's history explains much of its striving after international leadership which is now directed towards social and educational measures, and its desire to be the leader of the Nordic countries. It also explains its almost proverbial pragmatism,<sup>33</sup> its concern with systems and ideas, rather than with individual human beings and their needs.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>"Sweden vs Europe? Business and Finance," Sweden Now, IV, No. 10 (October, 1970), 10; and "Taking Things EEC," What's Happening at Large in Sweden, Sweden Now, VI, No. 4 (April, 1972), 4.

<sup>32</sup>"Taking Things EEC."

<sup>33</sup>Wizelius, Sweden in the Sixties; Fleisher, The New Sweden; Samuelsson, From Great Power to Welfare State; and Ander, The Building of Modern Sweden.

<sup>34</sup>David Jenkins, Sweden and the Price of Progress (New York: Coward Mc. Cann, Inc., 1968).

Furthermore, it explains the long period of Social Democratic rule and the strong centralized, more or less paternalistic government. For centuries the majority of the Swedes have lived under such rule and are used to it.

Finally it explains Sweden's sudden jump into modernity and prosperity. It seems that the non-involvement in the wars, the gains made thereby, and Sweden's rich natural resources must have played a significant part in achieving its high G.N.P. This is of special interest in view of the great attention that is given to education as a means of promoting economic growth.

All these facts must be kept in mind in evaluating later trends in education and in economic and social-psychological developments. But to fully understand these trends it is also important to have an insight into the Swedish power structure, the influence of groups rather than individuals, which has been so strong in all developments.

#### The Swedish Power Structure

To understand the trends in formal and alternative modes of education and economic and social-psychological developments, it is necessary to understand what the motives have been of the different groups for the introduction of various measures, and how these groups have interacted.

On all educational developments, introduced or proposed, the various popular movements and interest groups, mentioned in connection with the working of the Riksdag, have had a significant influence.

The greatest influence, however, has been that of the Social Democratic Party and the labor movement. Therefore, these two deserve special discussion.

Late in the 19th century poor peasants flocked to the cities to find work. They offered the cheap labor which made Sweden's industrialization and competition in foreign markets possible. To improve their appalling working and living conditions they formed unions. Later, when the Social Democratic Party had been established, this party tried to more or less incorporate these unions. These, however, preferred to form their own Confederation of Labor Unions, now always referred to as the L.O.<sup>35</sup> Though the Social Democratic Party and the L.O. are independent bodies, it became the custom for many unions to join the party collectively. On the members of the unions who have not done so, considerable pressure is exerted to join the Party individually. This explains the difference between the number of party members and the number of votes brought out by the party in general elections.<sup>36</sup>

The L.O. has great power. It not only has close links with the Social Democratic Party, but it owns one of the four Stockholm newspapers and is majority shareholder in several regional papers.<sup>37</sup> The L.O. is always consulted with respect to educational policies,

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<sup>35</sup> Fleisher, The New Sweden.

<sup>36</sup> Personal information received from various quarters.

<sup>37</sup> Ruth Link, "The Handshake," Sociomobile 2, Sweden Now, V, Nos. 1-2 (January/February, 1971), 36-43; and Fleisher, The New Sweden.

has its own educational department, its own educational institutions, and supports courses run by the Workers' Education Association, as will be discussed later.

To counterbalance the influence of the L.O. the most important employers formed the Employers' Confederation, the S.A.F.<sup>38</sup> Also this body is consulted with respect to educational changes and policies. It also has an educational department and runs courses for the employees and staff of its members. The S.A.F. wields a great economic power as will be discussed later. The official Social Democratic policy is based on "functional socialism" or the principle of a "mixed economy." This means that private enterprise must be stimulated within the framework set by the Government, to promote economic growth.<sup>39</sup> Such growth is necessary to promote full employment, and to make higher wages possible, and the expansion of social--including educational--measures. To stimulate economic growth the formation of large concerns and powerful conglomerates have been approved and stimulated by the Government and the L.O. The reasons given for this policy is that more concentration can make for higher wages, more efficiency and a better competitive position.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Gunar Adler-Karlsson, Functional Socialism: A Swedish Theory of Democratic Socialization (Stockholm: Bokförlaget Prisma, 1967); Towards Equality, The Alva Myrdal Report for the Swedish Social Democratic Party (Stockholm: Bokförlaget Prisma, 1971); and David Jenkins, "Mixed Economy," Sweden Now [special issue] (1969), 52-53; 100-102.

<sup>40</sup> Link, "The Handshake"; and personal information received from the National Labour Market Board and the L.O.

It is true that the structural changes also lead to lay-offs and unemployment, but these problems can be alleviated by the creation of government sponsored relief work and the organization of training and retraining programs. These programs have become of increasing importance and will be discussed under alternative forms of education.

Also tax-regulations favor private enterprise, as will be shown in Table III-2, which also shows how highly the individual Swedes are taxed.

TABLE III-2.--Receipts from Taxation in Percent of G.N.P. in 1968.

Country	Direct Taxes on Corporations	Individuals	Total	Indirect Taxes	Total
Belgium	1.8	7.1	8.9	11.6	20.5
France	1.8	4.5	6.3	15.3	21.6
Germany (F.R.)	2.3	8.3	10.5	13.7	24.2
Netherlands	1.5	12.3	13.8	15.2	29.0
Sweden	1.5	18.6	20.1	12.7	32.8
Switzerland	2.4	8.3	10.6	7.2	17.8
United Kingdom	2.5	10.6	13.1	16.5	29.6
United States	4.7	10.9	15.5	9.1	24.6

Source: The Swedish Budget 1971/72 (A Summary published by the Ministry of Finance, Stockholm, 1971).

Enterprises are allowed to set aside up to 40 percent of their profits, tax free, in special reserve funds, 46 percent of which must be deposited in the Central Bank. In times of recession the Government can allow money out of the reserve funds to be used for certain projects through which more jobs can be created. For

money spent in this way a 10 percent tax reduction is added as a bonus.

While the government can exercise great economic power in this way, it exerts no influence at all on wages. Wage-agreements are made through negotiation between the S.A.F. and the L.O. The Government, however, regulates working and social conditions.<sup>41</sup>

Extensive provisions have been built up for consultation and arbitration to prevent wage-disputes.<sup>42</sup> Lately, however, the relations between the L.O. and the local unions and between the S.A.F. and the L.O. have become somewhat strained and wild-cat strikes have broken out everywhere.<sup>43</sup>

Other developments have also taken place recently. The formation of big conglomerates and the tax policies have led to a strong concentration of economic power in the hands of some seventeen families and their connections. Of the fourteen regular banks, five hold 80 percent of the total deposits. This made the Government decide that State representatives should be placed on the boards of the large private enterprises and banks. These representatives must be directly involved in the management of the enterprises and must

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<sup>41</sup>Fleisher, The New Sweden; and Link, "The Handshake."

<sup>42</sup>Fleisher, The New Sweden.

<sup>43</sup>"Striking Differences," What's Happening at Large in Sweden, Sweden Now, IV, No. 3 (March, 1970), 5; Roland Huntford, "Sweden Now", V, No. 10 (1971), 27-28; "Why Did They Strike?" Sweden Now, IV, No. 6 (1970), 36-38.

be paid by them.<sup>44</sup> This will presumably increase Government influence on the economy.

The State already has the monopoly in, or is major shareholder of the railways, the postal services, the spirits, tobacco, and the pharmaceutical trade, and in enterprises in the field of banking, restaurant and catering and many others. Formerly the different government enterprises were the responsibility of different ministers. Now, however, they have been combined into a big conglomerate under one minister. Furthermore, a State Holding Company and a special State Investment Bank have been established.<sup>45</sup>

There is also a trend towards joint State and private ventures in various fields--for instance computer consultation. Most of the capital is supplied by the State and the know-how by private enterprise. This modus is found because State enterprises have been notably unsuccessful.<sup>46</sup>

It is said that these developments are necessary not only to ensure full employment--one of the major points in the Social Democratic program--but also to prevent Swedish industries from falling into foreign hands. It will also help to bridge the technological gap between Swedish and foreign industries, which is

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<sup>44</sup>"State vs. Business," Business and Finance, Sweden Now, IV, No. 10 (October, 1970), 10; and David Jenkins, "A Run for the Money," Sweden Now, II, No. 9 (September, 1968), 49-54.

<sup>45</sup>"The Government's Business," Business and Finance, Sweden Now, II, No. 12 (December, 1968), 20; and "State vs Business," Sweden Now.

<sup>46</sup>Jenkins, "Mixed Economy."

necessary now that competition becomes increasingly difficult. The Minister of Industry recently visited the United States to find further possibilities for combined State and private undertakings.

It is clear that all these measures lead to increased Government power over the economy. This central power would even become greater if the Government could secure some influence in the investment policies of the General Pension Fund.

Something must be said about the establishment of this fund, because it is typical of the way in which educational reforms have been introduced. When the proposal for the establishment of the fund was introduced, it was defeated in the Riksdag and in a popular vote. It was feared that it would give the Government control over the economy and lead to concealed socialization. Parliament was dissolved and the bill was again introduced in the new parliament. It was passed by one vote due to illness of one of the opposing factions. The condition was made, however, that the fund should be independently administered. Now the Government is studying the possibility of changing the conditions made. How much power some influence on the investment policies of the fund would give the Government may be concluded from the following facts. In September, 1970 the fund held \$17,000 million and was increasing its assets with \$400 million a year. It then could buy every company whose shares are listed on the Stockholm Stock Exchange. Every month it gets enough money to buy another company the size of the Volvo.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>47</sup>Jenkins, "A Bank and a Fund," Sweden Now, IV, No. 9 (September, 1970), 33-36.



The latest developments indicate that there seems to be a tendency towards hidden and gradual socialization, or, at least, absolute Government power over the economy. What these developments will do to the influence of the S.A.F. and the influence of the people in national policies is hard to say. The Swede as an individual has never had much influence. What influence he has must be exerted through the organization(s) to which he belongs, and many of these are directly or indirectly under Government influence as will become apparent from the following list of organizations, all of which are in some way related to education, be it formal or nonformal.

Next to the two giants the L.O. and the S.A.F. there are:

The Central Organization of Salaried Employees, the T.C.O. to which most white collar workers belong. There is, however, a trend to make all workers salaried workers, to do away with status discrimination.<sup>48</sup>

The Central Organization of Swedish Professional Workers, the S.A.C.O. to which medical doctors, university professors and army officers belong. The feeling between the S.A.C.O. and the L.O. is less than warm.

The various cooperative movements, which, on the whole, are linked with the Social Democratic Party. They account for

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<sup>48</sup>"Miners Win Monthly Wages," What's Happening at Large in Sweden, Sweden Now, IV, No. 5 (May, 1970), 5.

20 percent of all retail trade or no less than 25 percent of food trade.<sup>49</sup>

The National Teachers organizations of which the organization of elementary school teachers has always supported the social educational reforms. The organization of the secondary school teachers has always pointed to the fact that the reforms were not based on research, and to the problems that would arise.

The National Parents' Organization, which is subsidized by the Government and gets paid for information distribution and collecting for the Board of Education.

The National Union of Students. Students must join their local union which, however, need not join the National Union.

The National Union of Secondary School pupils, which is totally financed by the Government.

All these organizations are sometimes consulted even if it is only "pro forma" with regard to educational policies. The greater majority were visited by the researcher to get information on various developments.

Having discussed the political/economic influences, it is important to give some attention to the social and economic conditions in the country since trends in these fields are part of the study.

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<sup>49</sup>David Jenkins, "A Concern for the Consumer," Sweden Now, IV, Nos. 7-8 (July-August, 1970), 39-41.

### Economic and Social Conditions in Sweden

The study is concerned with educational, economic and social developments. It is therefore important to get an insight into the present conditions. These can best be viewed in relation to those in comparable countries. Only in this way can one get an impression of how valid are the favorable and unfavorable reports on the present situation in Sweden, which is often ascribed to its social and educational policies.

Table III-3 gives an impression of Sweden's economic position and growth in relation to a number of other countries.

The table shows that Sweden has the highest G.N.P. of the European countries. What may be some of the reasons for this has been discussed in the conclusions drawn after the discussion of Sweden's history. The figures also show that increased economic growth and productivity in Sweden are average. In connection with the former it is of interest that the percentage of the population in the labor force is greater in Sweden than in any of the other countries. This can be partly ascribed to the fact that the percentage of the population below and over the normal working age is lower than in any of the other countries. A fairly high percentage of the inhabitants of over the working age are in the labor force too. Persons of up to 74 work in Sweden. Also a large percentage of mothers work. If leisure time should be included in the G.N.P., as has been suggested (see relevant literature) this might unfavorably influence Sweden's G.N.P. Finally, it is of interest to note that capital investment in Sweden is comparatively low. It is generally agreed

TABLE III-3.--International Comparison: G.N.P.--Economic Growth--Labor Force--Investment.

	Sweden	Belgium	France	Germany F.R.	Netherlands	Switzerland	United Kingdom	U.S.A.
G.N.P. per capita 1969 U.S. \$	3,570	2,360	3,020	2,520	2,360	2,190	2,770	4,660
Annual vol. economic growth % per capita								
1950-60	2.9	2.0	3.5	6.6	3.0	2.9	2.3	1.2
1960-69	3.8	3.8	4.4	3.4	3.9	2.4	2.3	3.7
1964-69	3.1	?	4.6	3.7	?	?	1.7	3.5
Increased productivity per manhour 1969 1963=100								
Total	--	2.7	3.5	3.4	3.3	?	1.9	?
Industry	4.5	4.1	4.5	4.3	6.5	?	2.5	?
In Labor Force % of Pop. 1969	48.2	40.1	41.7	44.4	36.4	46.1	46.4	41.6
% of population under 14 ±	21.5	24.9	26.2	25.1	28.4	24.6	25.3	30.3
over 65 ±	12.1	11.0	9.8	10.0	8.9	9.4	9.9	10.8
Below and over working age	33.6	35.9	36.0	35.1	37.3	34.0	35.2	41.1
% of women in Labor Force	38.4	56.0	??	30.6	?	32.4	32.2	37.7
1970	50.5	25.6	?	36.3	?	--	40.7	22.3
of which % married								
% of persons over 65 in Labor Force	19.71	--	?	--	?	--	--	--
Investment								
Average 1964-69 1963 prices % G.N.P.	23.9	21.5	25.1	25.6	26.8	27.6	18.4	16.7
Investment % G.N.P./per capita 1969	24.3	19.9	25.2	24.3	27.1	25.5	7.5	17.0

Source: Statistisk Årsbok för Sverige, 1971; The Swedish Budget 1971/72; OECD, Labour Force Statistics 1959-1970 (Paris, 1972).

that this is an important factor contributing to economic growth. What is left for capital investment depends on what is used on other expenditures such as education and social security. Therefore, a comparison of various expenditures as given in Table III-4 is important.

It shows that public revenue and taxes combined with individual contributions to social security are higher in Sweden. It is, therefore, not surprising that private consumption in Sweden is lowest, together with that in Germany. It is a well-known fact, however, that the Germans value spare time more than high income. This was recently discussed in the American radio. German social security and health care have always been better than in the other countries.

The figures show that Sweden spends more on education, but relatively less on social security than most other countries, even if private contributions are included in the total figure. The figures on health expenditure are ambiguous. The OECD gives different figures than the Swedish data. This may be due to the fact that the OECD has changed its way of reporting, but the differences in most countries are not great.

The data suggest that the highly propagated superiority of Sweden with respect to economic and social conditions are based on propaganda,<sup>50</sup> the rapid improvements in the conditions in this

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<sup>50</sup>Oakley, A Short History of Sweden.

TABLE III-4.---International Comparison: Expenditures.

	Sweden	Belgium	France	Germany F.R.	Netherlands	Switzerland	United Kingdom	U.S.A.
Public revenue % G.N.P. 1969	48.1	34.2	38.1	37.9	36.0	20.0	18.2	18.5
Taxes and Soc. Sec. contrib. 1968	40.8	31.8	35.6	34.8	38.2	22.8	34.4	29.9
Public exp. on education % G.N.P.	7.80	5.57	4.81	3.0	6.71	6.30	4.15	5.10
Public exp. on Soc. Sec. 1969	16.3	16.5	16.6	17.5	16.6	?	12.7	7.3
Private contributions to Soc. Sec. 1968 % G.N.P.	8.0	8.3	14.0	10.6	9.2	5.0	5.1	5.3
Public exp. on health 1968 Swedish data	4.04	?	?	3.57	?	?	3.58	1.20
1969 OECD data	4.27	?	?	12.66	?	?	3.93	--
Total expen. foreign aid	0.8	1.1	1.25	1.4	1.5	0.7	0.8	0.5
Gross investment per inhabitant, % G.N.P.	24.3	19.9	25.2	24.3	27.1	25.5	17.5	17.0
Private consumption per inhabitant, % G.N.P.	55.6	62.1	60.2	55.6	55.8	57.5	63.0	60.9
Economic growth 1960-69 average	3.8	3.8	4.4	3.4	3.9	2.4	2.3	3.7

Source: National Accounts, OECD Countries.

country and on observations made by people who do or did not know sufficiently about other European countries.<sup>51</sup>

It deserves the attention that Sweden pays relatively so little for aid to developing countries, in spite of the fact that so much attention is given to this topic.

All the earlier mentioned data do not say much about the quality of life as experienced by the individual, however. Table III-5 gives some information on health and daily conveniences.

The data on this table show that the average Swede is not better fed than the inhabitants of the other countries. They also show that Sweden has fewer doctors per 1,000 inhabitants than any of the other countries, that the life-expectancy is high but lower than that of the average Dutchman, and that the suicide rates in Sweden are highest.

The average Swede is poorer housed if the number of rooms per dwelling are taken into consideration. Only France seems worse off in this respect. More about this will be said later.

As to services; the average Swede is again not better off, though the Swedes have more radios, T.V. sets, telephones and passenger cars. These latter things must be seen in perspective, however. The larger and the less densely populated a country is, the more need there is for such means of communication and transport. One would also say that the more scattered the population is, the more doctors are needed. This would make Sweden's position worse in this respect.

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<sup>51</sup>Tomasson, Sweden: Prototype of a Modern Society.

TABLE III-5.--International Comparison: The Quality of Life.

Health	Sweden	Belgium	France	Germany	Netherlands	Switzerland	United Kingdom	U.S.A.
Doctors per 1,000 inhab. 1969	1.13	1.51	1.18	1.48	1.14	1.29	1.15	1.58
Life expectancy born 1960	73.92	70.68	71.8	70.6	74.25	71.47	72.8	70.6
Suicide rates	21.5	15.0	15.0	21.3	6.3	17.3	9.7	10.8
Food								
Daily calories per inhab. 1968/69	2,880	--	3,180	2,960	3,030	2,990	3,180	3,240
% of animal source	40	--	39	39	40	36	40	40
Protein in grams per person	81	--	100	81	84	84	88	96
Dwellings per 1,000 inhab. 1969	13.4	--	8.2	8.6	9.7	8.6	7.7	7.7
A Rural	A	B	A	A & B	A	B	A	B
B Urban	11.3	24.5	25.7	10	4.9	2.7	2.2	4.6
1-2 rooms	57.8	33.4	48.9	60.5	30.1	34.1	35.7	37.6
3-4 rooms	26.3	19.0	20.0	23.2	43.7	49.3	52.2	51.0
5-6 rooms	4.9	3.1	5.5	6.2	16.3	14.0	9.9	6.9
7 rooms								21.0
Running water (%)	98.1	--	96.5	99.5	96.7	96.7	99.5	98.9
Electricity (%)	99.6	--	99.4	100.0	99.2	99.2	?	?
Gas (%)	--	--	90.3	71.3	92.2	92.2	65.7	65.7
Radio licenses per 1,000 inhab. 1969	370	342	314	468	244	289	324	1,431
TV licenses	288	106	185	231	197	143	263	392
Telephones	478	181	141	172	216	417	218	523
Passenger cars	253	187	240	199	165	200	208	410

Source: Statistisk Årsbok för Sverige, 1971 [Statistical Abstracts of Sweden]; Central Bureau of the Statistics.



As to the number of passenger cars the following must be taken into consideration. If the more densely populated countries had the same number of cars per 1,000 inhabitants as Sweden, the countries would be faced by insurmountable problems. The problems caused by the increasing number of cars are big as they are.

The conclusion that must be drawn from all these data is that the quality of life in Sweden is not any better than in the other European countries. In some respects it is even worse. The following information further supports this conclusion. In "Sweden Now" appeared the following comparison<sup>52</sup> with the United States for early 1972.

	<u>Sweden</u>	<u>United States</u>
Average blue-collar income	\$ 6,270	\$ 7,400
Taxes	<u>2,200</u>	<u>1,400</u>
Left for spending	4,070	6,200
Prices		
36 eggs	2.50	1.00
1 lb. boiled ham	3.13	1.39
1 lb. steak	2.19	1.29
1 lb. apples	1.15	0.39
1 lb. coffee	1.49	0.59

Prices have gone up since then and wage-increases have been counterbalanced by reduction in working hours. It is, therefore, not surprising that there was a demonstration of housewives, and that everywhere one hears complaints about the high cost of living. Many people cannot afford to eat meat more than about twice a week. In the restaurants in Stockholm one sees mainly foreigners or single men and women, the majority of whom have to stay in town for business.

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<sup>52</sup>"Let 'em Eat Steak!" What's Happening at Large in Sweden, Sweden Now, VI, No. 2 (February, 1972).

There are complaints about much time lost in traveling from the homes in the suburbs to work in Stockholm, and about the high rents that must be paid. Mothers must go out to work to make ends meet. Families with children can also get state-subsidies for rents, however. These were recently increased.

Furthermore there is a serious shortage of dwellings in greater Stockholm. Practically 90 percent or more of all housing is built by the public authorities and people may have to wait a year or more before a home is assigned to them. Evidently the homes have been wrongly planned because dwellings with some five rooms are empty. They are too expensive.

Some of the highly advertised, centrally planned suburbs are bitterly criticized by many Swedes. They are considered unwholesome for children and "typically consumer oriented." Great attention has been given to shops and their turnover and to efficient parking space and supply-lines for the shops, while little attention has been given to space for children to play and romp.<sup>53</sup> There are relatively few one-family homes and the majority of the apartments have two to three rooms. One official explained that only recently an awareness for the needs of children has emerged. Politicians have been too much

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<sup>53</sup>"How Do You Want Your City?" Sweden Now, VI, No. 2 (February, 1972), 21-23.

occupied with other social issues to give attention to this social aspect.<sup>54</sup>

The final conclusion must be that the quality of life in Sweden is relatively poor, especially for children. This is important for the later discussion of youth problems, which are also ascribed to the poor living conditions of the children, to the bad suburbs, and to working mothers.

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<sup>54</sup>Personal observations; conversation with Rector Norden's folk high school; Sweda News 70.03.09 SN 73 (a mimeographed handout); Skärholmen, Production A.B. Svenska Bostäder (Stockholm, 1968); Vällingby, A.B. Svenska Bostäder, n.d., (mimeographed handout); Skärholmen Shopping Center, Sweda News, Sn. 72 A., n.d.; Vällingby, A.B. Svenska Bostäder (Stockholm, 1966); and conversation with Mr. Just Gustavsson, Bostadstyrelsen, Stockholm.

## CHAPTER IV

### TRENDS IN FORMAL EDUCATION

Because of the arguments about early education, it is of interest to mention that pre-school education has hardly played a role in Sweden, and that compulsory education only starts at age seven. However, because of recent developments something must be said about pre-school education.

#### Pre-Elementary Education

This education is not regulated by the National Board of Education. It is the responsibility of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare and its executive body--the National Welfare Board. This indicates that in Sweden children under seven are not "instructed" but "taken care of."

There are in Sweden a great many and a great variety of nursery and pre-elementary schools or centers. Not all of these are subsidized because there is a great shortage of funds and of qualified teachers, or, rather, supervisors. Formal instruction is not given in any of these schools or centers, though children may, if they desire, play with puzzles and games with numbers and letters. Parents are discouraged from teaching their children to read and

write before they go to the comprehensive school. Doing so might cause children to be bored and difficult to handle in the first grade in school.<sup>1</sup>

There are proposals to change this situation, however, In her Report to the Swedish Social Democratic Party, Alva Myrdal<sup>2</sup> presses for compulsory pre-elementary education from the age of five or six. This is mainly suggested as a means of promoting social equality. The general opinion is, however, that for some time to come there will be no money to implement this proposal. It would require drastic organizational changes and more buildings and teachers.

There are also proposals to make education compulsory between the ages of six and fifteen instead of seven and sixteen, as is the case now. This would yield a material gain. Educational costs would not rise and the labor market would be supplied with an extra year group. Educationalists are not in favor of such an early educational start however. It is not in harmony with the Scandinavian tradition and with modern developmental psychology. Prof. Husén<sup>3</sup> is of the opinion that Swedish children read quite well for their age and that

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<sup>1</sup>Maud Helling of the Child Welfare Board, personal information received, later confirmed by teachers.

<sup>2</sup>Towards Equality [First Report of the Working Group on Equality set up by the Swedish Social Democratic Party and the Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions] (Stockholm: Primas Books, 1971).

<sup>3</sup>Torsten Husén, Professor at the Institute of International Pedagogics, Stockholm University, personal information received.

the International Mathematics Test<sup>4</sup> showed that a late start was no disadvantage.

While pre-school education, therefore, is in fact nonformal education, there are pressures to turn it into formal education. During the course of the centuries the same trend has been observable in elementary and lower secondary education.

Elementary and Lower Secondary Education:  
Up to the Second World War

It is of interest to note that official education in Sweden started from the top and gradually spread to the lower educational levels.

Though there were no official elementary and secondary schools, the university at Uppsala was established in the 15th century, mainly to be ahead of Denmark, which country planned a university in Copenhagen. In the 17th century the university of Lund was established to win the allegiance of the young people of the territory which had belonged to Denmark so long. Preparation for entrance into these universities was mainly offered by church-related provisions for the training of prospective clergymen.

In 1649 the first Swedish school law was made with the help of the Moravian/Polish educationalist Comenius, but this only referred to secondary education, which was divided into a lower and upper level, to cater for students with different objectives. Elementary education remained somewhat haphazard.

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<sup>4</sup>Torsten Husén, International Study of Achievement in Mathematics [a comparison in twelve countries], Vol. I (New York: John Wilkin, 1967).

In 1686 a Church-law bound every parish "clerck" to teach reading to the children in the parish and every parson to examine the their literacy. Often literacy was made a pre-requisite for the obtaining of a marriage license. This worked so well that a century later there were few illiterates but also few parish schools. Most instruction was given in the homes. This situation lasted until the beginning of the 19th century.<sup>5</sup>

Under pressure of liberal elements in the Riksdag a bill was passed in 1842, forcing every parish to establish a school board and at least one school teaching the four R's up to an unspecified level. The rector was to be president and the local minister the secretary of the school board. There was no compulsory attendance and nothing was stipulated about curricula and books. In spite of strong farmers' opposition, the costs were to be borne by the local communities. There was a strong emphasis on religious instruction and on drill. The quality of the various schools varied greatly and the financial burden for the communities was heavy, though over one-third of the children continued to receive home-instruction. This caused the schools to be looked upon as "charity schools."<sup>6</sup>

The teachers, with the support of liberal elements in the Riksdag tried to make the schools into true "folk schools" but a

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<sup>5</sup> Stewart Oakley, A Short History of Sweden (New York: Praeger, 1966); Christina Staël von Holstein Bogoslowsky, The Educational Crisis in Sweden [in the light of the American Experience] (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932).

<sup>6</sup> Rolland C. Paulston, Educational Change in Sweden (New York: Frederick Praeger, 1966).

bill to that effect was defeated in the Riksdag. Also a later proposal for an eight-year "folk school" as the one and only foundation school was rejected, though in 1894 a three-year elementary school was made a pre-requisite for admittance to the state nine-year grammar school or gymnasium. Thus, up to the end of the 19th century elementary schooling had been in fact nonformal and private.

Ten years later the success of a three-year common school was offset, however, when the Riksdag divided the nine-year gymnasium into a lower-level six-year "Real school" and a three- or four-year upper-secondary school, which was required for university entrance. This crushed all hopes for a true common school of some six years for all children.

In 1918 the franchise reforms and socio-economic changes created a more favorable climate for democratic school reforms. A practical trade-school was established, building on the folk school and providing for a rigid separation between practical and academic training. The establishment of a trade-school was desirable in view of Sweden's industrialization.

The rigid separation between academic and vocational training was seen as undemocratic, however. In the same year the "Great School Commission" was established to look into the entire educational system, and to suggest provisions for the training of girls for the labor market, for the teaching of new farm-techniques, and for the giving of moral and social training which earlier had been given in the apprenticeship programs. Furthermore, ways had to be found for the gradual abolition of private schools.



The recommendations of the Commission more or less maintained the existing system, but proposed a six-year common elementary school, followed by a four year "Real school" and a three-year Gymnasium, building on the "Real school." It furthermore suggested a six-year state secondary school for girls after the common school.

The proposal, which came in a period that Sweden experienced a great economic depression, met with great opposition, and the whole matter was left dormant.

In 1924 the Conservative Government rejected the proposal and appointed a new commission. This time it was made up of five educational experts. Their assignment was to look into the possibilities of giving grants to the severely disadvantaged rural youth, of extending the freedom of private schools and of preventing the extension of the common school. Emotions ran high. The anti-socialist said that the socialists wanted to achieve peacefully what the Bolsheviks had introduced by force. The Socialists saw the opposition to the six-year common school as mainly based on the professional interests of the university-trained secondary school teachers. A middle group pleaded for a four-year common school. This was based on a remark made by the Minister of Education that it would be possible to retain a three- and a four-year common school until the different schools could have proved their relative merits.

A great number of amendments had made the matter extremely confused, however, and the position of the Social Democratic Party in the Riksdag was such that the Party feared to put the bill to the vote. Therefore, a "Special Committee on Schools" was appointed.

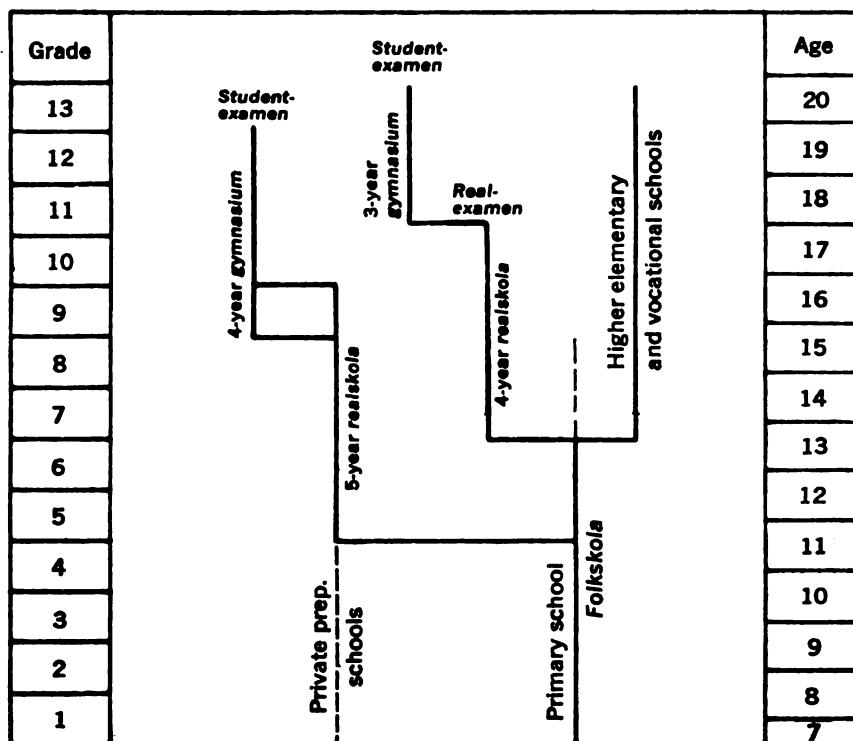
Through "manipulating and dealing"<sup>7</sup> a bill could be drawn up in this committee which could be accepted in parliament in 1927. This made it possible for a four- and a six-year common school to exist side by side, but the latter was privileged in a number of ways. The three-year common school was abolished and the private and semi-private schools were put in extremely difficult positions.

As the following diagram shows the pattern thus became: four years common school followed by five years of "Real school" and six years common school followed by four years of "Real school."

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## EDUCATIONAL CHANGE IN SWEDEN

Figure 1 C. Structural Organization of the Swedish School System: The Compromise of 1927 for a "Double Connection" to Secondary Schooling. (Source: *Ecklesiastikdepartementet* [38c], pp. 40-47. Normal schools not shown.)



Source: Paulston, *Educational Change in Sweden*, p. 46.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 45; Torsten Husén, *Problems of Differentiation in Swedish Comprehensive Schooling* (Stockholm: Svenska Bokförlaget, n.d.).

Both led to the upper-secondary school, the Gymnasium and the "studentexamen" which gave entrance to the university.

Next to the "Real school" were possibilities for entering a vocational school or taking "higher elementary" courses in the common school.

The diagram does not show that there was also a "Practical Real school" and the "Girls schools." These latter schools offered more practical education since they were established to prepare girls for the labor market.

Like the "Real schools," the "Girls schools" could be entered from the fourth and from the sixth grade of the common school, but then offered courses which were two years longer than those of the "Real school," giving seven- and six-year courses. This made it possible for the girls to enter the Gymnasium at some later stage. They later also accepted boys.<sup>8</sup>

The "Girls schools," therefore, more or less overlapped part of the Gymnasium and could, in a way, be compared with the present upper stage of the comprehensive school and the two-year continuation school which is now incorporated in the Gymnasium (see upper-secondary education).

The new system was gradually introduced, so that in 1932 it was in operation all over the country. For many years many municipalities kept providing separate but equal public-supported secondary

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<sup>8</sup>Jonas Orring, *School in Sweden* [a survey of primary, middle and secondary education] (Stockholm: SÖ forlaget, 1969); and Swedish statistical yearbooks.

education for girls, however. Even in 1971 there were still some girls schools in which there were also some boys enrolled.

School curricula and the disadvantaged position of rural youth had received little attention. The great depression detracted the attention from educational problems. After the great depression financial resources did not allow of educational reforms and economically desirable extensive social reforms, and the Social Democratic Party had always seen education mainly as a means for introducing political, economic and social reforms. Therefore, the highly controversial educational issue was left dormant.

Furthermore, the interest in more secondary education had never been very strong among the working classes, and had even diminished during the depression. High unemployment among professionals made it desirable that secondary education be selective. Therefore, the main attention was given to raising the minimum standards all over the country, so as to make for more equality of opportunity in this way. The establishment of more trade schools was stimulated and in 1936 compulsory education was extended from six to seven years. This put the disadvantaged rural children in a better position.

To make for equality with respect to school-district expenditure, the State was made responsible for school buildings and teachers' salaries. Herewith education came under stronger centralized control.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Paulston, Educational Change in Sweden.

Summing up the developments until the Second World War, one may say that:

1. Until late in the 19th century elementary education has been largely nonformal education, but that illiteracy was practically non-existent.
2. After that period the educational system made for selection at very young ages.
3. The rural youth were at a considerable disadvantage.
4. The educational reforms had been achieved by a great deal of manipulation and in the face of great opposition.
5. The educational reforms were inspired by social and economic principles rather than by educational ones.
6. Trade-schools to meet the requirements of Sweden's industrialization were not established until 1918 so that until that date also skills-training was nonformal.
7. The majority of the population had no more than 6 years of formal education when the First World War broke out.
8. Sweden experienced its economic "Period of Greatness" while the majority of the people had only had such a "poor educational basis."

#### Developments in Elementary and Lower-Secondary Education Since the 1940's

Such was the situation up to the Second World War, when the country realized the need for more national unity and a moral and

cultural re-armament. This called for a closer look at the entire educational system.

In 1940 the Conservative Minister of Education appointed a "Committee of Educational Experts" to make a scientific and comprehensive study of the entire educational system, including recruitment, selection and wastage. The Committee was made up of four experts. Three of them favored early selection on the basis of educational theories. Furthermore, it would make time of study shorter for the able pupils and make for more homogeneous classes which would improve motivation. The fourth expert, while recognizing that gifted children would profit from early selection, disagreed because his preliminary findings suggested that practical ability is difficult to assess before late adolescence.

None of the political parties and interest groups were against extending compulsory education *per sé*. The Liberals and the secondary school teachers pressed, however, for adequate planning and experimentation before making any decision. The Communists came with their own proposal and specific directives. These are of interest in that they have gradually all been introduced. They demanded a nine-year compulsory comprehensive school, followed by a three- or four-year Gymnasium for practical, academic, technical, commercial and general studies for all youngsters. They furthermore demanded abolition of all examinations and the use of state-made textbooks.

Gunnar and Alva Myrdal, sociologists of international fame and important members of the Social Democratic Party, supported the comprehensive school and described in glowing terms the effectiveness

of the American comprehensive school in inculcating democratic behaviors and attitudes.<sup>10</sup>

High unemployment and a strong demand for skilled labor, necessary for the production of high-quality goods, detracted the attention from the issue, however.

After the war, in 1946, a "Political School Commission" was installed to study the problem. The Social Democratic feeling was that differentiation into various schools is too much based on social factors. Furthermore, it was feared that the increasing demand for further education, and the elite character of the "Real school" would make for a creaming off of students who were not only high in intellectual but also in practical ability. This would create a shortage of workers with a high general ability and would widen social gaps and therefore endanger democracy. The L.O. feared that it would endanger future socialist and labor dominance. Consequently, the "Political Commission" proposed an integrated nine-year compulsory school including vocational training. Differentiation between vocational, general, and academic studies should not take place before the ninth grade. It should then be based on student electives and the use of standardized enrichment syllabi.

The opinions about the proposal were again divided, but even before it had been put to the vote in parliament, the Commission invited municipalities to join in experimental activities for the implementation of the proposed changes. This was bitterly criticized

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

as irregular and as a bid for popular support to present the Riksdag with a "fait accompli."

Because emotions about the proposal ran high, it was referred to a Special Committee. By adding the phrase "in so far as the planned experimental work demonstrates the suitability thereof"<sup>11</sup> to the bill, it could be accepted in parliament. The Conservatives and the Agrarians, however, took this phrase to mean that the introduction of the nine-year school would depend on the results of experiments, while the other parties took it to refer to the structure of the nine-year school. The misunderstanding was discovered directly after the passing of the bill in 1950 and caused a great deal of resentment. The Social Democratic reading of the phrase was of considerable influence on later educational reforms.

It was generally accepted that after the 1950 reforms no major changes should be introduced but that there should be a continual adaptation as circumstances demanded, the so-called "rolling reforms" to keep the system flexible.

As soon as the bill had been passed the changes were gradually introduced in the various municipalities because many of them lacked the funds for immediate introduction.

The ninth grade was divided into three sections; gymnasium preparatory, general, and vocational. The last section was subdivided into seven "lines" or streams. In the seventh grade, however, students had to choose groups of subjects which were to form the

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 137; and Husén, Problems of Differentiation in Swedish Comprehensive Schooling, p. 33.



basis for later choices of lines. English was started in grade 5, in keeping with the custom of starting that language in the first grade of the "Real school."

Soon it proved that it is easier to introduce organizational changes than to give these changes educational content. There were no curricula and no suitable books for the new type of instruction, which had to be based on "activity learning." The teachers had not been trained for the new tasks. They found it almost impossible to cope with the great differences in ability in one class, and with the lack of interest among the students.<sup>12</sup>

To meet with the complaints, the Board of Education gave permission for the introduction of differentiation according to ability in the "basic subjects" such as English, arithmetic, physics and chemistry. The result was that soon more than three-quarters of the classes were differentiated in a first and second level. This yielded a differentiation according to subject choices and according to ability level. This eliminated much of the differences between the new schools and the still existing lower secondary schools.<sup>13</sup>

In the early half of the 1950's, evaluative comparisons were made between the two school types. These were in favor of the old school types and many academically-minded students transferred to the

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<sup>12</sup>Paulston, Educational Change in Sweden; Sixten Marklund and Pär Söderberg, Die neunjährige Grundschule in Schweden, Verlag Julius Beltz (Basel, 1969), p. 56.

<sup>13</sup>Paulston, Educational Change in Sweden; and Marklund and Söderberg, Die neunjährige Grundschule in Schweden.

"Real school" and the "Girls school" after the fourth and sixth grades. The transfers after the sixth grade made for the introduction of shorter courses in the "Real school" and the "Girls school." The result was that these schools had three different courses. The "Real school" thus had a course parallel to the three upper grades of the comprehensive school and the "Girls school" a course of three years after the six-year elementary school, followed by<sup>14</sup> two years of practical/theoretical education. Table IV-1 gives an impression of the developments. The figures show that the enrollments in the new courses in the lower-secondary schools increased disproportionately. This seems to indicate that the separate lower secondary schools were preferred over the comprehensive school and over the possibility of staying at the elementary school for further elementary education, in places where the new comprehensive school had not been established yet.

Since the students in the "Real" and "Girls school" were taught by university-trained subject teachers, the increased enrollments in these schools caused a shortage of such teachers in the upper three grades of the comprehensive school. Teachers preferred working in the old types of schools. This situation caused a decree to be issued that all pupils had to attend the comprehensive school up to and including the sixth grade. This not only meant the gradual elimination of the five-year course of the "Real school" and the seven-year course of the

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<sup>14</sup>Husén, Problems of Differentiation in Swedish Comprehensive Schooling; and Marklund and Söderberg, Die neunjährige Grundschule in Schweden.

TABLE IV-1.--Enrollments Beyond Seventh Grade.

Year	Common School	Comprehensive School				"Real School"				Girls School			
	Grade 8 and Higher No.	Grades 8, 9 No.	Grades 7, 8, 9 No.	Grades 7, 8, 9 % age 13-15	5-yr. course % age 11-15	4-yr. course % age 13-16	3 yr. course % age 13-15	Practical % age 13-15	7-yr. course % age 11-17	6-yr. course % age 13-18	5-yr. course % age 13-17		
1942	3,272	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--		
1945	3,925	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--		
1950	6,525	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2.77	0.32	--		
1951	7,546	--	--	--	9.36	16.80	0.01	3.76	--	--	--		
1952	8,246	--	724	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--		
1953	9,779	683	2,235	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--		
1954	10,834	2,155	4,992	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--		
1955	12,298	3,972	7,897	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--		
1956 <sup>a</sup>	22,812	6,046	11,117	5.52	11.06	38.35	1.33	8.70	3.68	0.51	0.01		
1957	21,940	8,005	15,492	4.69	7.87	25.95	1.25	4.48	2.87	.49	0.06		
1958	26,058	11,545	22,327	6.15	6.25	25.22	2.48	4.41	2.43	0.57	0.19		
1959	30,985	17,509	29,712	7.78	4.69	24.37	5.25	4.48	1.97	0.59	0.63		
1960	39,459	21,485	43,826	11.25	3.20	22.78	8.45	4.50	1.52	0.74	1.19		
1961	37,644	32,281	65,012	16.87	2.01	20.47	10.45	4.53	1.12	0.43	1.78		
1962 <sup>b</sup>	33,882	46,554	95,517	25.21	1.36	18.09	11.65	4.43	0.78	0.35	2.29		
1963	26,350	71,606	123,229	33.45	1.14	15.50	10.53	3.87	0.47	0.28	2.33		
1964 <sup>c</sup>	22,603	95,498	156,957	44.13	0.90	13.04	9.74	3.05	0.34	0.16	2.12		
1965	18,176	114,530	179,812	54.41	0.72	11.25	8.45	2.16	0.25	0.11	1.64		
1966	14,926	125,588	202,188	61.18	0.40	8.39	6.66	1.33	0.19	0.07	1.06		
1967	8,419	144,169	230,309	70.77	0.13	6.41	5.02	0.74	0.14	0.05	0.61		
1968	5,138	164,771	252,627	78.86	0.05	4.37	3.31	0.42	0.10	0.04	0.34		
1969	1,582	175,471	271,304	84.13	0.06	2.57	1.75	0.20	0.04	0.03	0.21		
1970	1,662	190,507	291,630	90.12	--	1.24	0.57	0.09	0.03	0.01	0.12		

Source: Swedish Statistical Yearbooks.

<sup>a</sup>1956 Law: Transfer before end of sixth grade forbidden.<sup>b</sup>1962 Law: All children had to stay in Comprehensive Schools until ninth grade.<sup>c</sup>1964: Continuation School established, more or less overlapping last two years of Girls School.

"Girls school," but also a compulsory six-year common school, which had been proposed but not accepted earlier. It did not stop transfer after the sixth grade, however, and the enrollments in the new courses in the "Real school" and the "Girls school" increased by leaps and bounds as can be seen on Table IV-1.

The transfers to the separate lower-secondary schools deprived the three top grades of the comprehensive schools of the most academically gifted students. It depleted the enrollments in these grades so much, that in some places the gymnasium-preparatory classes could not even be formed. This and the introduction of ability levels in the comprehensive schools made further comparisons between the various school types impossible or irrelevant.

In 1957 a "School Commission" was installed, however, to study the differentiation within the comprehensive school. It was found that at the age of thirteen there are considerable ability differences among students but that no system of differentiating was better than another. But since "in the last analysis, the school reform had been a political question . . ." <sup>15</sup> the following reforms were introduced by an act of parliament in 1962.

1. In the upper department of the comprehensive school a common nucleus of subjects was introduced, which could be supplemented by optional subjects or groups of subjects. Ability levels were only allowed for English and mathematics.

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<sup>15</sup> Marklund and Söderberg, Die neunjährige Grundschule in Schweden.

2. To do away with socially inspired options for the more academic streams, the vocational lines should no longer be called "vocational," but by their respective names.
3. Children who had problems could be placed in the special classes which had been an old feature in the Swedish educational system. The number of such classes should be increased in the rural areas.
4. All lower-secondary and municipal vocational schools should be abolished.
5. A new "Continuation school" should be established which was to be more theoretical than the old vocational schools and less academic than the old commercial and technical gymnasias.
6. Private schools paralleling the public schools should not be given public support.

The new reforms were a logical result of the measures taken in 1956 and the government interpretation of the ambiguous amendment in the 1950 act, which had caused so much misunderstanding and disagreement.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>Urban Dahllöf et al., Secondary Education in Sweden (Stockholm: National Board of Education Publishing Dept., 1966); Orring, School in Sweden; and Marklund and Söderberg, Die neunjährige Grundschule in Schweden.

The Situation Resulting from the  
1962 Act

The situation resulting from the 1962 act was that:

1. The children were all forced to go to the public comprehensive school.
2. Only two streams in this school led to gymnasium entrance.
3. The other "theoretical streams" were preparatory for the new "Continuation school."
4. The practical streams were not "vocational" in the real sense of the word, but prepared for further vocational education.

Again, all kinds of practical problems were encountered.

Funds, buildings and teachers were in short supply. In some municipalities it was impossible to form all lines or streams because the population base was too narrow. Therefore, municipalities had to be fused. Many students chose the more academic lines in spite of the new measures, and most of these choices were based on status-considerations rather than on interest. The low enrollments in the less academic lines made it uneconomical to offer some of such streams.

The new development showed that the social objectives had not been reached. It was found that there was a large correlation between choice of theoretical subjects in the comprehensive school and later enrollments in the Gymnasium. This situation required further educational reforms in 1969.

### The Present Situation

The nine lines or streams in the ninth grade have been abolished, but four new optional subjects are being offered, starting in grade seven. Also students can work on freely elected subjects during two hours a week. The curriculum is "modernized" to improve motivation, and English is started in grade three.<sup>17</sup> For the organization and time tables now effective, one is referred to Appendix D.

### Summary and Conclusions With Respect to Developments Since the 1950's

The reasons given for the introduction of the various reforms as given above are those given by various official bodies and persons. These, however, never mentioned the findings of a highly controlled research done by Professor Sjöstrand, on which he lectured and gave information in publications. He found that in homogeneous classes students had a much more positive attitude towards students of different social backgrounds and a more realistic view of their own abilities. In the heterogeneous classes the poorer students thought themselves duller than they actually were, while the bright students thought themselves brighter than they actually were.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>The Swedish Institute, Education in Sweden, Fact Sheets on Sweden, Classification FS 29 e Em; and The National Board of Education, The Comprehensive School in Sweden: The Nine-Year Compulsory School (Stockholm: Utbildningsförlaget, 1970).

<sup>18</sup>Prof. William Sjostrant, Pedagogical Institute, Uppsala, personal information.

With respect to the introduction of English in the third grade, official and unofficial informants agreed that this was merely based on a predilection of the Social Democratic Party for the "direct method." This method must be used if English is to be started at such an early age, only two years after the beginning of formal instruction in the mother tongue.<sup>19</sup>

### Conclusions

With respect to the reasons for the reforms one cannot but conclude that again, educational and psychological considerations played practically no part in them. That they could be introduced was the result of earlier political manipulations, which made further opposition to new reforms irrelevant and unprofitable. The new reforms are part of the "rolling reforms" which had been decided on earlier.

As to individual freedom of choice, it is clear that the reforms have progressively limited such choice for the sake of social equality. The necessity that all students follow practically the same curriculum in the comprehensive school has caused this school to become purely a preparatory school for further education, which may be more, or less, academic. In actual fact, the reforms have, therefore, prolonged compulsory education, because vocational preparation in the comprehensive school has practically been done away with. This, of necessity, has influenced upper-secondary education.

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<sup>19</sup>Torsten Husén, personal information received.



### Upper-Secondary Education

While the battle about the comprehensive school raged, the upper-secondary school, the Gymnasium, consisted of three different types; a general gymnasium preparing for university entrance, a technical gymnasium and a commercial gymnasium. The technical gymnasium had a three-year course leading to an engineering diploma and a two-year course which was more practically oriented. The commercial gymnasium had two and one year courses, all more or less practically oriented.

To bring upper-secondary education more in line with the new principles underlying the comprehensive school, a "Secondary School Committee" was established in 1960. It found that enrollments had increased steadily since the middle of the 1940's. (This increase can, therefore, not be ascribed to the 1950 educational reforms at the lower level.) Furthermore, it was found that due to the fact that the number of officially available places was restricted, 25 percent of the applicants for the Gymnasium had to be rejected. Finally, it was also found that the lower socio-economic classes were under-represented, though less so in the technical and commercial gymnasias. A prognosis for 1970 showed that the liberal arts and natural science sections would have to be reduced, while the technology and economic sectors had to be expanded.<sup>20</sup> These findings are of interest in view of the later developments, which will become apparent from the tables showing the changes in enrollments (Table IV-2).

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<sup>20</sup> Dahlöf et al., Secondary Education in Sweden; and Orring, School in Sweden.

TABLE IV-2.--Enrollments Beyond Seventh Grade: Percentages of Age Groups.

Year	3-4 Year Gymnasium			3-4 Year New Gymnasium			2 Year Theoretical/Practical; % 16-17				2 Year Vocational Full-Time % 16-18		
	Total % 16-19		Liberal Arts Soc. Sci. % 16-18	Economics % 16-18		Natural Science % 16-18	Economics	Social Science	Technical	Total	Technical	Domestic	Total
	Technical % 16-19	Commercial % 16-18											
1950	7.57	1.14	0.59	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
1956	11.25	1.17	1.07	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	8.37
1957	12.09	1.32	1.06	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	10.24
1958	13.05	1.45	1.08	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	12.70
1959	14.32	1.59	1.13	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	14.72
1960	15.61	1.73	1.16	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	9.53	1.98	14.89
1961	16.54	1.99	1.23	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	9.90	2.01	15.36
1962	17.40	2.22	1.57	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	10.21	2.04	15.98
1963	18.61	2.62	2.35	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	10.64	2.27	16.93
1964 <sup>a</sup>	19.21	3.02	3.01	--	--	--	0.40	0.55	0.73	1.87	11.39	2.59	18.42
1965	20.68	3.40	3.73	--	--	--	0.97	1.29	1.70	3.96	12.32	2.73	19.89
1966 <sup>b</sup>	21.97	4.29	4.06	5.53	1.31	2.77	1.76	1.64	2.85	7.09	12.66	2.69	20.48
1967	23.20	4.43	4.92	7.42	2.96	5.64	2.43	4.08	3.41	9.91	12.54	2.83	22.12
1968	22.68	4.07	5.12	11.82	4.52	8.60	3.06	6.11	3.21	12.73	11.87	3.74	23.46
1969	24.32	4.73	5.42	11.53	4.92	9.60	3.69	7.64	3.93	15.25	12.21	4.00	24.88
1970	24.93	4.81	5.60	11.89	4.96	9.60	4.36	8.83	4.58	19.25			23.97

Source: Swedish Statistical Yearbooks.

<sup>a</sup>Continuation School established.<sup>b</sup>Continuation School incorporated in Gymnasium.Notes: Secondary School Committee found that liberal arts and natural sciences should be reduced! This evidently was not achieved. Vocational Schools were incorporated in 1971.

On the basis of the Committee's recommendations, Parliament decided in 1964 that upper-secondary education should be made to contain the Gymnasium, the Continuation school and the Vocational schools. Together they should form an integrated whole, supplemented by an adult education system, which would make it possible for adults to acquire gymnasium qualifications (more about this latter point will be said later, under "Alternative Modes of Education").

Based on teacher availability and requirement prognoses, it was decided that by 1970, 30 percent of every year group should attend the Gymnasium section, 20 percent the Continuation school and 30 percent the Vocational school sections. Possibilities for transfer from the one to the other should, however, exist and entrance requirements should be the same for all types of upper secondary education.

The various types of upper-secondary education should be housed in one building and should have five main lines or streams of study: liberal arts, social sciences, economics, natural sciences and technology. The distribution of the various main subjects over the different levels and types of schools is shown in Appendix D. Each main line is subdivided into sublines, which in their turn have variants and subvariants. Most of variants should not be chosen before the second year, though in the first year some differentiation should be possible through optional groups of subjects. Besides these lines and variants there are also special courses of varying length. Some of these can be taken directly after the comprehensive school but most are taken at a more advanced stage.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>The National Swedish Board of Education, The Integrated Upper Secondary School: Three Schools in One (Stockholm: Utbildningsförlaget, 1971).

Mathematics must be studied by all students, though courses of different levels of difficulty should be offered. All students, with the exception of those in the technical lines, should study three foreign languages, but there must be a free choice as regards to the third language. In the vocational lines also English must be studied.

The two-year theoretical/practical (Continuation school) lines should provide education at an intermediate level in both goal-directed and general education, with a common nucleus of subjects for all students. There should be a social science, an economics and a technological line, however, with sub-alternatives.

The two-year vocational school lines should be more goal-directed and practically biased. To increase the attractiveness of practical education, all sectors should offer equivalent alternatives to the other lines. The various three- and two-year lines should all be housed in the same building. Only under special circumstances can a continuation or vocational school be established where no gymnasium existed.<sup>22</sup>

All this led to the introduction of the "New Gymnasium" in 1966, which was made up of the old Gymnasium and the new Continuation school. In 1971 also the Vocational schools were incorporated into the New Gymnasium which from then on is called the "Gymnasium School" with its twenty-two lines.

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<sup>22</sup>Dahlöf et al., Secondary Education in Sweden; and Viljar Nairis, Second Secretary to the National Board of Education, personal information received.

From that date on all students leaving the comprehensive school enter the same upper-secondary school. For enrollment changes due to this, see Table IV-2.

The changes in upper-secondary education made organizational and administrative reforms necessary. All over the country gymnasias should be available and the following plan has been developed.

### Administrative Organization

For upper-secondary education, the country is divided into more than 100 educational areas, each of which has at least one Gymnasium. For reasons of economy, the areas must be such that each Gymnasium-school can have a minimum number of parallel classes with a minimum number of students. This is necessary to be able to form a reasonable number of lines to offer the various options. Some lines need a wider recruiting area than others and are, therefore, not offered in all Gymnasium-schools. If a certain line is not offered in an area, a student in such an area can apply for admittance in another Gymnasium which does offer the line. Only very rarely will a student be allowed to attend a Gymnasium school other than the one in his area for any other reason but the one just mentioned. A free flow of students would upset the carefully planned distribution of places in the different lines, levels and areas.

Each gymnasium area is again divided into a number of areas offering upper-level comprehensive school education. Also these schools must have a minimum number of students in a minimum number of classes. Just as not all Gymnasium-schools can offer all lines, not

all comprehensive schools can offer the upper grades. In such cases students are allowed to travel to another area.

The various schools are planned in such a way that normally students do not need to travel more than a certain time to reach the school. The lower the grade they are in, the shorter the time required for traveling must be.

### Conclusions

The conclusions that must be drawn from what has been said about the new upper-secondary education are that:

1. Students' freedom of choice is further restricted.
2. The new organization requires the establishment of mammoth schools.
3. The decisions are again based on social-philosophical and economic reasons rather than on educational-psychological ones.

It is obvious that the changes in the lower educational levels have had a significant influence on developments in higher education.

### Tertiary Education

Like most European countries, Sweden has two types of tertiary education: university and non-university. The latter is usually at a somewhat lower and more practical level, and often has somewhat lower entry requirements. In the course of the years non-university higher education has sometimes been included into the universities. Engineering is taught in various "Institutes of Technology," which

stand in very high esteem and are certainly not considered inferior to universities.

In general, one may say that a three-year gymnasium education is required for entrance into an institute of higher learning at university level. This means to say that, thus far, it has been impossible to enter a university from the various two-year streams.

In Chapter II limited entrance of certain higher studies has been discussed. Entrance into the faculties of Liberal Arts, Social Sciences, Theology and Law is free in Sweden. The only limitations are that for the various faculties certain subjects must have been taken in the gymnasium, and that for studies requiring laboratory work the entrance is restricted. The study of other subjects is not only restricted to set numbers, but students will only be accepted for such studies if they have a very high grade-point average at the end of their gymnasium career. Consequently, competition is fierce. For enrollments in the various faculties, see Table IV-3.

The various faculties are again subdivided into various fields of study. The times required for the obtaining for the first degree vary from three years for the faculties of philosophy, to three and one-half years for theology and five and one-half years for medicine. In pharmacy one can choose out of two courses, one four-year course to become a pharmacist and a one-year course to become a dispenser. The latter requires two years of previous practical traineeship, however.

The time in which students in the unrestricted faculties get their first degrees is usually a year longer than the time officially set for it.

TABLE IV-3.--Enrollments: Higher Education (Percentage of Age Group or Student Body).

Year	University Higher Education % age 19-24	Humanities: General and Soc. Studies % of all Students	College of Soc. Studies % 18-24	Various Other Higher Vocational % 18-24	Non-University Teacher Training % 18-24	Total Non-University Higher % 18-24
1950	5.19	37.94	0.12	1.55	1.06	2.73
1951	--	38.93	---	--	--	--
1952	--	40.97	--	--	--	--
1953	--	41.63	--	--	--	--
1954	--	43.13	--	--	--	--
1955	--	43.15	--	--	--	--
1956	7.54	41.91	0.17	1.78	0.40	2.85
1957	7.75	44.17	--	--	--	--
1958	8.25	44.70	--	--	--	--
1959	8.78	44.85	--	--	--	--
1960	9.74	46.48	0.13	1.90	0.85	2.88
1961	10.04	45.40	--	--	--	--
1962	10.03	44.96	--	--	--	--
1963	10.15	45.31	--	--	--	--
1964	11.74	52.08	--	--	--	--
1965	13.18	55.57	0.17	1.70	0.89	2.76
1966	15.16	57.84	--	--	--	--
1967	18.96	57.86	--	--	--	--
1968	22.90	58.71	0.31	1.52	1.10	2.93
1969	24.40	58.24	--	--	--	--
1970	27.05	59.40	0.51	1.58	1.58	3.67

Note the increase in the unrestricted faculties.

Source: Swedish Statistical Yearbooks.



The second degree, the licentiate, has been recently abolished. The doctor's degree will now normally require four years of study after the first degree. The work during the four years after the basic degree corresponds roughly to that formerly required for the licentiate. The new doctor's dissertation is of less scope and depth than the old doctor's dissertation.

Many say that, in fact, the old doctor's degree has been abolished while the former licentiate's degree is now called a doctor's degree.<sup>23</sup> The changes have been introduced because it was felt that a doctor's dissertation should not be the apex of academic studies, but the beginning of important research that should be started at a fairly early age.

The responsibility for the implementation of the decisions made in the cabinet and the Riksdag with respect to higher education, rests with the Chancellor of the Swedish Universities, who is appointed by the Government. The Office of the Chancellor of the Swedish Universities makes up the curricula for the various subjects studied at the universities. This is done in consultation with special working groups.<sup>24</sup> More will be said about this point later when proposed changes are discussed.

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<sup>23</sup> Anders Arfwedson, Secretary of the Union of Academic Workers (S.A.C.O.), personal information received; and information from various students.

<sup>24</sup> Ernst Erik Ehnmark, Information Department of the Office of The Chancellor of the Swedish Universities, personal information; and The Office of the Chancellor of the Swedish Universities, A Guide to Foreign Students: Higher Education in Sweden (Stockholm, 1971).

## CHAPTER V

### TRENDS IN ALTERNATIVE MODES OF EDUCATION

As was discussed in Chapter IV, Sweden only had a very rudimentary formal educational system until the end of the 19th century. Up to that time most elementary education was non-formal and mainly home-education. It was not until the beginning of the 20th century that some official shape was given to university-preparatory education in the real sense of the word. Non-formal education in Sweden had flourished, however, for more than 100 years. Such education still contributes a great deal to the general educational level of the Swedish people. Therefore, it is surprising that in comparison to the propaganda made for the new formal educational system and the reforms therein, non-formal education has received so little attention of late years, especially abroad.

The following information gives some impression of the importance non-formal education has had in Sweden. Many present Social Democrats, including the head of the powerful L.O. and the governor of the official Bank of Sweden, have received most of their education in institutions of non-formal education. In 1954, 90 percent of the leaders of the labor movement had received all of its secondary and further education in Folk High Schools and the larger part of the

members of the lower house in Parliament had not attended more than elementary school, followed by non-formal adult education classes or correspondence education. The farmers--who educationally had always been at a disadvantage--representing their party in the Riksdag were well-informed and proud to attend the parliamentary meetings in their farmer's garb<sup>1</sup> due to the non-formal educational efforts in this group.

Little information can be obtained about early trade-education and apprenticeship programs, however. Yet something must be said about them because they acquired such importance later.

#### Vocational Education

Prior to 1950 most young people left school at an early age and received vocational training at the place of work, through company-run vocational schools or in the form of apprenticeships.<sup>2</sup> With the educational reforms in the early 1950's, it seemed necessary that more theoretical education be required for vocational training, and that this could best be accomplished through public vocational schools. In 1952 funds were made available for vocational training. After the introduction of a new law in 1955, vocational education was considered to be on an equal footing with general education. This

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<sup>1</sup>Herman Erickson, "Adult Education and Swedish Political Leadership," International Review of Education, VII, No. 2 (1966), 129-43.

<sup>2</sup>The Swedish Institute, "Vocational Education in Sweden," Fact Sheets on Sweden (June, 1971), Classifications FS 74 EM; Jonas Orring, School in Sweden [a survey of primary, middle and secondary education], (Stockholm: Sö förlaget, Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969); and B. Grünwald, Employers' Confederation (S.A.F.), information received on April 4, 1972.

caused a vigorous growth of Swedish Trade Schools. In 1962 the trade schools were brought under the local boards of education, together with the basic school, the continuation school, and the gymnasium. Some trade schools were, however, also run by county councils and private persons. Table V-1 gives an impression of the enrollments in various types of vocational courses.<sup>3</sup>

Courses in trade schools may be run full-time or part-time, for one or more years or for any shorter periods. The part-time courses are now included in adult education while the full-time courses are made part of the gymnasium schools. Trade schools are classified as local or central according to the size of their geographic recruitment base. Schools at county level include central trade schools and county council schools. There are differences in the range of subjects that are taught in the various schools and county councils have sometimes taken over schools from localities.

Before the educational reforms, youngsters could enter some form of vocational training after six or seven years of elementary schooling. Later vocational education could only be started after the ninth grade, though in some cases it is possible to get such education in special institutes in the ninth grade.

As has been discussed, vocational training received in the comprehensive school does not prepare for the job market, and youngsters have to go to a vocational school after the comprehensive school. With the introduction of more formal subjects in the

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<sup>3</sup>The Swedish Institute, "Vocational Education in Sweden."

TABLE V-1.--Enrollments: Vocational Education.

Year	County Council and Central Workshops		Municipal Trade-Schools		Private: Voc. Ed.		Employers: Voc. Ed.		Total Non-Public		Total		Full-Time and 2-Year		Full-Time and 2-Year: Industrial and Technical	
	No.		No.		No.		No.		No.		No.		% age 16-18		% age 16-18	
1950 <sup>a</sup>	80,484	--	--	7,670	--	--	7,670	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
1951	83,209	--	--	8,993	--	--	8,993	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
1952	88,463	--	--	9,140	--	--	9,140	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
1953	94,911	--	--	9,332	--	--	9,332	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
1954	99,343	--	--	10,022	--	--	10,022	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
1955 <sup>b</sup>	108,080	--	--	10,679	--	--	10,679	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
1956 <sup>c</sup>	115,156	--	--	10,931	--	--	10,931	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
1957	115,088	--	--	10,726	--	--	10,726	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
1958	4,467	--	118,886	12,610	1,942	1,942	12,668	28,645	15.25	10.24	10.24	10.24	10.24	10.24	10.24	10.24
1959	5,390	--	125,185	12,976	2,864	2,864	15,471	36,471	19.07	12.70	12.70	12.70	12.70	12.70	12.70	12.70
1960	6,109	--	134,502	13,850	3,553	3,553	10,629	44,674	21.34	14.72	14.72	14.72	14.72	14.72	14.72	14.72
1961	6,657	--	143,343	14,101	4,563	4,563	18,413	49,426	21.13	14.89	14.89	14.89	14.89	14.89	14.89	14.89
1962 <sup>d</sup>	6,898	--	136,013	14,270	5,873	5,873	19,974	56,017	22.20	15.36	15.36	15.36	15.36	15.36	15.36	15.36
1963	7,720	--	139,521	14,007	6,208	6,208	20,478	61,341	23.52	15.98	15.98	15.98	15.98	15.98	15.98	15.98
1964	8,298	--	147,331	12,387	5,967	5,967	19,974	66,231	25.42	16.93	16.93	16.93	16.93	16.93	16.93	16.93
1965	7,881	--	152,691	21,156	5,620	5,620	18,007	71,362	27.86	18.42	18.42	18.42	18.42	18.42	18.42	18.42
1966	18,779	--	123,295	18,354	4,728	4,728	23,082	74,087	30.30	19.84	19.84	19.84	19.84	19.84	19.84	19.84
1967	25,483	--	139,413	19,401	5,062	5,062	24,463	77,836	31.67	20.48	20.48	20.48	20.48	20.48	20.48	20.48
1968	21,534	--	121,252	17,175	4,071	4,071	21,246	80,012	38.31	23.46	23.46	23.46	23.46	23.46	23.46	23.46
1969	23,823	--	132,380	16,543	4,146	4,146	20,689	82,573	37.47	24.88	24.88	24.88	24.88	24.88	24.88	24.88
1970	25,092	--	128,042	15,890	4,729	4,729	20,619	78,998	38.39	23.97	23.97	23.97	23.97	23.97	23.97	23.97

Source: Swedish Statistical Yearbooks.

<sup>a</sup>Four-year comprehensive education.<sup>b</sup>Subsidies to trade schools.<sup>c</sup>Six-year common school; compulsory; no transfer before grade nine.<sup>d</sup>1962 law: (1) Lower municipal vocational school to be also listed; (2) no subsidies to private schools; and (3) practical/theoretical continuation school to be established.

Note: In 1971 a full-time two-year vocational school was incorporated in gymnasium.

two-year vocational schools, most students must now follow special courses after the two years of vocational training.

With the formalizing of vocational education, large numbers of small vocational schools, largely geared to local demands, are being gradually phased out.<sup>4</sup>

Now the Board of Education makes up the programs for the various courses in the vocational schools all over the country. This is done in cooperation with representatives of the employer's and employee's organization, sometimes with expert advice. Such centrally-made curricula are considered desirable because students may have to move from one region to another, and employers need to know what they can expect of the persons having had a certain type of training. Some regional flexibility is possible through the introduction of extra periods, however, which are left open for extra instruction or training. Practical work must be organized by the municipal school boards and may not be looked upon as apprenticeships.<sup>5</sup> The firms are paid for taking the students.

For office work, eighteen hours of practical work is incorporated in the program, in the technical line practical work is done in the vacation.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Laila Ericksson, Employers' Confederation (S.A.F.), personal information received on February 15, 1972.

<sup>5</sup>Hans Högberg, Division of Information on Vocational Training in the Upper Secondary Schools, State Board of Education, information received in February, 1972.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

With the centrally-made curricula and the introduction of more general education, vocational training has become increasingly formalized. With the incorporation of the two-year vocational lines in the Gymnasium school, this kind of education can hardly be looked upon as non-formal anymore.

As will be shown in the next section, vocational training has a strong influence on enrollments in labor market training, which must still be looked upon as partly non-formal.

### Labor Market Training

Unlike most European countries in the European continent, Sweden has no law concerning apprenticeship programs, because the unskilled could always get jobs and profit from the programs run by the industries.<sup>7</sup>

Though vocational training and apprenticeship programs are very common and old in most European countries, labor market training programs were introduced to train people for the new demands after the Second World War. In most countries they became gradually less important.<sup>8</sup> In Sweden, however, they have become increasingly so, as is shown on Table V-2.

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<sup>7</sup>Torbjörn Sundqvist, Vocational Rehabilitation Division, National Labour Market Board, information received on February 11, 1972.

<sup>8</sup>Margaret S. Gordon, Retraining and Labor Market Adjustment in Western Europe (Berkeley: University of California, Institute of Industrial Relations, 1969); and Beatrice Reubens, The Hard to Employ, European Programs [a report prepared for the Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, under Research Contract No. 26331-26244], (New York: Columbia University, 1970).

TABLE V-2.--Average Number of Persons in Labor Market Training in Sweden.

Year	Total		Beginners		Retraining		Further Education		On-the-Job in Industry		In Educational Institutions	
	No.	% Labor Force	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1960	6,580	0.18	1,006	15.28	3,622	55.04	234	3.55	397	6.03	1,181	17.95
1961	8,127	0.22	1,198	14.74	4,657	57.03	292	3.59	533	6.80	1,119	13.77
1962	10,117	0.28	1,229	12.14	5,629	55.64	369	3.64	811	8.01	1,273	12.58
1963	12,460	0.33	1,646	13.21	6,317	50.70	637	5.11	1,223	9.81	1,534	12.47
1964	13,706	0.37	1,757	12.82	6,230	45.45	676	4.93	1,781	12.99	2,297	16.76
1965	15,922	0.43	1,547	9.72	7,090	44.53	334	2.10	2,718	17.07	3,587	22.53
1966	18,846	0.50	925	4.91	8,651	45.90	172	.91	3,554	17.80	4,904	26.02
1967	23,549	0.62	805	3.42	11,081	47.06	525	2.14	3,246	13.78	6,550	27.81
1968	29,593	0.77	966	3.26	12,165	41.10	720	2.43	3,759	12.70	9,281	32.38
1969	31,564	0.82	921	2.92	11,742	37.20	617	1.95	4,024	12.74	11,868	37.60
1970	33,883	0.86	651	1.92	10,749	31.72	444	1.31	4,946	14.60	11,784	34.78

Source: Labor Market Statistics No. 11 (1971), Årgång, p. 19.



The table does not only show an enormous increase in enrollments but also that various types of courses are offered. Increases are especially great in on-the-job training and in training in regular educational institutions. Also the share of women in the training programs has become increasingly great.

Before discussing this type of education further, something must be said about its organization.

This part of the Swedish educational effort is the responsibility of the Ministry of the Interior and the costs are borne by this ministry. The policies with respect to labor market training rest on the official Social Democratic attempt at reaching full employment and the principle that it is better to create work for the unemployed and/or make them follow training and retraining programs, than to pay them unemployment benefits. Furthermore, retraining is considered necessary to keep up with the changing job-requirements.

The policies decided upon by the Ministry of the Interior are administered and put into effect by the National Labour Market Board, which in its turn is governed by a board made up of representatives of the main interest groups in Sweden--the various unions, the employers' confederation and the agricultural sector.

There is, furthermore, a "Joint Committee for Retraining Matters," which is an advisory body consisting of representatives of the Labour Market Board, the National Board of Education, the Employers' Confederation and the various organizations of employees.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Sundqvist, information received on February 11, 1972; Arbetsmarknadsstyrelsen [National Labour Market Board, AMS], Labour Market Ordinance, SFS 1966: 368 (Stockholm, February, 1971;

A large proportion of labor market training is arranged by the National Board of Education. This board is then responsible for the courses from an administrative and educational point of view, including premises, training, curricula and supervision, instructors, textbooks, and equipment.

Many courses arranged by the National Board of Education are given in 50 permanent training centers in the country. About 300 curricula have been prepared for the special courses, of which 200 were being used in 1970/71. The average training period was six months.

As Table V-2 shows, training can also be given within industries but paid for by the Labour Market Board, or in the regular school system, also paid for by the Labour Market Board.

Local unemployment offices select trainees on the basis of psychological tests, aptitude and individual interests. Trainees receive allowances, depending on marital status and number of children.

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mimeographed); National Labour Market Board (AMS), Vocational Rehabilitation in Sweden [memorandum from the Vocational Rehabilitation Division], (December, 1971); Håkan E. Håkanson, Vocational Training of Unemployed Persons, Etc. [information memorandum, English original], (Stockholm: National Labour Market Board, September 11, 1962); The Swedish Ministry of Labour and Housing, Swedish Labour Market Policy (January 12, 1972; mimeographed handout, S.103 10); National Labour Market Board, Swedish Employment Policy (reprinted from the Board's Annual Report for July 1, 1970-June 30, 1971); Bertil Rehberg, Active Manpower Policy in Sweden (reprinted from "The Three Banks Review"; Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark, Ltd., June, 1969); The Swedish Institute, "Active Manpower Policy in Sweden," Fact Sheets on Sweden (July, 1970; Classification FS 6 c Oha.); and Kristina Össvik, "Labour Market Training in Sweden," (Stockholm: National Labour Market Board, November 19, 1971), (Mimeographed).

Although it is mainly the unemployed that receive labor market training, also some employed persons follow the programs. Enterprises must give advance warning of lay-offs and shut-downs so that, if necessary, the workers can get retraining while still employed.

In high-unemployment areas the government may stimulate, or practically force an enterprise to start a factory to create jobs for the people in the areas. These persons must then be trained to be able to do the new jobs. Persons in such bad areas may also be stimulated to move to some other, more favorable, parts. In that case they receive guidance and, if necessary, traveling allowances, apart from training, from the National Labour Market Board.<sup>10</sup>

Great attention is also given to handicapped persons, employment in sheltered workshops and the installation of special provisions in industries to enable these people to perform a job with their special handicap.

It is clear that with the increase and extension of general education, also the numbers of persons in labor market training have grown. It is, therefore, of interest to investigate what the ages are of the persons who receive the latter type of training, seen in relation to the ages of the persons in the labor force. These data are shown in Table V-3. This table shows that:

1. In 1970/71, 29 percent of the trainees was under 24, while in 1970 this age group only made up 18 percent of the labor force.

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

TABLE V-3.--Age Distribution in Labor Market Training and in the Labor Force.

Age Distribution in Labor Market Training: 1970/71			Age Distribution in the Labor Force: 1970			
Age	%	Percentage Women	Total Starting Labor Market Training	Age	% of Labor Force	Unemployment Rate
-18	2.4	37.2	2,161	--	--	--
18-20	8.5	48.7	7,550	--	--	--
21-24	18.1	44.4	16,078	--	--	--
-24	29.0	41.2	25,789	-24	18.0	2.9
25-34	29.6	50.8	26,241	25-34	21.8	1.4
35-44	20.4	58.2	18,133	35-44	19.3	0.9
45-54	15.8	60.6	14,040	45-54	21.4	0.9
55-	5.2	49.0	<u>4,581</u>	55-	19.5	1.7
			88,784			

Sources: Labor Market Training in Sweden; and Arbetskrafts Undersökning, 1970/71.

2. The workers of under 24 suffered from much higher unemployment.
3. Women in the age group 25-55 made up more than 50 percent of the labor-market trainees, suggesting that many of these were women who wanted to re-enter the labor market after having raised a family.
4. Unemployment among workers of 35-55 is extremely low, while these persons have had the least formal education, suggesting the importance of practical experience.
5. The percentage of workers of 35-55 in labor market training is relatively low if one takes into consideration the large percentage of women who get training for re-entering the labor market.

These data make it of interest to study the type of education received by the persons in labor market training in relation to the educational backgrounds of the persons in the labor force. Table V-4 gives some information on this point. This table shows that:

1. A year of vocational education makes a significantly favorable difference, especially if the percentage of persons with such education in the labor force is taken into consideration.
2. The persons with some nine years of basic education are over-represented in labor-market training programs, especially if the percentage of persons with this education in the labor force is taken into consideration.

TABLE V-4.--Educational Background in Labor Market Training and in Labor Force.

Previous Schooling on Entering Labor Market Training 1970/71	%	Previous Schooling in Labor Force 1968			
		% in Labor Force	Unempl. Rate 14-24	Unempl. Rate 25-44	Unempl. Rate 45-
1. Less than present comprehensive school	61.0	59.6	3.14	2.18	1.99
2. 1+ at least one year vocational training	10.0	16.3	3.13	1.81	1.11
3. Basic education of $\pm$ 9 years	17.0	9.0	4.25	1.18	- .47
4. 3+ at least one year of vocational training	6.0	10.9	4.14	1.10	- .70
5. Comprehensive school + 2/3 year theor. ed.	4.0	2.3	--	--	--
6. 5+ at least one year vocational training	1.0	2.5	4.44	1.08	- .43
7. University degree or equivalent	1.0	0.6	--	--	--
Totals			3.63	1.75	1.60

Sources: Labor Market Training in Sweden; and Medelanden fran utrednings byran, 1967:12.

3. Persons with some nine years of basic education in the age group 14-24 suffer most from unemployment.
4. As regards employability, it is better to have had a year of vocational training than two to three years of theoretical education after the comprehensive school.
5. In view of the small percentage of university graduates in the labor force, such graduates are over-represented in the labor market training programs.

### Conclusions

The conclusions that seem to be indicated by the combined data are that increased general education and more theoretical education have increased rather than diminished the necessity for expanding labor market training. In 1970/71, 2.7 percent of the labor force started such training. In 1970 the average number of persons receiving such training was 43 percent of the number of students enrolled in long-term vocational courses (see tables). For the financial year 1971-72, the appropriation for labor market training<sup>11</sup> was 600 million Swedish Krone, and it is expected that it may become more.

In view of the fact that a large percentage of the trainees is under twenty-one, it is of importance to draw the attention to the earlier-mentioned fact that there is a drive to include general educational subjects in the industry-oriented and other vocational courses. Persons who left the formal educational system for the

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<sup>11</sup>Ossvik, "Labour Market Training in Sweden."

very reason that they could not cope with such subjects, may be forced to take them if they are to receive labor market training and the allowances that go with it. This is important because not all persons receive unemployment benefits. One must have been a member of some union for a stipulated time and one cannot become a member unless one has worked in a certain field for a certain period of time.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, persons just entering the labor market may have no option but study the subjects which caused them to discontinue schooling. This is a cause of discontent.

Finally, it must be mentioned that persons in labor market training, like those on some form of relief work, are not counted as unemployed. If these were included, the unemployment rates would be appreciably higher.

Apart from the official labor market training there are also private courses.

#### Private Training and Retraining Programs

Educational and training programs offered by firms and organizations also play an important part in the total educational effort in Sweden.

Businesses and industries engage in education and training for their employees. Of the 350,000 salaried staff, about 100,000 are estimated to receive some form of training during the year.

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<sup>12</sup> Anders Arfwedson, Sveriges Akademikers Centralorganisation (S.A.C.O.), information received in February, 1972.



It is estimated that about 0.2 to 2.0 percent of the companies' turnover is spent on training and personnel development.<sup>13</sup>

Furthermore, the Employers' Confederation (the S.A.F.) organizes courses for persons employed in the member firms and selected by them for future development. The costs are borne entirely by the companies. The programs include courses in management, supervisory work on different levels, and in business rationalization. In 1968 the S.A.F. organized 741 courses with 13,800 persons attending at a cost of 12 million Swedish Krone.<sup>14</sup>

Finally, the Cooperative movement offers training to ensure the supply of qualified persons for holding office in the movement, but also comprehensive training is available to all personnel, including theory and practical work. In 1968 the Cooperative Union (K.F.) conducted 180 courses attended by 4,120 employees. The majority of the courses lasted a week or more and the costs of the study programs was 3,780,000 Swedish Krone.<sup>15</sup>

#### Government Correspondence Schools

At two government schools adult education is offered according to the syllabi of the upper level of the comprehensive school, the

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<sup>13</sup>Swedish Ministry of Education, Adult Education in Sweden (Stockholm, 1970), p. 22; and The Swedish Institute, "Education in Sweden," Fact Sheets on Sweden (August, 1970), classification FS.39.

<sup>14</sup>Folke Haldén, "Business and Education" [a lecture given at the Swedish Employers' Conference], Business and Education (S.A.F., n.d.); and Swedish Ministry of Education, Adult Education in Sweden, p. 22.

<sup>15</sup>Swedish Ministry of Education, Adult Education in Sweden, p. 23.

continuation school and the gymnasium. The instruction is a combination of correspondence courses and classroom work. During 1969-70 alternating correspondence and classroom tuition was given to 5,600 students at both schools together. Courses were started in 1968.

Since 1969 one of the schools also operates with remote control tuition. Any student registered at the school is able to call in to obtain solutions to or help with study problems at any time of the day or the night. For the fiscal year 1970-71, the costs were budgeted for 10.2 million Swedish Krone.<sup>16</sup> About the results of these courses, little is known yet.

#### Radio and Television Courses

These courses were started in the spring of 1970. Programs for mathematics, sociology, psychology, problems of the developing countries, the labor market, and family relations were offered. Course books are published. The courses are on gymnasium level and are also used in the correspondence schools and the local adult education courses. (The latter will be discussed presently.)

Apart from these courses, the Swedish Broadcasting Company also teaches foreign languages and in recent years immigrants have been able to learn Swedish by radio. In 1970-71 the government gave a subsidy of 10.6 million Krone for radio courses.<sup>17</sup>

This is the official information. In practice one hears very little about these courses. It is hard to assess their popularity and results.

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 19.

### Local Evening Gymnasium Schools

This form of adult education needs some special discussion. In 1953 private evening gymnasias were established. The students could get recognized credits for their studies, could take one or more subjects at a time and could obtain university entrance when certain required subjects had been taken.

Because of the flexibility of these schools, many students preferred them over the formal gymnasias in spite of the fact that fees had to be paid while formal education was free. In Stockholm alone 20,000 students were enrolled.

When the government realized the importance of these schools for the raising of the educational level of the under-educated, an act was passed that municipalities should establish free evening gymnasium courses, offering subjects taught in the upper levels of the comprehensive school and in the various gymnasium lines. The private schools, realizing that they could not compete with the free municipal schools, handed their institutions over to the municipalities. Since July, 1968 there has, therefore, been an official municipal adult education system.<sup>18</sup>

Instruction is given by regular school teachers and often courses are given in regular schools. Detailed regulations have been made with regard to when a school for elective subjects can be established, when a school must have a permanent headmaster and/or a dean

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<sup>18</sup>Peter Hammerberg, Rektor of Folkuniversitetet and Kursverksamheterna, Stockholm, information received in March, 1972.

of studies. There are formal entrance requirements for various levels and formal certifications.<sup>19</sup>

According to the statistics for 1970, 61.5 percent of the students had nine years of comprehensive schooling or more. The total number of students was some 87,000 of which some 51,000 were women. The figures indicate that contrary to the intentions, the evening gymnasias have little attraction for the less educated (see Table V-5).

The older, less educated persons in general prefer to join the study circles, while those with more education are attracted to the evening gymnasias. This is one of the reasons why entrance to the evening gymnasias has been limited and there has been put a limit to the growth of these types of schools. The available places have to be reserved for persons with less than nine years of schooling or for older persons. The figures show that the majority of the students are women, presumably because they wish to re-enter the labor force.

A point of concern to the authorities is that evidently the free and voluntary associations are better able to contact and attract the people with little education. The question is asked if informal education had better be made formal<sup>20</sup> or formal education be made informal. Formal adult education costs considerably more money.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Gunar Andersson, Department of Adult Education of the National Board of Education, information received in March, 1972.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

**TABLE V-5.--Evening Gymnasiums: Enrollments in Various Levels and Educational Backgrounds.**

In Gymnasium and Special Technology Courses										Continuation School						
Year	Age -20		Age 21-30		Age 31-		Total	Women	Age -20		Age 21-30		Age 31-			
	Total	Women	Total	Women	Total	Women			Total	Women	Total	Women	Total	Women		
1968	25,332	14,008	4,012	2,370	12,586	6,509	8,734	5,129	657	209	86	23	292	68	279	118
1969	34,882	19,751	4,117	2,402	17,081	9,076	13,684	8,273	3,667	2,171	395	179	1,387	668	1,885	1,324
1970	44,523	26,042	5,025	2,472	21,859	11,545	18,139	11,525	5,004	2,038	537	247	2,017	607	2,450	1,184

Lower Secondary School; Grades 7-9										Grand Total	
Year	Age -20		Age 21-30		Age 31-		Total	Women	Total	Women	
	Total	Women	Total	Women	Total	Women					
1968	11,394	6,769	1,510	886	4,037	2,129	5,847	3,754	37,383	20,986	
1969	23,222	14,072	1,928	1,064	7,969	4,343	13,325	8,665	61,771	85,994	
1970	37,438	23,072	3,191	1,786	12,777	7,017	21,470	14,269	86,965	51,150	

Educational Backgrounds of Students in 1970		Percent
Schooling		
Swedes less than 8 years of education		19.2
Foreigners, various		6.1
8 years or more		8.9
9 years Comprehensive education		7.4
No vocational schooling		8.8
Some form of Gymnasium (plus vocational)		12.8
Some form of Continuation schooling		3.8
"Real" and "Girls school"		28.7
		61.5

**Source: Swedish Statistical Yearbook.**

Among those formerly running the private evening gymnasia<sup>22</sup> there is a strong feeling that it would have been better if the schools had been left in private hands. The municipal schools do not only cost a great deal of money, but limit the opportunities for the better educated.

### The Folk High Schools

While the various forms of education thus far discussed in this chapter are all of fairly recent origin, the Folk High Schools have a long history and have played an important part in Sweden's development and, therefore, need special discussion.

### Historical Development

When in the middle of the 19th century educational opportunities for rural people were poor, agricultural groups cooperated in establishing schools to better equip the young farmers who had only had a rudimentary education. They also wanted the young generation to get some practical instruction and training in farming.

In 1868 some university men and agrarian politicians founded the first Folk High Schools. There was some discussion whether these should be called farmers' schools. More than half of the schools established between 1868 and 1893 had an agrarian character.

The first school was fortunate in getting a young doctor in geology as a teacher. He had a talent for popularizing subjects in his lectures and textbooks. He stressed the importance of a general education plus practical knowledge, such as information about the

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<sup>22</sup>Hammerberg, information received in March, 1972.

soil, sowing, and harvesting. The teachers at this school later became headmasters of Folk High Schools in other parts of the country.

The impetus for this kind of education had come from the Danish theologist, philosopher, romantic poet and hymn-writer, Grundvigt. In reaction to Kierkegaard's individualism, he stressed the importance of fellowship and the necessity of a "school for life." He believed that knowledge of the mother tongue, national history, and literature were more important than knowledge of mathematics and other abstract subjects. While Grundvigt had stressed collectivism, the Swedes who founded the first Folk High School attached great importance to individualism. This is probably due to the fact that the majority of the Swedes had lived under a kind of paternalistic rule, as has been discussed earlier. Consequently, the early Folk High Schools gave a great deal of attention to political science, economics, and law, to prepare the people to take political responsibilities. The students were not only theoretically trained in the holding of meetings and conferences, but they had to participate in imaginary ones and were taught to keep minutes. It must be remembered that the farmers, forming the fourth estate in the Riksdag, had often been "used" by the kings to obtain absolute or near-absolute power.<sup>23</sup>

In the 19th century the overwhelming majority of the students at the Folk High Schools came from farming homes. The laboring classes often felt that they were not welcome in the Folk High Schools,

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<sup>23</sup>Ingemar Wezelius, Sweden in the Sixties (Uppsala: Almqvist and Weksell, 1967); and Stewart Oakley, A Short History of Sweden (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966).

and in the early 20th century there were heated discussions whether or not Folk High Schools should admit industrial workers from urban areas.

In 1906, however, a Folk High School was established whose headmaster was a Social Democrat with appreciation for the consumers' cooperative movement. The school soon got the reputation of being a nest of socialism and its future was threatened. To save the school various popular movements and especially the labor movement awarded scholarships to its members to study at this school, which became the best known school affiliated with the labor movement. In 1920 the Confederation of Labor Unions--the L.O.--established a special school for future union leaders at the same place.

The gap between rural and urban youth was further closed when high unemployment during the 1920's and 1930's ushered the working classes, more or less unwillingly, into the Folk High Schools. Some schools were even started to absorb the unemployed youngsters. The present governor of the Bank of Sweden, the chairman of the L.O. and many politicians belong to the unemployed youngsters who received their education in a Folk High School.

Though the gap between urban and rural youth had thus been closed, there still was sex-discrimination.

From the start, nearly all Folk High Schools ran longer, so-called winter courses--extending over a period of more than twenty weeks--for men and shorter summer courses for women. The length of the courses was largely determined by the sowing and the harvesting seasons, so that in the south of Sweden the winter courses were usually shorter.



In the beginning of the 20th century, women were gradually admitted to the winter courses but the number of girls attending such courses did not catch up with the number of men until after the outbreak of the Second World War. During the post-war years about 50 percent more girls attended Folk High Schools than men, but in recent years enrollments have been about evenly divided among the sexes (see Table V-6 for enrollments).

#### Administration, Finance and Curricula of the Folk High Schools

In the early days the Folk High Schools were financed by private individuals and organizations. In 1862 a law made it possible, however, for the communes to support this kind of education within their area of jurisdiction.

A decade later Parliament passed a bill making it possible for Folk High Schools to receive small state grants, and during the 20th century the government has contributed more and more to the operating expenses (see Table V-6).

Today the government pays the teachers' salaries and many other expenses and the Folk High Schools have come under the supervision of the Adult Education Division of the National Board of Education. This board must approve a school before it qualifies for support. The board decides on who qualifies for appointment as headmaster or teacher at a school. The County Council or the popular movement sponsoring the school can then choose among the approved names.

TABLE V-6.--Folk High Schools: Enrollments and Public Expenditure.

Year	Enrollments			State Expenditure in Million Swedish Krone	
	No.	% of Pop. 18-50	Females No.	Total	Per 1,000 Students
1950	8,825	- .27	--	--	--
1951	8,960	--	--	--	--
1952	9,350	--	--	9.69	1.00
1953	9,990	--	--	10.26	1.03
1954	10,433	--	7,288	13.52	1.30
1955	10,481	--	7,219	14.11	1.35
1956	11,077	0.34	7,482	14.76	1.33
1957	11,698	6.36	7,749	12.58	1.07
1958	11,887	0.37	7,616	16.52	1.38
1959	12,088	0.38	7,683	16.45	1.38
1960	12,216	0.38	7,821	20.66	1.69
1961	11,748	0.37	7,360	23.94	2.03
1962	12,257	0.38	7,379	25.80	2.10
1963	11,957	0.37	6,776	29.65	2.48
1964	11,387	0.35	6,165	35.09	3.08
1965	11,329	0.34	6,157	41.66	3.68
1966	11,313	0.34	5,836	45.67	4.03
1967	11,857	0.35	5,936	56.19	4.74
1968	13,003	0.38	6,492	53.61	4.12
1969	12,838	0.37	6,637	95.19	--
1970	13,722	0.40	7,428	--	--

Source: Statistical Yearbooks; own computations.

Whereas at first the Folk High School enjoyed a great freedom as regards subjects and curricula, much of this freedom was curtailed as government support and supervisions increased.

According to the original statute, each Folk High School was free to pursue its own educational objectives as long as it adhered to the general requirements of: instilling a sense of responsibility as humans and as members of society; strengthening the will of the students to cooperate, to think critically, to have a positive attitude and to take an interest in study.

By a new statute, introduced in 1958 and amended in 1969, however, regulations were introduced as regards length of the courses and curricula.

In the early days of the Folk High Schools the winter courses ran for only one year. Later, a second year was introduced and during the 1930's many of the schools added a third year. Today students who have spent two years in a Folk High School after having completed the nine-year comprehensive school, or three years after the older and shorter compulsory school, may compete on an equal footing with graduates of vocational schools to gain admission to more advanced and specialized institutions, such as the schools of journalism, institutes of social science, normal schools and some other non-university institutes of higher education.

With the increase of the years of study and the qualifications that could be obtained, subjects also were prescribed for the schools. For the annual courses, music was made obligatory. In the first year Swedish, literature, history, civics, psychology, chemistry,

biology and hygiene must be taught. Otherwise each school is still free, within its charter, to decide on its own program.<sup>24</sup>

The prescribing of these subjects and the possibility of entrance into schools of higher education, if certain requirements have been met, have given rise to a tendency to make the teaching more formal and to introduce extra, more formal subjects.

In spite of this, the various schools differ in ideological and philosophical focus and in vocational directedness. Some Folk High Schools are practically vocational schools.

#### Population and Enrollments

Because of the origin of the Folk High Schools practically all of them are boarding schools. They take students of both sexes and of all ages but only rarely younger than eighteen. A number of places in each school must be reserved for students with some kind of handicap. These may be students recommended by the psychologists of the National Labour Market Board, or they may be persons just released from prison or persons with some other social handicap. There is a general feeling, however, that the handicapped should not form the majority of the student-population. This might make the schools institutions for misfits and detract from the favorable influence of interaction between persons with and without problems and from all walks of life. Such interaction is made easier by the fact that lack of money need not deter anyone from coming to a

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<sup>24</sup>Swedish Ministry of Education, Adult Education in Sweden, pp. 13-16; Frederic Fleisher, Folk High Schools in Sweden (Halmstad: The Swedish Institute, 1968); and Fritiof Ander, The Building of Modern Sweden (Rock Island, Ill.: Augusta Book Concern, 1958).

Folk High School, since students can get grants and loans. In many cases studying and living at a Folk High School may be cheaper than boarding and studying elsewhere.<sup>25</sup>

It was feared that with the extension of compulsory education and the educational boom in the formal system, the Folk High Schools would lose their popularity. Until recently the opposite has been true, but in 1971-72 such a decrease has become noticeable. In some quarters this is ascribed to the teaching for qualifications and the more formal approach to education, which have done away with some of the very important differences between this education and that offered in the formal educational system. For it is not mainly the older, under-educated persons who seek admission to Folk High Schools, but somewhat more educated persons who are interested in a "different" kind of education.<sup>26</sup> University students may come for a year or so to find themselves and then finish their studies later. Many students have had a period of practical work experience and a great percentage of these students take other kinds of positions later (see Table V-6).

Nordens Folkhögskola "Biskop  
Arno," Balsta

This Folk High School is more or less special in that it strives after giving more informal and less subject-oriented

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<sup>25</sup> Åke Leander, Rector Nordens Folkhögskola Bishop Arnö, Balsta, information received in March, 1972; and Åke Leander, "Change and Essence" [Frederic Fleisher Folk High Schools in Sweden], p. 20.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

education. The school aims at creating awareness of the dangers by which modern democracies are beset. Attention is given to the fact that fewer and fewer people can influence and manipulate more and more people by means of the mass media and data and computer banks. Therefore, subjects dealing with these problems form an important part of the curriculum. Problems like the increasing feeling of alienation, dissatisfaction and powerlessness are studied. Attention is also given to the growing problems caused by urbanization. The students are stimulated to try and find new solutions to these problems rather than to prepare themselves for job qualifications and entrance into institutions for higher learning.

While, as was mentioned earlier, there has recently been a decrease in applications for admittance in the Folk High Schools, the Nordens Folk High School, with its different orientation, still enjoys a growing popularity. Students of all classes and ages apply for entrance to get away from the "rat-race" to take a critical look at the world from a new perspective.<sup>27</sup>

It is curious to note that the objectives of this school, which are so much in keeping with some of the earlier ideals of the Folk High Schools, have made it difficult--at least in the beginning--to get official subsidies. It was said that the goals of the school did not fit the official concept of adult education, which has become more subject-oriented. This reflects the official position towards adult education which came to the fore in the OECD Statement and

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

Mr. Palme's comments, discussed in Chapter II.<sup>28</sup> The official shift in the concept of adult education from the more non-formal to the more formal is also illustrated by the fact that the private evening-gymnasias could not be subsidized because they were too formal to be classified as adult-education. More will be said about this subject under the following section, "Study Circles," and in Chapter VI.

### Summary

The conclusions that may be drawn from what has been said about the Folk High Schools is that:

1. They have contributed a great deal to the general educational level in Sweden.
2. They are mainly attended by younger people who seek a "different" kind of education.
3. There has been a growing trend towards more government influence and more formal education, and an incorporation of the Folk High Schools into the formal educational system.
4. The Folk High Schools were originally privately financed but these days the government invests a great deal of money in this kind of education.

For 1970-71 government aid to these schools was 76.7 million Swedish Krone. Of this amount 73.8 million krone was for school operation and 3 million Krone for more costly pedagogical facilities

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<sup>28</sup>OECD Centre for Educational Research and Innovation, Equal Educational Opportunity [a statement of the problem, with special reference to recurrent education].

and for the improvement of the financial situation of the schools when so warranted. In 1970 the costs per student were about 4,600 Krone (see Table V-6).

### Study-Circles

Another form of alternative education with a long history in Sweden, but of German origin, is the lecture- and study-circle. Thus far this type of education is most informal and most popular among under-educated adults. The large numbers of persons enrolled in study-circles make a special discussion necessary.

### Historical Development

This type of education originated towards the end of the 19th century in the popular temperance, labor and religious movements. The objective was twofold:

1. Create a favorable condition for the movements and the achievement of their goals.
2. Raise the educational level of the largest and most neglected sectors of the population.

In 1906 the first government grants were given to study circle activities, on the condition that the literature used be assembled in libraries available to everybody. Later, these libraries were gradually turned over to the municipalities. Public libraries thus originated in the study-circles.

In 1912 the "Workers' Education Association" (A.B.F.) was established on the initiative of the labor unions, the Socialist



Party and the Cooperative Movement. To some extent the A.B.F. approach has served as a model for the other associations running study-circles.<sup>29</sup>

When the proposal for a true "folk school" was rejected in Parliament, Ellen Key, the great Swedish feminist and pedagogue, counseled the young socialists to:

Continue their work of self-education they have so well begun, and continue it above all within their own class, in their own meetings, in their own lectures.<sup>30</sup>

The various educational reforms were discussed in the circles and the opinions formed there, strongly influenced the attitudes of the popular movements with respect to the reforms.

Though in the early days lectures were most important, these days study-circles have become most important, though lectures still play a part.

#### The Present Organization of the Lecture and Study-Circles

Lectures are given on subjects like political science, international problems, labor market issues, economics, literature, art, drama and music, while also plays are performed and concerts given.

The study-circles are based on group activity. Officially a study-circle is defined as "a group of persons who meet to pursue

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<sup>29</sup>Swedish Ministry of Education, Adult Education in Sweden, pp. 32-37; Birger Norman, The House with Many Windows (Stockholm: A.B.F., n.d.); Arbetarnas Bildningsförbund, Workers' Education in Sweden (A.B.F., n.d.); Tryckeri A. B. Voras, Verksamheten 1970/71 (A.B.F., 1971); and B. Viklund, Trade Union Educational Work (Stockholm: L.O., 1969).

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

a common study of a predetermined subject or group of related subjects."<sup>31</sup> According to the government rules for financial assistance, a circle must have a minimum of five members and not more than twenty. In the A.B.F. the number of students in a circle does not exceed seven.<sup>32</sup>

Each circle has a leader/coordinator who is not to function as a teacher. The leaders are trained to lead groups. The members of a circle have full freedom to discuss and decide on the aim of the study and everything connected with it.

There are no academic or educational requirements for joining any circle. The various associations make up lists of an enormous range of subjects which can be studied and students are free to choose any course in any association. A student or a group of students can also request any of the associations to organize a circle to study a particular subject not offered in the programs. The requests are usually met. (Once the A.B.F. met a request to organize a circle to study Plato.)<sup>33</sup>

Everything possible is done to facilitate participation in study-circles. Study-circle leaders may even go out into the woods to give guidance to a number of lumberjacks in their camps. In Stockholm the A.B.F. circles are practically run on a twenty-four-hour-a-day basis, to accommodate persons in shift work, mothers with small children, etc. In this town the A.B.F. shares a large building

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<sup>31</sup>William Brandt, A.B.F., personal information received in March, 1972.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

with a Folk High School. The building was especially built for the purpose and has small rooms for circles, larger rooms for classes, localities for concerts, a large theater, a pleasant restaurant and inviting corners in lobbies and corridors. Thus, a kind of social home is offered to the members.

In the new suburbs some educational associations have localities in the public libraries.<sup>34</sup>

### Enrollments

Table V-7 gives an impression of the increase of participation during the last years. The figures show that the number of circles has increased from some 38,000 in 1952 to 179,000 in 1969, while the number of students has more than doubled between 1958 and 1969.

Most participants are 30 and over and have had very little formal education. Many pensioned people enroll in study-circles, and many enroll in course after course and often in several courses at a time.

The most striking information the table gives is that the number of students enrolled in a study-circle in 1969 was almost 50 percent of the population of between thirty and seventy-four, and that the number of students has more than doubled--percentage-wise--between 1959 and 1969. One must, however, keep in mind that this percentage may be somewhat high in view of the fact that students may have been counted double because they were enrolled in more than one course. Part of the increase in enrollments must be

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<sup>34</sup>Personal observation during visits.

TABLE V-7.--Enrollments in Study Circles.

1950	No. of Circles	No. of Students	Circles: % of Pop. 30-74	Students: % of Pop. 30-74
1950	--	--	--	--
1951	--	--	--	--
1952	37,920	--	--	--
1953	42,755	--	--	--
1954	48,096	--	--	--
1955	54,750	--	--	--
1956	65,011	--	--	--
1957	73,306	--	1.72	--
1958	78,150	811,132	1.85	20.37
1959	83,560	849,795	1.96	21.21
1960	84,846	858,062	2.09	21.34
1961	92,179	938,247	2.11	23.30
1962	95,548	958,083	2.29	23.71
1963	105,551	1,059,040	2.37	26.51
1964	114,765	1,142,968	2.61	28.81
1965	120,066	1,191,589	2.83	29.31
1966	134,325	1,382,393	2.95	33.92
1967	142,148	1,463,243	3.30	35.80
1968	155,241	1,598,147	3.48	38.99
1968	179,689	1,774,203	4.35	42.94
1970	205,504	2,062,270	4.94	49.61

Source: Statistical Yearbook, Percentages Own Computations.

ascribed to the very active recruiting policies of the educational associations, especially the A.B.F.

What subjects are studied in the various circles is shown on Table V-8. The figures given are for all circles together. One must keep in mind, however, that the popularity of certain subjects may be greater in the one association than in the other, depending on their political or philosophical bias.

### Finance

The popularity of the study-circles is the more remarkable since participants must pay a small fee, while the Public Adult Education classes are free. The various associations do receive government and local grants, however, while part of the costs are covered by the various branches of the associations running the circles. If subjects are taken which are considered to be "general education" or contributing to a smooth functioning of the democracy, the government will reimburse the fees paid by the students. If subjects are considered important for the labor movement, fees can be reimbursed by this labor movement.<sup>35</sup>

For the fiscal year 1970-71 government grants to voluntary education were budgeted for 110 million Swedish Krone. Of this total 89 million Krone were allocated to study-circles and 8.4 million Krone to the organizational costs of the associations and their pedagogical development work.

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<sup>35</sup>Brandt, information received in March, 1972; Ture Karlson, Landsorganisation i Sverige L.O., information received in March, 1972; and Andersson, information received in March, 1972.

TABLE V-8.--Study Circles: Numbers of Circles in Various Subject Groups.

Year	Total	Social Science and Law	Art, Theater Literature Music	Languages	Economics etc.	Religion Psychology Philosophy	Engineering Technology
1950	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
1951	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
1952	37,920	6,491	8,145	7,823	3,007	3,620	2,398
1953	42,755	6,276	9,680	8,324	3,453	4,602	2,681
1954	48,096	6,748	10,922	9,213	4,154	5,080	8,015
1955	54,750	6,083	13,803	10,335	2,439	5,718	8,439
1956	65,811	6,730	10,922	13,400	4,130	5,430	8,015
1957	73,306	8,606	10,994	15,037	5,008	5,182	4,855
1958	78,150	11,465	20,872	16,353	6,004	6,846	4,337
1959	83,560	12,971	22,151	16,581	6,976	7,321	4,126
1960	84,846	11,859	23,344	16,394	7,377	7,885	3,819
1961	92,179	13,458	24,787	17,658	7,804	8,140	3,696
1962	95,548	13,056	31,071	14,197	11,046	14,377	3,592
1963	105,551	12,500	40,776	21,360	13,200	11,955	4,078
1964	114,765	12,156	40,776	24,467	14,240	11,200	3,858
1965	120,066	13,103	44,119	24,800	13,496	10,863	5,630
1966	134,325	11,772	48,155	26,663	15,679	12,089	10,389
1967	142,148	18,403	52,370	27,745	15,486	11,239	4,865
1968	155,241	16,019	54,338	33,231	25,733	11,858	3,678
1969	179,689	36,191	55,558	43,310	18,977	8,693	4,957
1970	205,504	22,783	60,725	67,827	21,771	9,085	5,126

Source: Swedish Statistical Yearbooks.

Note: Most students have six, or at the most seven, years of education and are over 30.

The government contribution to the lecture activities was 1,750,000 Krone. Furthermore, the government paid 75 percent of the leaders' fees and the study material up to a maximum of 20 Krone per study hour. Of this amount a maximum of 15 Krone was payable as the leaders' fee.<sup>36</sup>

The government grants budgeted for 1972-73 were higher than for the previous year, but in view of the enormous increase in the numbers of students, less money was available per circle and per student.<sup>37</sup> This caused a great deal of criticism and anxiety, which was also expressed in the Stockholm papers. What caused much concern was also that the government wanted to attach the condition to the subsidies that certain courses be more formal in approach and requirements. It was feared that this could largely destroy the attractiveness of the circles and that immigrants who came to learn Swedish would thus stay away and be deprived of the social assistance and moral support they used to get in the circles.<sup>38</sup>

#### Private Correspondence Education

Public correspondence education has been discussed but there are also private correspondence schools, of which Hermods is the largest. It is partly a college specializing in individualized correspondence education and partly a producer of teaching materials,

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<sup>36</sup>Swedish Ministry of Education, Adult Education in Sweden.

<sup>37</sup>Andersson, information received in March, 1972.

<sup>38</sup>Brandt, information received in March, 1972.

systems and media. It offers consultative services in the use of new materials and testing methods and supplies individuals and enterprises with teaching aids.

Hermods is a non-profit foundation offering scholarships to students. It does not receive any government subsidies but materials and programs are used and paid for by the Board of Education.

The number of active students is about 180,000 a year and student applications in recent times have amounted to about 90,000 a year. Of the students, 64 percent are male and 36 percent female. Among the students are also old-age pensioners. Of the students, 45 percent taking qualifying courses have attended elementary school only.

Hermods is authorized to conduct school certificate and matriculation examinations with its own teachers acting as examiners.

In the summers oral courses are given to supplement the correspondence education. Government grants are given for attendance of these oral courses in Malmö. Also oral university level courses are given in Lund. In 1970, 3,300 passes in university subjects were awarded.

It is of interest to mention that Hermods has doubts about the efficacy of combining correspondence education with subsidiary material like T.V. and radio.

Little information could be obtained about drop-out rates, which are high in most correspondence courses. Some students



postpone their studies for a period but take them up again at some later date.<sup>39</sup>

Apart from the university level courses offered by Hermods, there are also other courses offered at this level.

#### University Extra-Mural Courses

The Folksuniversitetet is a kind of semi-private university extension organization, of which the universities are co-founders and part-owners. They do not, however, concern themselves with the daily policies and management of the organization.

Courses are offered in a great variety of subjects, depending on demand, and the students can take the university examinations, if they wish. The advantage of the courses is that students can take one or more subjects at a time and can take the examinations whenever they are ready for them. Furthermore, the classes are small and the instruction is given by university professors whom undergraduates never meet in the regular university courses. The professors are pleased to teach the courses because the classes are small and more individual attention can be given to the students. This makes teaching more rewarding. Finally, the professors are well-paid for their extra work. This is important in view of the financial position they are in.

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<sup>39</sup> Hermods, A Brief Guide to Hermods (Malmö, n.d.); Börje Holmberg, Correspondence Education (Kristianstads Boktryckeri A.B., 1967); Swedish Ministry of Education, Adult Education in Sweden, p. 23; and personal information received in Stockholm Office.

Because of all these factors the courses are very popular, even if fees must be paid and normal university studies are free.

Courses are scheduled in consultation with the universities. Because, of late, university enrollments have gone down and the smaller universities find it difficult to offer all courses in certain fields, such courses will not be offered as extra-mural courses.

The Folkuniversitetet also offers study courses abroad and offers exchange programs.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Sommer Universitetet, Program 72 (Stockholm); Hammerberg, information received in March, 1972; and Kvälls Universitetet och Ivak [Program läsaret 1971/72] (Stiftelsen Krusverksamheten vid Stockholms Universitet).

## CHAPTER VI

### EDUCATIONAL GOALS, PRACTICES, PROBLEMS, AND PROPOSALS.

#### Educational Goals

As has become apparent in Chapter IV, the present Swedish educational goals are, in fact, social, economic and political goals. These are: social equality, freedom of choice as to education and occupation, full employment, and a vigorous economic growth. The latter is required to maintain and extend the social measures in the welfare state. As has been pointed out earlier, little attention has been given to the educational and psychological aspects of education. A great amount of research has been done, however, as to the degree in which the educational reforms have met the social objectives, especially with regard to equal educational opportunity. This research has led to new educational policies and proposals. The combined information on the goals and the educational policies is obtained from a great variety of sources, which largely overlap and are, therefore, all mentioned in footnote 1.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The National Swedish Board of Education, The Comprehensive School in Sweden: The Nine-Year Compulsory School 1970 (Stockholm: Utbildningsförlaget); National Swedish Board of Education, The

The research indicates that:

1. Differences in socio-economic background give rise to differences in ability and job-aspirations. This causes a widening of social gaps and an over-evaluation of intellectual abilities.
2. In spite of the earlier educational reforms, the lower socio-economic strata are over-represented in the academic streams in the upper secondary schools.
3. There are regional differences as regards educational equality.

These findings have led to the latest educational reforms.

#### The Present Educational Policies

The main policies can be summed up as follows:

1. Youngsters must attend the same school and study the same subjects for as long as possible to promote social equality and true freedom of occupational choice.

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Swedish 9-Year Comprehensive Compulsory School (printed information sheet, n.d.); National Swedish Board of Education, The Integrated Upper Secondary School: Three Schools in One (Stockholm: Utbildningsförlaget, 1971); Skolöverstyrelsens förlag, Special Number (August, 1971); Skolöverstyrelsen att välja, 71/72 til arskurs 7, 8, 9 [23.8], (Utbildningsförlaget, 1971); National Swedish Board of Education, The Swedish School System [5.6], (1970); Office of the Chancellor of the Swedish Universities (IKA), Some Facts About Swedish Higher Education (1971); Swedish Ministry of Education, 1969 Educational Commission, Motives for Recurrent Education (October 12, 1970); mimeographed memorandum); Sven Elmgren, Head of the Information Department of the National Board of Education, personal information received; Sven Enander, First School Inspector of the Stockholm School System, personal information received; Viljar Nairis, Second Secretary to the National Board of Education, personal information received; and Torsten Husén, Institute for International Pedagogics, Stockholm University, information received.

2. Individualized attention and instruction must be utilized to meet ability differences. This may, however, not entail that abler students can progress faster.
3. Occupational information and practical experience must be given in the schools to promote the making of truly free and sound occupational choices.
4. Great emphasis must be put on the ability to cooperate, to take responsibilities, to be aware of health, social, national and international problems, so that the youngsters may grow up to be responsible citizens.
5. Common curricula and centrally prepared objective tests must be used to promote regional equality.
6. The grading system must be uniform all over the country, to make a fair allocation possible of the available places in the various streams in the upper-secondary schools and in the various faculties in the universities.
7. Curricula, methods of instruction and time tables must be continually evaluated and, if necessary, altered to meet the social and economic requirements of the country.

These policies have led to the following developments.

#### Present Practices

##### Private Schools

Private schools must be eliminated, unless they are experimental and pave the way for new developments. Such schools are undemocratic in that they can afford smaller classes, better teachers

and, therefore, attract students from the advantaged classes. Furthermore, the private vocational schools cannot provide the general education which is considered desirable.

#### Personal State Grants

Personal state grants are given to students of sixteen and over, to promote equality and freedom of educational and occupational choices. These grants must be paid back, in part, later.

#### Books for the Teaching of Theoretical Subjects

Books for the teaching of theoretical subjects must be approved by a special commission in the State Board of Education. This commission is made up of representatives of publishing and printing houses, subject specialists and school principals, and is chaired by a politician. Books must be in keeping with the official social and political tenets.<sup>2</sup>

#### Objective Tests

Objective tests are constructed by the National Board of Education. These must be used in the upper-secondary schools for the most important subjects. Though the use of such tests in the comprehensive school is not compulsory, 90-95 percent of the teachers use them for the main subjects.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>National Board of Education, Testing and Evaluation in Swedish Schools: Some Background Information (Stockholm, 1970), (S-104 22 Bureau L m; mimeographed).



### Grades

Grades must be given on the so-called normal curve. For the entire country the same distribution must be used in all classes. The teachers are not supposed to give grades purely on the basis of the objective tests, however. All achievements in all subjects must be taken into consideration.

The adjusted distribution of marks for those subjects which have tests, are used as general aids for adjusting the distribution of marks in other subjects. This recommendation is based on the well known fact that the means and distribution for a class or group are fairly highly correlated irrespective of subject.<sup>4</sup>

### Continual Information

The National Board of Education must be continually informed about developments in any class in any school in the country. For this purpose a computer system was developed in early 1972, in cooperation with the Bureau of the Statistics. The system will have a data bank with terminals in all local centers. It will relieve the headmaster of much administrative work and will give the National Board of Education a clear picture of trends in enrollments, student options, progress and effectiveness of the various programs. It is hoped that in the near future also data on individual students, their progress through school and through life can be charted and stored in the computer data bank. This, however, requires some special legislation.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>National Board of Education, Testing and Evaluation in Swedish Schools, p. 8.

<sup>5</sup>Nairis, personal information received.



### Educational Problems

In the comprehensive school there was a drift away from the more practical streams towards the more prestigious academic lines in the ninth grade. This threatened to interfere with an efficient labor market supply. It, furthermore, led to an overevaluation of academic work and to lack of freedom of choice, while some lines were reduced to such an extent that they could no longer be offered economically.<sup>6</sup>

According to private information received from headmasters and teachers, the students who took the more practical courses often were the most stable and motivated students. It is feared that, if now they have to take the theoretical subjects, they may add to the motivational problems in the schools.

There is a widespread and officially recognized "book-weariness" among many students in the upper forms of the comprehensive school. This is one of the reasons for the introduction of the new curriculum in 1972, which stresses fields of activity, involvement, block periods, individualization, and so on.<sup>7</sup>

Students often display a lack of interest in study. Many students who were interviewed by the researcher had a negative attitude towards school, but were of the opinion that it was necessary to go to the Gymnasium School in order to get a good job.

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<sup>6</sup>Elmgren, personal information received.

<sup>7</sup>Information from all official persons, including headmasters.

Many thought, however, that the subjects that had to be learned in the comprehensive school were boring and/or too difficult.

Lack of motivation results in absenteeism. Students in the upper department of the comprehensive school do not only skip lessons in the subjects they dislike, but are sometimes absent for days on end from all lessons. The classroom teacher is too overburdened with all kinds of tasks to be able to keep track of all students in her/his class, especially because she/he may only meet them a couple of days a week. When absenteeism has been discovered, it may be very hard for her/him to get into touch with the parents if both are working. Finally, it may take weeks before the Child Welfare Board takes action. When absent, children may just roam the streets. Solutions to this problem are being sought.<sup>8</sup>

A feeling of boredom and frustration makes some youngsters take a year off after the nine-year compulsory school, to do something completely different. Youngsters whose parents can afford it, may go abroad for a year.

Probably closely linked with boredom and frustration is the next greatest problem: destructiveness. In some schools repairs must be paid out of the fund for extra-curricular activities to curb the problem somewhat.

Another problem is theft. The schools visited in Stockholm had all classrooms lock automatically and teachers carried bunches

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<sup>8</sup>Information from teachers; Göran Kalin, International Secretary of the L.R. (Organization of Secondary School Teachers), personal information received; Maud Helling, Child Welfare Board, personal information received; and Gunhild Lukacs, Riksförbundet Hem och Skols R.H.S. (The National Parents' Association), personal information received.

of keys. Students in gymnasium schools took their coats with them into the classrooms for fear that they might be stolen (this was in winter).

"Mobbing" is another problem which, however, does not occur in the gymnasium schools. Gangs of children will go after certain pupils who are "different" in some way or other; they may have special physical characteristics, be foreign, weaker, or just work harder than the rest. Great attention to this problem is given by the Union of Secondary school pupils.

Children from twelve or thirteen upwards sniff thinners or use soft drugs, and many get drunk on medium strong beer. At one gymnasium school the headmaster was hesitant about allowing some extra-curricular activity at night because students might come in drunk. The problem is less at this level, however, than in the comprehensive school. (More about this problem will be said under "Social-Psychological Problems.")<sup>9</sup>

The compulsory general subjects in the vocational streams (or lines) in the upper-secondary schools may pose problems for the students and the teachers. Teachers must attempt to adapt the subjects to the students' interests, and this is not always easy to do. It is feared that if the students are unwilling or unable to follow the more theoretical subjects, they will first be absent during the periods these subjects are taught, and then drop out of

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<sup>9</sup>Information from students and teachers, and from Susan Olsson, President of the S.E.C.O. National Secondary School Pupils Union, in February, 1972; see also Social-Psychological Problems, Chapter VII).

the course altogether. In early 1972 it was hard to assess how serious the drop-out problem was. The researcher was told that students may drop out for a while and may come back after they have had "their fling." Official figures could not be obtained. The teaching of foreign languages in the vocational lines of the upper-secondary school seems to pose problems. Some of the students have a very poor mastery of their own language, even if they come from the "better homes."<sup>10</sup>

The combining of the various lines of the upper-secondary schools in one building makes mammoth schools necessary. This meets with much opposition. The problem will later be discussed separately. It was still too early to tell if the measure would really do away with social class differences in the school.

The most serious and most controversial problem at the time was, however, the grading system which will be discussed separately.

#### Grading and Admittance Policies

In early 1972 the grading system was a hot issue with respect to all levels of education.

The general complaint about the existing grading system was that the grades were relative. A student in a poor school or class would find it easier to get a good grade than a pupil of the same ability in a good school or class, and vice versa. This was a serious problem since grades were important for possibilities for future studies, as can be deduced from what follows.

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<sup>10</sup>Information received from teachers.

In the ninth grade students must fill in a form in which they must state five options in order of preference, as regards lines in the gymnasium school. The National Board of Education then decides to what line a student can be admitted. This decision, against which no recourse is possible, is based on (1) expressed preference, (2) the obtained grade-point-average at the end of the comprehensive school, and (3) the number of places available in the different lines or streams. Therefore, to be able to fill in the form adequately, the students need to know what is taught in the twenty-two lines, what their probable G.P.A. is at the end of the year, and how many places will be made available in the different lines.

A higher grade-point-average is required for acceptance in the more academic lines leading to university entrance. Furthermore, a high G.P.A. in the academic line is necessary for admittance into the restricted faculties.

What makes things even worse is that the G.P.A. is made up of grades received for all subjects, including subjects such as swimming, and that a student cannot improve his G.P.A. by going to an evening gymnasium and then make an attempt at getting into the desired line, since admittance to the evening schools is restricted to persons with less education or who are older, as has been mentioned earlier.

The problem is not getting into the gymnasium school, but getting in the preferred line. In fact, about 83 percent of the age group does go to the upper-secondary school, according to the official information, and the two-year lines are never filled.

The present system is considered unacceptable by the Union of University Students and the Union of Secondary School Pupils. It is, however, hard to decide what must take its place, since there are no good instruments for measuring motivation, perseverance and future success. Some official suggestions for university entrance that have been made are: a quota system for various social groups and geographic areas; merit points also including practical work-experience, preparatory courses, and a lottery system which, it is said, would make for true equality of opportunity.

The entire problem of university admittance is closely linked with the plans for making entrance into institutions for higher learning possible for all gymnasium lines including the vocational ones.<sup>11</sup>

### The Dropping of Standards

There are widespread complaints about an alleged dropping of standards, but hard data on the problem are difficult to obtain.<sup>12</sup> There are no indications that attempts have been made to compare the new central tests with the old examinations.

One of the Stockholm papers published an article, however, complaining that students, especially boys, could not read well

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<sup>11</sup> National Board of Education, Testing and Evaluation in Swedish Schools; Olsson, information received in February, 1972; and Björn Grünwald, Educational and Training Department of the Swedish Employers' Confederation (S.A.F.), personal information received.

<sup>12</sup> Wilhelm Sjöstrand, Professor, Uppsala, personal information received in March, 1972; and information from various non-official persons.

enough to be able to do most of their work. Many students, according to a gymnasium principal, had to spell out every word.<sup>13</sup>

Furthermore, a university professor expressed the opinion that students now lack the most elementary knowledge and are, moreover, no longer able to use textbooks in a foreign language. The remarkable thing is that also mastery of English seems to have decreased in spite of a progressively earlier start with this language in the comprehensive school. University students seem to speak the language less well than slightly older people with a similar educational level. The researcher was, furthermore, informed that trainee-teachers in foreign languages master the languages they are to teach less well now than some years ago.<sup>14</sup>

Finally, Denmark, like many other European countries, used to recognize Swedish and other European diplomas and degrees, but recently refused to do so with respect to the new Swedish Gymnasium Diploma. This problem has been solved by giving students who want to study in Denmark, a statement that the new diploma is of equal value as the old one.<sup>15</sup>

Although it is officially denied that standards should have decreased, the National Board of Education installed a committee to design new curricula which would maintain standards without interfering with equality of opportunity.

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<sup>13</sup>"Expressen," February 2, 1972.

<sup>14</sup>Kalin, personal information received.

<sup>15</sup>Ernst Ehnmark, Information Department of the Office of the Chancellor of the Swedish Universities, personal information received.

Curricula for history, mathematics, and some vocational subjects had been constructed and were going to be introduced in the autumn of 1972 to meet widespread complaints about standards.<sup>16</sup> This curricula deserves special discussion.

The New Curricula for the  
Gymnasium School

For this new curricula the school-year is divided into six periods or terms. For each period subject units with objectives and standardized tests are prescribed. Each class may be divided into three ability levels, but all students in one class must study the same units and use the same materials. They must take the same tests at the end of each period. The grades obtained will reflect the level at which the students have worked and the degree to which they have reached the objectives. (If 80 percent of the objective has been achieved in the lowest ability level, the students get a 2.0.)

After each unit and part of the year, all students in one class start together on the new unit irrespective of the earlier achievement and the degree to which the earlier subject matter has been covered. The theory is that in this way every student has an equal chance to get a good grade, because he is not penalized for his earlier poor performance.

To make this possible the units of each period must be independent and not built on to previous knowledge. It is recognized that this will be easier for some subjects than for others and that

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<sup>16</sup> Bangt Silverberg, School Consultant at the National Board of Education, information received in March, 1972.



the less able students will start the new units with a disadvantage anyway. Due to limited resources in time, money and experts, it was considered impossible, however, to design different units with different approaches to the same subject matter, followed by different tests at different levels for the different ability groups.

Though designed to improve standards and equality of educational opportunity, the opinion was expressed that there must be selection, not everyone can become a doctor and there is no denying that there are differences in ability. Information about these differences must be available in the form of grades. The universities and employers will soon learn how to interpret the grades as to the standards reached by the student.<sup>17</sup>

The solution to the problem of maintaining standards and increasing educational equality of opportunity, again, does not rest on any educational or psychological research. It only seems to be a more covert way of selecting, putting the less able students at a greater disadvantage.

The entire problem of standards and selection is closely linked with the performances in the universities.

#### High Failure Rates in the Free Faculties

High failure rates in the free faculties in the universities posed a problem. Every year is divided into two terms in each of which twenty credit points must be obtained on a pass-fail basis. Failure rates in the free or unrestricted faculties was so high that

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

in 1969 it was decreed that at least 79 percent of the students had to pass the examinations to obtain the required credit-points. The curricula had to be adapted to this requirement. The actual situation in 1972 was, however, that 50 percent of the students obtained the required points in the set time. This was accepted by the authorities on the grounds of "special circumstances" (reforms and high enrollments).<sup>18</sup>

When a student has failed four times he can no longer get a study loan. This usually means that he must drop out, since the curricula are designed for full-time study.

Suggestions made by the students to improve the situation are the following:

1. Closer observation and guidance, which would require that counselors are less overburdened with administrative tasks.
2. Instruction in small seminars of at most thirty students, as in the restricted faculties.

The latter suggestion was based on the findings in an investigation, showing that only a small percentage of the students could understand what a lecture had been about.<sup>19</sup>

On the other hand, the students thought that class attendance should not be made compulsory as in the restricted faculties, except with respect to laboratory work.

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<sup>18</sup> Anders Arfwedson, Secretary Union of Academic Workers S.A.C.O., personal information received; and Ehnmark, personal information received.

<sup>19</sup> National Union of Students, information received in February, 1972.

Another indication of a possible dropping of standards is the lowering of the requirements for the doctor's degree and the concern among many that the present first Swedish degree is no longer comparable with the American Bachelor's degree, which it used to be.<sup>20</sup> This is considered serious in view of the fact that many students will not continue their studies beyond this level (see Table VI-1).

#### Personnel and Organizational Problems

Due to high enrollments and lack of sufficient funds, very few new professors are appointed. The professors are overburdened and frustrated because they cannot keep sufficiently in touch with their students and the work they do. Also their material position has deteriorated considerably. For many years they have had no raise in salary, while cost of living and taxes have gone up steeply.<sup>21</sup>

The secondary-school teachers are in a similar position, though as they themselves say, their material position is not as bad as that of the professors. With the educational reforms, the tasks of the teachers have been greatly increased, however. The result is that they are frustrated because they cannot perform their duties as they should be done. A request was made to assign an extra period to the classroom teachers to keep track of their students. This was refused because of lack of funds.

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<sup>20</sup> Arfwedson, information received in March, 1972.

<sup>21</sup> Professor David Magnusson, Psychological Laboratories, Stockholm, personal information received; and Kalin, personal information received.

TABLE VI-1.--University Degrees Obtained.

Year	Humanities, etc.			Mathematics and Natural Science			Civil Engineering		
	Two Lowest	Masters	Dr.	Two Lowest	Masters	Dr.	Two Lowest	Masters	Dr.
1960	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
1961	1,634	145	45	594	128	43	736	53	15
1962	1,677	117	44	745	120	48	834	56	12
1963	1,761	120	33	834	134	51	842	85	13
1964	1,941	156	51	902	160	48	909	80	22
1965	1,985	156	46	1,018	179	45	959	104	13
1966	2,437	177	41	1,156	196	58	1,074	119	20
1967	3,177	227	74	1,371	241	69	1,129	108	28
1968	4,512	223	48	1,576	240	65	1,381	104	27
1969	5,499	250	51	1,880	263	65	1,535	141	19
1970	7,065	209	77	2,114	246	143	1,761	148	33

Medicine				
Year	Lowest	Second	Third	
1961	400	240	71	1966
1962	435	289	78	1967
1963	480	310	67	1968
1964	509	316	95	1969
1965	554	342	74	1970

Source: Swedish Statistical Yearbook.

There is a feeling that the "special classes" for the "handicapped" have become dumping grounds for difficult pupils. In a school visited by the researcher, these classes were much more populated at the end of the day than in the beginning. At the end of the day, the children became bored and difficult to handle. It has been calculated that if the special classes were eliminated, the big classes could be turned into classes of some nineteen pupils without extra cost, and teachers would be better able to cope with the differences in interests and ability.<sup>22</sup>

Under these conditions it is not surprising that in 1971 there was a strike organized by the S.A.C.O. (The Union of Academic Workers). When also the army officers prepared to join in the strike, the government stepped in and ordered all to go to work again, by means of an emergency bill, because otherwise there might have been a revolution. The L.O. was unhappy with this development, because a precedent had been created, and if, at some future time there should be another government, the same measure might be used against the L.O.<sup>23</sup>

It does show, however, how frustrated the professors and teachers are. This is recognized by many and the National Parents' Association sees it as its task to support the teachers whenever possible.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Kalin, personal information received.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>National Parents' Association, personal information received.

The big schools, introduced for social and economic reasons, are objected against by the teachers and the National Parents' Association. No account is taken of the costs that will be needed to repair the damage done to teachers and students with regard to psychological wear and tear. They also require extra costly supportive and counseling services.

The parents' organization had been assured by the National Board of Education that no schools would have more than 1,200 students, but in 1972 schools were planned for up to 2,800 students.<sup>25</sup> The parents' association was going to protest.<sup>26</sup>

#### Possible Causes of the Problems

The secondary-school teachers are of the opinion that most of the present problems have been caused by the fact that the educational reforms were introduced on insufficient grass-root information and practical educational research. The old system was destroyed on the basis of political expediency. Teacher consultation has only been pro forma.<sup>27</sup> The reforms are based not on real concern for education and young people, but on the desire to erect a beautiful monument to great ideas thought out by politicians who want to build an impressive monument for themselves. The responsible decision-makers have the misconceived idea that with the new refined methods and instruments, educational developments can be predicted and coped with from behind the office desk. No account is taken of the fact

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.

<sup>27</sup>Kalin, personal information received.

that human beings cannot be programmed, that teaching is a process of interaction between more or less unpredictable human beings, that there are no ideal teachers nor ideal students.<sup>28</sup>

The Employers' Confederation (the S.A.F.) which had co-operated in the planning of the educational reforms, is of the opinion that the basic principles were sound but that political reasons were superimposed on sound educational principles.<sup>29</sup>

A professor in pedagogy expressed the opinion that scientific arguments have only been used as excuses for the reforms which had already been politically decided. Some scholars have been willing to find the arguments for the politicians. In contemplating educational reforms, first consideration must be given to what the consequences will be for the children. This has not been done. The main desire of the politicians has been to become the leaders of the world in educational and social respects. If the reforms had been based on more and more careful investigations, the country would not be in the horrible state it is in now.

The present interest for achievement standards put in relation to the number of students getting a certain kind of education, is based on the wish to find support for the educational policy. It diverts the attention from the much more pressing problems which the country must face, now that 600 reports have been published on delinquency, which is increasing among youngsters.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid.

<sup>30</sup>Sjöstrand, personal information received in March, 1972.

The Parents' Association is unhappy with the abolition of the practical lines in the comprehensive school. Many youngsters were better off in such lines. It would have been better if they had been given a chance to get some further general education at some later age. The increasing problems may be ascribed to the fact that children are kept in school longer while they mature earlier. Youngsters of sixteen formerly took adult responsibilities, now they are still treated like children.<sup>31</sup>

### Conclusions

The conclusions that must be drawn are that the educational reforms:

1. were mainly introduced on political grounds;
2. have contributed to a great many problems among youngsters, teachers, and professors;
3. have made continual new reforms necessary to cope with the new problems;
4. have not achieved the social objectives for which they were introduced.

It is, therefore, not surprising that again there are new proposals for reforms, touching on formal as well as alternative modes of education.

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<sup>31</sup> National Parents' Association, personal information received.



New ProposalsProposals for Reforms in  
Higher Education

Due to high enrollments in the unrestricted faculties, high failure rates, high educational costs, growing unemployment among university graduates, disappointing results with respect to the lower social classes in higher educational levels, and some problems with respect to labor-market supply, reforms in higher education were deemed necessary. A special parliamentary commission was established to study the various problems and propose reforms.

The proposal contains the following provisions:

1. All higher education must be vocationally oriented and must move away from the "scholarly" university education, though such education must remain possible.
2. All gymnasium lines must give admittance to higher education.
3. Each year 40 credit points must be obtained and when 100 points have been obtained, a short vocational course can be followed. In such vocational courses no vocational training per sé shall be given, but a thorough theoretical vocational orientation.
4. Administratively, the country shall be divided into six regions, each of which shall have one university and some affiliated colleges, which shall only offer basic higher education, possibly followed by short vocational courses.
5. All institutes of higher education shall be called "college," and no longer by their respective names, i.e., "institute."
6. Graduate work shall be done in the central universities.

### Administrative and Organizational Changes

Administrative and organizational changes were also suggested. Each university region should have a governing body made up of representatives of labor, professional and employers' organizations, and of teachers and students. The regional bodies shall then decide on the various curricula within the framework set by the Office of the Chancellor of the Swedish Universities. This body shall then no longer occupy itself with detailed curriculum planning.

The general rules set for the curricula are that the first year shall only offer general higher education, while the following years allow of gradually more specialization through optional subjects. The organization of the various subject courses must be such that they can be taken by students from various main subject areas. This will make for greater economy and more cross-disciplinary studies.

Admittance.--Admittance to the various studies shall be decided upon by the regional bodies. The numbers of the students that can be admitted to various studies shall be decided upon on the basis of labor-market requirements in the five sectors of the economy: liberal arts, technical sciences, administration, economy and education, each with their subdivisions and special entrance requirements.

At the time this study was done the various proposals were still under debate. It was said that on the one hand they would make for more decentralization, but on the other hand for more centralization. Students expressed the opinion that vocational

courses should also include practical experience organized by the colleges.<sup>32</sup>

Proposals with respect to government adult education.--In 1969 the Confederation of Labor Unions (the L.O.) and the Workers' Education Association (the A.B.F.) petitioned the Ministry of Education for a grant of 1,290,000 Swedish Krone for the financing of experimental work in the field of adult education. It was pointed out that Government Adult Education mainly attracted younger and better educated persons, while older persons with a very limited education could not take advantage of it. Education to the latter group of persons cannot be offered in the traditional pedagogical forms.

It was suggested that educational activities should be carried out in study-circles, possibly supplemented by brief courses at Folk High Schools. It was proposed that trials with this kind of effort be made at ten places. These should be chosen so as to be representative in terms of local business--heavy industry, industries employing mainly female labor, those operating on shifts, and other irregular hours of work. Prior to the experiments the leaders of the circles should be given a week's training, mainly in the field of study guidance and stimulation.

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<sup>32</sup>U.68 Debatt. Mal för Högre utbildning (parliamentary debates); U.68 Högre Utbildning, Forsknings-anknytning och Studie-organisation; Erland Ringorg, Office of the Chancellor of the Swedish Universities, "University Democracy in Sweden" (November, 1970; mimeographed); Swedish Ministry of Education, Educational Commission, Press Communiqué (July 8, 1970; mimeographed); and Ehnmark, personal information received.

The activities should involve the least educated workers and should concentrate on a few important subjects such as Swedish, arithmetic, civics, English, and perhaps some vocational subjects.

Study organizers should be allowed to make propaganda for participation in the scheme during working hours at the various places of work. The organizers should be given compensation for lost earnings due to recruiting activities. These recruiters should be given at least one week of training.

Stimulating measures should be taken, such as the opportunity to study during working hours, cash allowances, free books, baby sitters, travel allowances, free meals before or after a study session, and similar measures. Tuition should be free of charge.

Responsibility for the scheme should be given to a working group made up of representatives of the L.O. and the A.B.F. A project leader should be appointed and the results should be studied, and if necessary changes introduced.

This proposal led to the introduction of a bill in the Riksdag and the installation of a committee "On Methods-Testing in Adult Education." This committee would have to study ways of recruiting the less educated, shortcomings in the available adult education possibilities, and possible improvements in them.<sup>33</sup>

Another proposal with respect to alternative modes of education was made by the 1969 Education Commission.

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<sup>33</sup>Swedish Ministry of Education, Adult Education in Sweden (Stockholm, 1970).

### Proposal for Recurrent Education

In the report, "Motives for Recurrent Education," it is set out that the commission envisions a system by which knowledge acquisition is spread over a longer period in a person's life and takes place on different occasions. The educational experience is then divided into a number of periods with independent educational goals. Each period of study is so arranged that it offers a choice between work and further study. Differentiation between youth and adult education then becomes pointless, because youth and adults will be studying together at different times.

This type of education will, however, only start after a continuous period of schooling covering the comprehensive and the upper-secondary school. In this respect the Swedish proposal shows great similarities with the Statement about Recurrent Education of the OECD, discussed in Chapter II.<sup>34</sup>

The proposal for the introduction of recurrent education is based on the following considerations, which can be brought under a number of separate headings:

Financial considerations.--The limited resources of the country do not allow for expansion of higher education at the present rate and of adult education. Expansion of higher education would cause decreasing funds for adult education. This, in turn, would

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<sup>34</sup>OECD, Centre for Educational Research and Innovation, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Equal Educational Opportunity [a statement of the problem, with special reference to recurrent education].

stimulate further expansion of higher education, and increase educational gaps between the younger and the older generation.

Generation gap.--The educational explosion in Sweden during the last decade has greatly widened the gap between those who are 25-35 and the younger generation. Extended education in youth may lead to a growing ignorance of occupational life and cause a lack of understanding between students and occupationally engaged. Furthermore, it could lead to a growing gap between systems, one created by the young generation during the period of education in homogeneous, enclosed environments and the other developed in the working outside world. This might unfavorably influence solidarity and democratic cooperation in work and social life. This might lead to violent clashes not only between the younger and the older generations, but also between the governing and the governed, since the decision-makers mostly belong to the older generation.

Equality of opportunity and freedom of choice.--Greater opportunity for education in Sweden has not brought about a more uniform distribution of amount of education. Furthermore, secondary education has functioned as a social screening device. Finally, due to the grading system and the restriction of entrance into certain faculties, the choice for pupils leaving secondary education is, in fact, not free, at present. It cannot be denied that certain lines lead to continued education, while others are directly vocational. By having been placed in one of the two-year lines, university education is ruled out right from the start.

Motivation.--Due to various factors, such as lack of motivation, a certain proportion of an age group will not make use of the educational opportunities offered to them in youth. If a person has had practical work experience, he may have discovered his own capacities and interests in a way which is impossible in a school setting. Guidance and vocational orientation cannot replace actual experience.

Furthermore, there are indications that mixed educational groups, differing in age, educational and occupational experience, function more satisfactorily in certain respects, even if they pose problems as regards the form of teaching and teaching aids. The findings with regard to higher motivation do not only apply to professional training, but also to education in general.

Supply and demand.--The present educational organization is not well adapted to future changes in the labor market. It is difficult to achieve close agreement between the supply of education and the national demand for educated persons, especially with regard to persons with a lengthy education. Vocational knowledge soon becomes outdated too. Furthermore, the feedback from the labor market to the educational system is gravely inadequate, both in quantitative and in qualitative respect.

Calculations for further needs may often be rather an estimate of the adaptability of the labor market than a recognition of what may conceivably be optimal for economic growth. The national demand may, to a large extent, be a projection of the quantity of

persons who have passed out of the educational system during the immediately preceding periods.

It is suggested that recurrent education will meet the various problems. It will make for more flexibility, will offer quicker feedback between education and working life and might radically change the relative influence of formal education and occupational experience on an individual's life pattern and career prospects. It would increase the individual's range of choice and would, therefore, offer a solution to the problem which has been prominent in the Swedish educational debate.

The proposal mentions, however, that for success of the new system certain preconditions must be met.

1. The rules for qualification and merit-rating for higher education may not favor certain secondary school lines, or special social backgrounds and their frames of reference.
2. Those who enter directly into a profession from secondary school are not to be regarded as apprentices, but are to be given regular employment. This will affect employment conditions, wage agreements and social benefits.
3. To make this possible secondary school lines must, therefore, prepare for further education and for entering upon a career.
4. Recurrent studies must be financed in such a way that students have a reasonable guarantee of a given income level and security of employment.





In the proposal it is recognized that because of the obvious problems connected with the introduction of recurrent education, it will be a long time before it can be fully implemented. For the time being it must be directed chiefly to providing a second chance for those in a job who had only a brief education. Efforts in the form of active recruitment must, therefore, be intensified and in the allocation of resources within the educational sector priority must be given to the less educated.<sup>35</sup>

Summary.--To sum up, it is suggested that recurrent education is desirable for a great many reasons, economic as well as social. It is recognized that it cannot be introduced at the present moment and that, therefore, now all attention must be given to adult education to the least educated. This explains why support is given to the L.O. and the A.B.F. in their investigations what kind of education is most favorable for the less educated and how these can be best recruited.

There is, however, a duality between the government approach to adult education and the approach of the voluntary societies to such education, which is best exemplified in the study-circles.

A similar incongruity can be found in the clear intention to keep the present formal educational system intact and to start recurrent education after eleven or thirteen years of formal education, that is, at the age of about eighteen.

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<sup>35</sup> Swedish Ministry of Education, Motive for Recurrent Education.

No attention at all is given to the fact that the greatest problems, thus far, start in the upper grades of the nine-year comprehensive school.

A further criticism of the proposal could be that nothing is stated about how students are to be prepared for direct entrance in the labor force and for further studies.

The idea of recurrent education seems to have a great deal to recommend itself but it seems that it should start at a much earlier age. This, however, would interfere with the present educational policies, which have been so highly publicized.

## CHAPTER VII

### SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Since the object of the study is to see whether there is any relationship between various educational trends and social and economic developments in the country, attention must be given to social-psychological developments concomitant with educational changes.

As has been mentioned in Chapter VI, drunkenness under school children has become a problem of late. Therefore, attention to this aspect will be given.

#### The Incidence of Drunkenness Among Youngsters

It is impossible to discuss increased alcoholism without having some background knowledge about this problem in the country. Sweden has always suffered from a high incidence of alcoholism. This gave rise to the establishment of temperance societies which gradually began to exercise a great cultural and political power. Various temperance organizations have become very active since the 1960's and 1970's and have united in a central organization with strong representation in the Riksdag. They cooperate with the trade-union movement and with the Swedish Organization of Salaried Employees (T.C.O.).



In 1913 the first law concerning alcoholism was passed. It aimed at protecting the community. In 1931 a new law introduced rationing and stressed treatment of the people afflicted with alcoholism.

At present, alcoholic beverages are only sold in State shops, which keep black lists of persons who abuse alcohol. Furthermore, there are local boards for the treatment and prevention of alcoholism. They give advice and information, provide individual treatment and take abusers into care. As soon as a local board becomes aware of a person's abuse of intoxicating drinks, it must make an investigation. Furthermore, the police must report all cases of drunkenness, whether they lead to conviction or not. These circumstances have made it possible to get extensive statistics on the problem.

In 1968 the punishment of alcoholism was abolished and persons are taken into custody and given special care in clinics and hospitals.<sup>1</sup>

The government pays 75 percent of the local cost for the treatment of alcoholism. Appendix Table VIII.4 shows that expenditure on alcoholism has increased by 2,718 percent between 1950 and 1970.

According to the statistics, the number of cases of drunkenness, as well as the persons convicted for drunkenness has decreased

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<sup>1</sup>Daniel Wiklund, The Swedish System for Prevention of Alcoholism and Treatment of Alcoholics (Lausanne: International Bureau Against Alcoholism, 1963); Centralförbundet för alkohol--och markotikaupplysning, The Alcohol Question in Sweden: A Survey by the Swedish Council for Information on Alcohol and Other Drugs (Stockholm, 1970); and Daniel Wiklund, Alcoholics Department of the National Board of Health and Welfare, personal information received.

during the last ten years, but as Table VII-1 shows, drunkenness among youth has increased and is steadily rising among ever younger children.

The figures show that the level of drunkenness in the age group 15-17 is still lower than that of the higher age groups, but investigations and reports indicate that the incidence of drunkenness shifts to continually lower age groups. Among the young intoxication is mainly caused by the drinking of medium-strong beer, which according to a recent law can be sold in food shops. Some people point out that it is very difficult to get a clear picture of the entire problem, because attitudes towards drunkenness change and become more lenient.<sup>2</sup>

Seeing the developments, however, alcohol instruction in the compulsory school has become increasingly important and teachers must follow special courses in this subject. In Chapter VI it has been mentioned that alcoholism is a growing problem in the comprehensive school, however.<sup>3</sup>

Although alcoholism among youth is seen as the most serious youth problem, also drug abuse among young people is increasing.

#### The Use of Drugs Among Young People

Drug addiction has been a serious problem in Sweden since the early 1950's. The current problem is mainly that of intravenous

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<sup>2</sup>Wiklund, personal information received (see later figures); and Prof. Wilhelm Sjöstrand, Pedagogical Department, Uppsala University, personal information received.

<sup>3</sup>National Board of Health and Welfare, Health Education in Sweden (July, 1971; mimeographed).

TABLE VII-1.--Drunkenness.

Year	Convicted for Drunkenness per 100,000 of age-groups				Admitted into Psychol. Hospitals for Alcoholism per 100,000; 15-
	15-17	18-20	21-24	25-	
1956	654	2,330	2,378	1,816	1,548
1957	617	2,178	2,271	1,718	1,527
1958	663	2,008	2,003	1,566	1,292
1959	745	2,120	1,465	1,591	1,295
1960	857	2,217	1,952	1,831	1,234
1961	938	2,516	2,085	1,797	1,283
1962	947	2,394	1,910	2,051	1,176
1963	891	2,195	1,802	1,822	1,101
1964	942	2,304	1,765	1,879	1,124
1965	1,098	2,615	1,924	1,903	1,143
1966	1,041	2,267	1,828	1,750	1,084
1967	1,019	2,101	1,844	1,702	1,056
1968	867	1,807	1,914	1,612	1,050
1969	933	2,282	1,983	1,781	1,089
1970	--	--	--	--	--

Source: Swedish Statistical Yearbook.



abuse of amphetamines, but there is also a widespread use of hashish among young people. In its final report, submitted in 1969, "The Swedish Committee on Drug Abuse," published an estimated figure of 10,000 intravenous abusers. In about 1956-57 the abuse of these stimulants rose steeply even among young people. Parallel to this development there was an increase in criminal activities, like falsification, robbery, theft, peddling and smuggling.

In June, 1965 the National Board of Health appointed an expert-group on drug abuse, which in 1966 was transformed into the "Committee on Drug Addiction." This committee has published four reports, an outline of spread of abuse, proposals for medical treatment, and of extra resources for law enforcement and customs.

In 1969 the final two reports were published, showing that cannabis was fairly widely used among young people in the urban areas. It also proved that, in spite of the obvious dominance of central stimulants, the hospitals still reported that 50 percent of drug abusers used sedatives and hypnotics.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>The Narcotics Problem, Part I, "Survey and Treatment," pp. 13-17 (mimeographed); The Narcotics Problem, Part II [Extract from Swedish Government Publication, 1967:41]; "The Control System," pp. 9-14; Introduction and Summary, pp. 9-14 (mimeographed); Ingemar Rexed, Secretary to the Swedish Committee on Drug Addiction Memorandum on Drug Abuse in Sweden (Stockholm; January 16, 1968; mimeographed); The Narcotic Problem, Part III, "Coordinating Measures," 18 Summary, p. 416 (n.d., mimeographed); Nils Beierot, Licentiate in Medicine, Member of Swedish National Medical Research Board, The Drug Problem in Sweden, Part II (Stockholm, n.d., 1970 or 1971; mimeographed); Jan Ording, Head of Narcotics Section, Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare, The Narcotics Problem in Sweden, a summary of countermeasures (paper presented at International Symposium on Drug Abuse, Toronto, n.d., 1971?; mimeographed); National Swedish Police Board, Provisions for Illicit Traffic in Narcotics

A Stockholm psychiatrist, Herulf, carried out an investigation with respect to pupils in the ninth grade of the Stockholm compulsory school. His findings for 1967 showed that 77 percent of the boys and 83 percent of the girls had never tried narcotics, including stimulants, and that 5 percent of the boys and 3 percent of the girls had used narcotics ten or more times. Among those who had used drugs more than ten times, 18 percent of the boys and 28 percent of the girls had used stimulants.

In 1972 Herulf showed the researcher unpublished figures of his follow-up research, conducted each year with the same age group during successive years up to 1971. He found a steady increase of drug use among ninth graders in Stockholm. Furthermore, he found that drug use was strongly linked with alcohol abuse. Some 95-99 percent of those who had used drugs more than ten times had been really drunk at least once. The students who had used drugs fewer times showed a smaller incidence of drunkenness, but even in 1971 46 percent to 52 percent of the pupils who had never used narcotics reported having been drunk.<sup>5</sup>

A similar study was done in Gotenburg in 1978. It showed that 21 percent of the boys had had experience with cannabis, and

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[Swedish Legislation Extract from Law Relating to Narcotic Drugs, March 8, 1968; amended March 7, 1969; mimeographed); The Abuse of Central Stimulants (ost) by Young People i Sweden (Background 9.11, 1970; mimeographed); and Maud Helling, Child Welfare Board, personal information received.

<sup>5</sup>Dr. Herulf, psychoanalyst, personal information received; unpublished data.

15 percent of the girls. Stimulants had been taken orally by nearly 10 percent of the boys and somewhat more than 8 percent of the girls.

In 1967 a large-scale case-finding survey was carried out in Stockholm. The conclusion was that the number of serious cases could be assessed to be about 5,000, and it was estimated that there was an equal amount of drug abusers in the rest of the country, bringing the total number of more serious cases of drug abuse up to some 10,000 in the whole country (population about 8 million).

The final conclusions of the committee were that:

1. Drug abuse spread considerably among youth, and that the group born between 1936 and 1945 were most affected (persons who entered the school system in between 1943 and 1952, and were in the 9th grade in between 1952 and 1961).
2. The number of persons who had experience with drugs had risen during the period of investigation (1967).
3. The rise could be mainly attributed to cannabis, and that the use of central stimulants had stopped or declined.
4. Among criminal, socially disadvantaged, etc., the use of intravenous stimulants increased.
5. The abuse of LSD and of opium seemed on the rise.
6. The rising drug abuse among youth should not hide the fact that among the older age groups the use of sedatives and hypnotics still was a serious and growing problem.

Some of the causes of the problem are ascribed to industrialization and increasing competition which cause alienation, which

stimulate certain sub-cultures--gangs, youth cultures--to non-conforming patterns of behavior.

Phenomena of retreat and revolt are seen as symptoms of reactions against central functions in the very structure of society. Therefore, the problems cannot be solved with preventive or rehabilitative measures to help individual cases. It is suggested that special attention be given to youth cultures.

Finally, the committee suggested treatment to be given on a voluntary basis except for those under 20, who should get compulsory treatment under certain conditions.<sup>6</sup>

Table VII-2 shows a continuous and strong increase in admittance into psychiatric hospitals, also among the younger age groups. Admittance for drug abuse has increased too, but no differentiation is given as to age. The figures indicate that psychological problems have increased for the young people since 1962.

Another indication of psychological problems is suicide rates.

#### Suicide Rates Among Young Persons<sup>7</sup>

As with alcoholism suicide is higher in one country than in another. It is of interest, however, to note that in Sweden suicide

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<sup>6</sup>The Narcotics Problem, Part I, pp. 13-17; The Narcotics Problem, Part II, pp. 9-14; The Narcotics Problem, Part III, p. 416; Beierot, The Drug Problem in Sweden, Part II; Ording, The Narcotics Problem in Sweden; National Swedish Police Board, Provisions for Illicit Traffic in Narcotics; The Abuse of Central Stimulants (ost) by Young People i Sweden; and Helling, information received.

<sup>7</sup>Swedish statistical yearbooks.

TABLE VII-2.--Admittance to Psychological Hospitals.

Year	per 100,000				Admitted for drug use
	All Ages	15-17	18-19	20-24	
1950	224	--	--	--	--
1951	259	--	--	--	--
1952	256	--	--	--	--
1953	268	--	--	--	--
1954	268	--	--	--	--
1955	305	--	--	--	--
1956	355	--	--	--	--
1957	390	--	--	--	--
1958	388	--	--	--	--
1959	389	--	--	--	--
1960	423	--	--	--	--
1961	496	--	--	--	--
1962	631	162	428	602	--
1963	675	157	479	650	--
1964	713	157	455	683	9.1
1965	761	147	453	723	11.7
1966	809	142	465	778	14.7
1967	870	156	547	887	19.4
1968	893	205	591	995	26.6
1969	--	--	--	--	--
1970	--	--	--	--	--

Source: Swedish Statistical Yearbook.

rates have gone up and that the increase is mainly due to increased suicides among youngsters of between 15 and 24 (see Table VII-3). With these increasing psychological problems among youngsters, it is not surprising that a study was done as to the mental health of youngsters.

Mental Health Among Stockholm  
School Boys<sup>8</sup>

In 1962 a research was conducted to get some insight into the mental health of the boys in the Stockholm school system. A sample of 222 boys born between 1939 and 1946 was tested and interviewed. The findings indicated that:

1. 21 percent of the boys was free of symptoms of psychological imbalance;
2. 23 percent had mild symptoms;
3. 31 percent had moderate symptoms;
4. 23 percent were problem children; and
5. 2 percent were institutional cases.

It was found that the lower the I.Q.s, the higher the incidence of symptoms of psychological imbalance, though it was also found that boys with high I.Q.s had problems. It was suggested that bright and dull children had a difficult time at school. It was stated that intellectual handicaps also led to other handicaps. In view of the object of the study, one must remember that the age group

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<sup>8</sup>Gustav Jonsson and Anna Lisa Kälvesten, 222 Stockholm pojkar (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiskell, 1964), English resumé at end of study.

TABLE VII-3.--Suicide Rates.

Year	Suicides, per 100,000 age group	
	15-24	25-
1950	--	--
1951	--	--
1952	--	--
1953	--	--
1954	--	--
1955	--	--
1956	8.4	30
1957	8.2	30
1958	4.7	30
1959	8.0	29
1960	7.4	26
1961	7.8	25
1962	8.5	27
1963	9.7	29
1964	10.0	29
1965	8.6	27
1966	11.1	29
1967	12.0	31
1968	10.7	31
1969	12.5	31
1970	13.3	31

Source: Swedish Statistical Yearbooks.

under study reached the upper level of the comprehensive school between 1952 and 1959, in the years that the school-reforms had been introduced.

Further investigation proved that:

1. Income had little influence on the incidence of psychological symptoms except in cases of real poverty.
2. Having moved into Stockholm or poor housing did not have any noticeable influence on psychological problems. It was mentioned that in 22 percent of cases there were more than two persons to a room and that 36 percent of the persons under observation lived in a two-room apartment (see international comparison on housing).
3. A broken home did not seem to have an unfavorable influence (most irregular homes were found among the middle classes).
4. The fact that the mother went out to work did not seem to have an unfavorable influence, except with some mothers of the working class. It was found that few mothers went out working while the children were still very small.
5. There was a correlation between psychological problems and alcoholic parents and with illegitimacy of the child, especially if the parents got married afterwards.

These findings seem to suggest that not only illegitimacy and alcoholism caused psychological problems among the boys, but also too much or too little academic intelligence.



Since psychological problems may lead to anti-social behavior, it is of interest to give some attention to two youth riots which took place in Stockholm.

#### The 1956-57 Riot in Stockholm<sup>9</sup>

In many countries university students have caused disturbances, mainly caused by dissatisfaction about conditions in the universities or by political circumstances. Also, the Swedish students caused a minor disturbance in protest against the stringent regulations with respect to obligatory curricula.

The main youth disturbances in Sweden have been caused, however, by younger, non-university youngsters. The riot under discussion took place on New Year's Eve in downtown Stockholm. It was the first of its kind and got a great deal of attention in Europe.

For no clear reason, and absolutely unorganized, many youngsters gathered in the center of Stockholm. They became violent and extremely destructive. It was hard to tell what actually happened, and why.

Sixty-two youngsters were taken to the police station. They were between fourteen and twenty and some of them were drunk. An extensive investigation was made and a report was published, showing the following facts:

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<sup>9</sup> Anna-Lisa Kälvesten och Pär Erik Ander, Stadscollegiets Utlatlåtanden och Memorial, Bihang 1958 nr. 100; Utredning angående Ungdomar som Anhållits I Samband Med Gaturbråken I Stockholms Centrum 1956 Nyårsnatten 1956/1957 (Stockholm, 1959).

1. The youngsters involved in the riot were more anxious and uncertain about themselves than the control group. It was assumed that this was caused by the strains and stresses in school, due to grade and evaluation practices. It was hard to get reliable data on grades since the papers had been destroyed, the impression was that the riot group was a little under average as regards school achievement.
2. The riot-youngsters had less resistance to peer-group pressures, were more inclined to follow the majority, were less sensitive and were less able to give expression to subjective feelings and thoughts.

One cannot but speculate about a possible connection between this "spontaneous" outburst with pronounced hostility towards the police, and the 1950 school-reforms and the 1956 regulations which forbade early transfer to specialized schools.

### The 1965 Riots<sup>10</sup>

The second major youth riots occurred in the autumn of 1965. They had been building up to a climax since June of that same year, when various youth groups started gathering in the center of Stockholm, eating, drinking heavily and making music.

There were a number of youth culture groups which sometimes got into conflict with each other but turned against the police when

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<sup>10</sup>Stockholms Stads Barnavårdsnämnd Fritidsavdelingen, The Hörtorget Riots in Stockholm in the Autumn of 1965 (Stockholm, 1967); and Prof. Knut Sveri, Department of Criminology, Stockholm University, personal information received.

they tried to interfere. Due to the tactful attitude of the police the situation remained peaceful for a long time, however. Then an insignificant incident with a dog triggered major riots which lasted for days. A great number of youngsters was taken to the police station. Most of them were under seventeen.

Again, an extensive investigation was made and a report published, giving the following findings:

1. The majority of the youngsters still attended the nine-year school or had just entered a job.
2. Students in the trade schools only represented a very small minority, while the more verbally-active and better adjusted attended the upper-secondary school.
3. The boys under eighteen had more intensive drinking habits than the control group, and 20 percent of the boys between fifteen and seventeen had sniffed thinners, while 11 percent had tried drugs.
4. A greater percentage than normal had already got into contact with the Child Welfare Board for various misdemeanors.
5. Most of the youngsters did not belong to a special club, had no desire to do so and had as their main hobbies driving around in cars and listening to music.
6. A large percentage of the youngsters came from broken homes (this is not in accord with the findings about psychological problems in the research mentioned earlier).

In view of the thrust of the study, it is of interest to note that seemingly students in the nine-year compulsory school formed the

majority; the boys in the trade school formed a minority and the youngsters in post-secondary education were better adjusted and verbally more active. One cannot but wonder how strong the influence of the school is. Those in post-secondary education were probably the bright ones and those in the trade-schools happy in what they were doing, while the rest was frustrated. Furthermore, one wonders if it is only a coincidence that these were the youngsters affected by the introduction of the comprehensive school for which transfer to other schools had been forbidden since 1962.

These disturbances of the peace are concerned with groups of youngsters. It is, however, also of interest to investigate how individual social behavior has changed. The first aspect of mal-adjustment that will be discussed is fraud and theft.

### Fraud and Theft

The statistics give figures about "causes known by the police," but since these may be biased only attention shall be given to convictions for misdemeanors, as shown in Table VII-4. The table shows that the number of young persons convicted in courts of first instance have increased considerably over the last twenty years, while hardly any increase is shown for the age group of over twenty-five years of age. The drop of convictions among the age group 15-17 in 1965 must be ascribed to the fact that then the attitude towards convicting such young persons was officially changed. It is of interest to note, however, that afterwards the figures for this age group increased steadily again.

TABLE VII-4.--Convicted in Courts of First Instance.

Year	Per 100,000 of age group				
	15-17	18-20	21-24	15-24	25-
1950	186	569	482	424	717
1952	190	697	551	--	--
1952	186	696	595	--	--
1953	173	718	603	--	--
1954	140	708	600	--	--
1955	120	742	665	--	--
1956	152	837	706	573	1,950
1957	156	900	730	600	2,021
1958	191	1,051	776	673	1,900
1959	304	1,178	820	758	1,951
1960	425	1,236	820	807	1,863
1961	544	1,273	819	858	2,021
1962	525	1,219	906	870	1,958
1963	495	1,180	904	856	1,806
1964	433	1,240	903	844	2,020
1965	223	1,115	838	730	1,852
1966	236	1,222	924	737	1,937
1967	237	1,336	1,020	904	2,017
1968	251	1,362	1,043	957	1,995
1969	284	1,482	1,105	993	1,997

Source: Swedish Statistical Yearbooks.

A problem that is continually mentioned by everyone is car thefts committed by youngsters under twenty-five. The statistics show that such thefts have indeed increased considerably, but if one takes into consideration the increase of numbers of cars per 1,000 of the age group, the picture changes somewhat. The increase in cars means that the temptation for the youngsters has increased. The question that must be asked is if this must be taken into consideration since with growing prosperity all temptations increase. The figures with respect to this subject are given in Table VII-5. It is hard to assess the increase in crime because the attitude has become more lenient towards youth crimes.<sup>11</sup>

Table VII-6 gives data which are less open to question, since it gives the figures of persons put into prison. It shows that prison sentences have increased considerably with respect to young people, which is not accompanied with a rise in such sentences for older persons.

The rise in imprisonment for 15-17 year olds is surprising in view of the following data.

At the time of the investigation youngsters under fifteen cannot be brought before the court. They are taken care of by the Child Welfare Board and they are put in Reformatory Schools, mainly intended for short-term rehabilitation. After this period they remain under the supervision of the Child Welfare Board. Youngsters

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<sup>11</sup>Daniel Wiklund, The Swedish System for Prevention of Alcoholism and Treatment of Alcoholics; and Helling, information received.

TABLE VII-5.--Car Thefts Known to the Police.

Year	Thefts per 1,000 Inhabitants	Cars per 1,000 Inhabitants	Ratio
	15-24	15-24	
1950	8	287	--
1951	--	--	--
1952	--	--	--
1953	--	--	--
1954	--	--	--
1955	--	--	--
1956	36.7	--	--
1957	42.4	--	--
1958	42.3	--	--
1959	45.6	--	--
1960	31.9	1,182	27
1961	32.2	1,230	28
1962	33.7	1,287	26
1963	32.8	1,359	24
1964	33.8	1,370	25
1965	37.8	1,453	28
1966	35.6	1,500	24
1967	38.9	1,572	25
1968	40.2	1,671	24
1969	40.4	1,798	22
1970	48.6	1,892	26

TABLE VII-6.--Number of Persons Put in Prison.

Year	Per 100,000 Age Group				
	15-17	18-20	21-24	15-24	25-
1950	9.0	111	195	119	62
1951	--	--	--	--	--
1952	--	--	--	--	--
1953	--	--	--	--	--
1954	--	--	--	--	--
1955	--	--	--	--	--
1956	2.9	187	347	192	144
1957	1.8	200	390	209	169
1958	5.2	236	397	220	162
1959	12.4	279	434	244	166
1960	8.2	288	465	250	163
1961	10.7	316	470	260	168
1962	4.6	298	518	270	168
1963	10.6	343	529	294	154
1964	7.9	354	504	302	156
1965	11.2	356	476	303	147
1966	3.7	327	505	311	139
1967	3.9	333	536	311	143
1968	12.3	370	570	362	135
1969	9.8	375	568	363	141
1970	13.0	409	578	378	136



of fifteen to eighteen are only brought to court under special circumstances, while prisons are only meant for youngsters of over twenty.<sup>12</sup>

### Summary

It is clear that growing numbers of young people get involved with the police, the court and/or prison. This trend is not matched by trends among older persons.

The findings suggest that there must be something wrong with what is happening to youngsters. In the investigations done with respect to youth problems, only marginal attention was given to a possible influence of the schools on the unfavorable trends. The schools were taken as a "given" against which little could be done. The research was not done by educationalists.

In the research that was done some correlation was found between youth problems and:

1. working mothers of the working classes,
2. illegitimacy, and
3. alcoholism of the parents.

The findings with respect to broken homes was contradictory. School experience was but casually touched upon, but did indicate in all cases that student ability might have some influence on deviant behavior.

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<sup>12</sup>Helling, information received.

### Further Investigations

To get more light in the problem the researcher interviewed a great many persons on the subject of possible causes of the increasing youth problems. The results are given under different headings, as far as possible in order of frequency in which they were mentioned, though many of the comments overlapped.

#### Working Mothers

Working mothers were very often mentioned as a cause of the problems, especially by the general public. Maud Helling,<sup>13</sup> however, was of the opinion that mothers were often bored and could then better go out to work, so as not to take their frustration out on their children. The children could then play in the play-pens or kindergartens.

Prof. Sveri<sup>14</sup> put the entire problem in a wider context. Many women had joined the labor force under the official pressures for more workers and equal rites for women. Now many women feel guilty if they stay home with their children because then they are considered "luxury wives." For other women the change of attitude is for the better. Love for children is not born into all women and many children are born not because they are wanted, but because they add to the status of the parents. These women now need not feel guilty about going out to work, as they did before. The fact of the matter is, however, that some children need the security and

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>Sveri, information received.

warmth of a mother at home and some do not. Therefore, Prof. Sveri was surprised that no psychologist had raised his voice when there was the official pressure for all women to join the labor market. With increasing unemployment the situation may change, however.

These comments may also give some insight into the findings that what is most important for a child is the personal satisfaction and happiness of the parents.<sup>15</sup> One wonders if this also explains the fact that working mothers of the working class were found to have an unfavorable influence on the psychological attitude of their children. These women are more likely to have to go out to make ends meet.

The next possible cause which was most frequently mentioned was the educational system.

#### The Educational Problem

The educational problem, too, was approached from different angles, starting with the attitudes of the parents. Children do need security and stability but many parents cannot be bothered with their children and leave much of education to the schools, for which these are not suited. The situation has become worse with the introduction of the large schools, which are considered detrimental by practically all persons interviewed.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Jonsson and Kälvesten, 222 Stockholm pojkar.

<sup>16</sup>Gunhild Lukács, National Parents' Association, information received; Göran Kalin, International Secretary to the National Association of Secondary School Teachers, information received; Susan Olsson, President of the National Organization of Secondary School Pupils (S.E.C.O.), information received; Uppsala Student Union, personal information received; and Sjöstrand, personal information received.

Also, the abolition of the various options in the comprehensive school was criticized. Many youngsters would be better off if they could work according to their ability and inclinations, and could prepare for a job early in life. Formerly a youngster of fourteen or sixteen saw a clear path before him. He was goal-directed. Now the undifferentiated schools prolong childhood and postpone responsibilities, while at the same time youngsters mature earlier.<sup>17</sup>

The practically uniform curriculum for youngsters of different abilities and interests cannot be but bad and kill motivation. Individualization is much talked about but it cannot be implemented. Teaching must be geared to the average student and the children of low ability get frustrated and the bright ones get bored.<sup>18</sup>

#### Lack of Personal Attention

Lack of personal attention was mentioned as another cause. Problems are most frequent among the better class youngsters. This may be due to the fact that the parents in such homes are preoccupied with their work, even when at home. Working class parents may be physically tired, but they probably give more attention to their children; more warmth.<sup>19</sup>

Closely linked with this problem is the matter of wealth.

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<sup>17</sup>Lukács, information received; and Sveri, information received.

<sup>18</sup>Sjöstrand, information received; and Uppsala Student Union, information received.

<sup>19</sup>Sjöstrand, information received.

### Children Have Too Much Money To Spend

Many better class families give their children whatever they ask for, just to be able to pursue their own interests. This is tied up with a philosophy of life. Must a person enjoy life as much as possible or has he duties to perform for his children and environment.<sup>20</sup>

### Urbanization

Urbanization is another cause frequently mentioned. Migration to the towns, bad conditions in the slums and badly planned suburbs are the talk of the day, especially the latter topic. Something has been said about this in Chapter III. The lack of intimacy in the suburbs leads to the next topic.<sup>21</sup>

### Insecurity

Insecurity is a problem which touches on many of the previously mentioned problems. Lack of family life and warmth, uncertainty about future occupation and study possibilities up to a fairly high age (16 or 18), and the complex, confusing situation of the welfare state, combined with large, impersonal schools and surroundings seem to make for alienation and a "copping out."<sup>22</sup>

The transitions from school to the normal world of work is difficult because of the secluded life in the schools, which has

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<sup>20</sup>Sveri, information received; and Lukács, information received.

<sup>21</sup>Ording, The Narcotics Problem in Sweden; and Ölsön, information received.

<sup>22</sup>Ording, The Narcotics Problem in Sweden.

very little in common with real life. One commentator compared this transition with the adaptation a person must make who has long been imprisoned.<sup>23</sup> This, in fact, reflects again on the extended schooling without practical experience in actual work, which makes for the forming of separate youth-cultures with deviant behaviors.

It was stressed that it is the insecure who are most prone to fall victim to alcoholism and drug abuse, which, in turn, lead to theft and fraud.<sup>24</sup>

In the last chapter an attempt shall be made to assess the relevant importance of the various influences. For the time being another aspect must be discussed.

#### The Price That Must be Paid for Equality of Educational Opportunity

If all these unfavorable developments increase together with increased general education for all, the question must be asked if all the banes are offset by increased social equality. One of the indices of such equality is income.

Education and Income.--A recent report of the "Low Income Commission" gives some interesting information on this topic.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Björn Grünwald, Education and Training Department of the Swedish Employers' Confederation, information received.

<sup>24</sup> Ording, The Narcotics Problem in Sweden; and Sveri, information received.

<sup>25</sup> Ministry of the Interior, Income Commission, The Structure of Incomes in Sweden, Directives for the Royal Commission on Low Incomes and Outline of Work in Progress, Summary of the First Report (August, 1970).

The percentage share of year-round, full-time employees of both sexes with annual earnings below 15,000 kronor is:

Total, regardless of education	17.8
1. with primary education only	19.7
2. with primary education and one year of vocational training	15.0
3. with lower secondary education in some cases augmented with one year of vocational training	19.4
4. with higher secondary education and more advanced education	1.7

and for annual earnings below 30,000 kronor:

Total, regardless of education	21.5
1. with primary education only	11.5
2. with primary education and one year of vocational training	24.0
3. with lower secondary education in some cases augmented with one year of vocational training	27.8
4. with higher secondary education and more advanced education	71.3

The report points out that the most crucial dividing line runs between less than full-upper-secondary education on the one hand and such education or more on the other hand. It fails to point out that the having of some vocational training is more important than the having of lower secondary education. Furthermore, those with upper secondary and those with higher education are put in one category, by which the issue is obscured.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

No attention is given to incomes reached due to informal education and the number of persons in educational categories one and two who have reached the top-income brackets. Neither does the report mention what the educational backgrounds were of the other persons in these income brackets. Such information might have been revealing, especially since so many leading persons in Sweden only have had primary school and some informal education. This was mentioned in Chapter V (Alternative Modes of Education). Erickson<sup>27</sup> mentions that in 1961-62, 35 percent of the members of the first chamber of parliament had some formal education beyond elementary level, and that 43 percent of the members of the second chamber had some of such education. Thus, 66 percent of the entire membership of the Swedish Parliament had relied entirely on self-study or informal education to prepare themselves for public service. Of the seventeen cabinet ministers in 1962, seven members had gone the road of adult education in preparing for public service.

Of the members of the Social Democratic Party, 79 percent had relied more on informal adult education than on the formal educational system. Of the Agrarian Party, 87 percent of its members in Parliament had had no advanced formal education.

In 1954 and before, 90 percent of the leadership of the labor movement in Sweden has relied entirely on adult education for liberal education beyond six years, at the most, of elementary schooling. The average functionary had participated in three study-circles, had

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<sup>27</sup> Herman Erickson, "Adult Education and Swedish Political Leadership," International Review of Education, VII, No. 2 (1966), 127-43.



taken one correspondence course, and had engaged in self-study in at least two subjects.

Surely high incomes must be attached to the positions achieved by these persons. If other incomes are ascribed to education or lack of it, also the incomes of these persons must be ascribed to the education they received. If their incomes are ascribed to individual characteristics and circumstances, also at least part of the causes of the low incomes must be ascribed to such factors.

After all; if 19.7 percent of the persons with only primary education received less than 15,000 kronor, 80.3 percent received more. If 71.3 percent of the persons with higher secondary education or more received 30,000 kronor, 18.7 percent received less.

In connection with this point it is of interest to note that "The Swedish Economy 1971-75 and the General Outlook up to 1990,"<sup>28</sup> says:

Many of the individuals who obtain a higher education would probably have earned incomes above the mean even without this education.<sup>29</sup>

The findings of the "Low Income Commission"<sup>30</sup> have, however, been used to support the theory that one needs at least a gymnasium

<sup>28</sup>The Swedish Economy 1971-1975; and the General Outlook up to 1990, The 1970 Long-Term Economic Survey, Main Report (prepared by the Secretariat for Economic Planning, Ministry of Finance, Esselte Truck, Stockholm Allf. 106 053).

<sup>29</sup>The Swedish Economy 1971-1975, p. 182.

<sup>30</sup>Ministry of the Interior, The Structure of Incomes in Sweden.

education to get a good income, irrespective of ability. Little attention has been given to the labor-market aspect and the influence of supply and demand on income. Though the following can be read in the "Swedish Economy 1971-75."

There are many indications, however, that some excess supply may arise for certain categories of education. Even if this is ultimately absorbed by the market through adjustment of working conditions and wages, these tendencies can be said to point to a substantial reduction in the marginal utility of certain education sectors. This suspicion becomes stronger when allowance is made for the circumstance that the use of public funds to finance education subsidizes employers' wage costs for skilled labour in relation to other groups of employees. Meanwhile there are many other sectors with a considerable shortage of skilled labour that is likely to persist. This makes it most desirable to achieve a better balance in higher education and training.<sup>31</sup>

This leads to the discussion of economic developments which will be done in Chapter VII. First, however, a few words remain to be said about the second objective of the educational reforms:

Equality of educational opportunity.--Also in this respect the educational reforms have not achieved the ends for which they were introduced. This has become clear from earlier discussed documents and other publications. Social class still plays an important part in enrollments in upper-secondary school and universities.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, a study was done in Malmö which showed that there really are problems of segregation of some socio-economic

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<sup>31</sup>The Swedish Economy, 1971-75, p. 53.

<sup>32</sup>Swedish Ministry of Education, 1969 Educational Commission, Memorandum, Motives for Recurrent Education (October 12, 1970; mimeographed); The Swedish Economy 1971-1975, p. 27; and Office of the Chancellor of the Swedish Universities (Uka), Some Facts About Swedish Higher Education (1971).

groups in the Swedish school system. Mentioned are unequal social composition of the pupil body in many classroom units, school units, and headmasters' districts. In this respect a comparison is made with the situation in the U.S.A. Some of this segregation is due to housing segregation in various neighborhoods, and the fact that parents may move to a better area to give their children better schools or classmates.<sup>33</sup>

### Conclusions

The final conclusions that must be drawn are that:

1. With the introduction of the comprehensive school and the integrated upper-secondary school, social inequality has not been done away with.
2. There has been a trend towards increasing youth problems in various fields since the school reforms.
3. The increased problems are ascribed to all kinds of influences linked up with a growing industrialization and economic growth, but also to education.

Thus far only educational and social-psychological problems have been discussed. The next chapter will deal with growing economic problems.

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<sup>33</sup>Harold Swedner, Department of Sociology, Lund University, School Segregation in Malmö (Chicago, Ill.: Integrated Education Association, 1971).

## CHAPTER VIII

### ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

Economic developments must be discussed in view of the scope of the study. Something about labor market training has already been said in Chapter V, while education and income have been discussed in Chapter VII. Both touch on economic developments. This topic deserves further discussion, however. To do full justice to such a discussion, the subject must be subdivided into three sections: (1) economic growth, (2) labor market developments, and (3) public expenditure for various purposes, including education.

#### Economic Growth

As has been mentioned earlier, extended general education was deemed necessary to promote a vigorous economic growth, for which a well-educated work force was required. Table VIII-1 shows, however, that Sweden's economic growth and labor productivity has not been as high as in some of the other European countries.

Moreover, Table VIII-2 shows that a higher percentage of the population was in the work force in Sweden than in many of the other countries. The number of persons participating in the economic progress does influence economic growth.

TABLE VII-1.--Growth Rates of G.N.P. and Labor Productivity: International Comparison.

Country	Gross Domestic Product				Labor Productivity			
					Per Person			Net Per Manhour
					General			Industrial
	1949-54	1959-63	1964-69	1949-54	1959-63	1963-69	1963-69	
Sweden	3.4	3.8	3.8	2.9	2.6	--	7.5	
Belgium (54-59)	2.0	3.8	4.1	2.7	3.4	4.5	5.9	
France	4.5	5.8	5.5	4.3	5.1	5.8	7.5	
Germany	7.4	5.4	4.6	5.7	4.6	5.7	7.2	
Netherlands	4.8	5.2	5.1	3.6	3.7	5.5	10.1	
U.K.	2.4	2.6	2.2	1.8	1.7	3.1	4.2	
U.S.A.	3.3	3.6	4.6	1.2	2.0	2.8	--	

Sources: Jack Strieber, Adjusting to Change: Technology and the American Economy, Appendix Vol. III: Manpower Adjustment to Automation, February, 1966; Charles Kindleberger, Europe's Post-War Growth [the role of the labor supply], (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967).  
G.N.P. 1964-69 from O.E.C.D. Economic Surveys, 1971.  
Productivity 1963-69 from International Labor Office Yearbook of Statistics, 1971.  
Productivity figures for 1963-69 may not be quite comparable to those for previous years due to the taking from different sources.

TABLE VIII-2.--Population in Labor Force.

Country	Labor Force; Percent of Population 15-64		
	1960	1963	1969
Sweden	--	74.2	73.4
Belgium	62.4	63.1	63.6
France	69.9	67.6	67.0
Germany	70.5	70.8	69.5
Netherlands	60.4	59.7	58.3
U.K.	73.4	73.4	73.1
U.S.A.	66.8	66.0	67.7

Source: International Labour Office, Yearbook of Statistics.

Finally, it must be pointed out that of late Sweden has had serious economic problems. Industries had to be shut down and competition with foreign countries has become difficult. This yielded an unfavorable balance of trade.<sup>1</sup>

The conclusion must be that the increased general education in Sweden has not met the expectations in this respect.

#### Labor Market Developments

Since economic growth required full employment, this has also been one of the main objectives of the Swedish policies. It is of interest to study this topic together with labor market training and persons employed in relief work. Table VIII-3 gives relevant figures. In studying the table, one must realize that persons employed in labor market training and relief work are not counted as unemployed, though they are mostly placed because they are unemployed.

The table shows that Sweden does not present a very favorable picture in comparison with some other European countries. Table VIII-4 shows, moreover, that the combination of unemployed persons in labor market training and in relief work has been steadily growing over the years in Sweden. This, in fact, means that unemployment has been growing much more steeply than unemployment figures indicate. The table gives two figures for unemployment. The one is for the persons

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<sup>1</sup>Ministry of Finance, The Swedish Economy 1971-1975, and the General Outlook up to 1990 [The 1970 Long-Term Survey] (Stockholm: Ministry of Finance, Secretariat of Economic Planning, 1971); and Ministry of Finance, The Swedish Budget 1971/72 [a summary] (Stockholm: Ministry of Finance, 1971).

TABLE VIII-3.--Unemployment, Labor Market Training and Relief Work.

	Unemployed % L.F.			In Labor Market Training % L.F.					In Relief Work				
	1960	1965	1969	1956	1960	1962	1965	1969	1957	1960	1962	1965	1968
Sweden	1.4	1.2	1.9	B	--	.29	.80	--	C	.05	-.14	-.11	-.12
	--	--	--	D	--	.18	.27	-.82	D	--	-.18	0.27	-.42
Belgium	4.2	2.4	3.6	A	-.05	.4	--	--	C	-.14	-.12	-.18	-.16
	--	--	--	B	--	2.9	5.1	--	-	--	--	--	--
France	1.3	.7	1.6	A	-.12	--	.11	--	-	--	--	--	--
Germany	1.2	.5	.7	A	-.15	.06	.02	--	C	--	-.05	-.02	-.01
	--	--	--	B	-.20	--	--	--	-	--	--	--	--
Netherlands	.7	.7	1.4	A	-.11	.07	.05	--	C	-.25	-.18	-.07	-.05
U.K.	1.6	1.5	2.5	A	-.02	.01	.01	--	-	--	--	--	--

Source: Margaret S. Gordon, Retraining and Labor Market Adjustment in Western Europe (Berkeley: University of California, Institute of Industrial Relations, 1969).

A. Training completed.

B. Enrollments.

C. Beatrice Reubens, The Hard to Employ, European Programs (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970). A report prepared for the Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, under Research Contract No. 26331-26244.

D. Labour Market Statistics, November 11, 1971; National Labour Market Board, Sweden.

Note: The Swedish figures for relief work do not include workers in sheltered workshops.



TABLE VIII-4.--Labor Market, Unemployment, Training, and Relief Work in Sweden.

Year	In Labor Force (in 1,000's)	Unemployed Registered % L.F.	Unemployed Sample Survey % L.F.	In Labor Market Training % L.F.	In Relief Work % L.F.	Total Unemployment, Training, and Relief Work % L.F.
1955	--	--	--	--	--	--
1956	--	1.3	--	--	--	--
1957	3,419	1.7	--	--	--	--
1958	3,471	2.4	--	--	--	--
1959	3,525	1.6	--	--	--	--
1960	3,584	1.1	--	-13	- .13	1.86
1961	3,635	1.2	--	-18	- .40	1.79
1962	3,676	1.2	--	-22	- .37	1.96
1963	3,749	1.2	--	-28	- .48	2.10
1964	3,710	1.1	--	-33	- .67	2.16
1965	3,736	1.1	--	-37	- .67	2.19
1966	3,786	1.0	1.2	-43	- .76	2.81
1967	3,773	1.3	1.6	-50	1.01	3.50
1968	3,824	1.8	2.1	-62	1.08	4.10
1969	3,840	1.9	2.2	-77	1.43	3.62
1970	3,913	1.4	1.9	-82	1.40	3.82
1971	--	1.5	1.5	-82	1.45	3.92
	--	2.2	2.7	-87	--	--

Source: Labor Market Statistics in 1971; published The National Labour Market Board, own computations as to percentages.

registered at the employment offices and the other for the persons found as unemployed in the sample-survey figures.

Relief work can be of two kinds: outdoor work and so-called "archive-work" in offices, musea, etc.

For an evaluation of the unemployment figures, one is referred to Appendix Table VIII-1, which gives adjusted and unadjusted international unemployment figures.

While the Swedish figures on Table VIII-4 show an increasing unemployment, be it overt or covert, Table VIII-5 shows that there is also an imbalance between unemployed persons and persons seeking employment.

Though these figures are unfavorable, they do not directly relate education to economic factors. In this respect youth-unemployment is of great importance. Table VIII-6 gives some impression of developments in this field since 1967, the first year for which unemployment figures were given for different age-groups.

The figures show that for the years 1967 and 1971, unemployment for the age group 14-19 was respectively 5.2 and 7.7, while for the prime age group (25-44) it was 1.7 and 2.0, and for the older workers 2.0 and 2.4. Evidently older workers are less affected by unemployment in spite of fewer years of formal education.

The fact that youth-unemployment was not systematically reported before 1967 may be an indication that before that time it was not yet recognized as a problem, though already in 1964 the sample survey showed an unemployment rate of 3.1 for the 16-24 age group as against 1.2 for the 25-54 age group.

TABLE VIII-5.--Labor Supply and Demand in Sweden.

Year	Unemployed Registered	% of Labor Force According to Registration	% of Labor Force Sample Survey	Registered Vacancies
1957	24,587	1.3	--	--
1957	30,483	1.7	--	--
1958	42,562	2.4	--	--
1959	36,753	1.6	--	--
1960	24,322	1.1	--	--
1961	20,948	1.2	--	--
1962	23,244	1.2	--	37,292
1963	24,777	1.1	--	41,547
1964	21,155	1.1	--	47,108
1965	19,967	1.0	1.2	53,786
1966	26,677	1.3	1.6	44,617
1967	35,851	1.8	2.1	32,591
1968	40,136	1.9	2.2	36,267
1969	35,999	1.4	1.9	56,932
1970	36,512	1.5	1.5	62,241
1971	--	2.2	2.7	--

Source: Labour Market Statistics, No. 11, 1971 (published by the National Labour Market Board).

TABLE VIII-6.--Unemployment by Age Group.

Year	16-19		20-24		16-24	
	% in Labor Force	% Unemployed	% in Labor Force	% Unemployed	% in Labor Force	% Unemployed
1967	52.4	5.2	70.5	3.2	62.9	3.9
1968	54.6	5.7	70.8	3.0	64.1	3.9
1969	52.4	4.6	71.2	2.8	63.6	3.4
1970	51.8	4.3	71.1	2.2	63.3	2.9
1971	52.8	7.7	71.0	3.7	63.6	5.1

Source: Uniderad bearbetning arbetskrafts undersökningen, Årsmeldtal, 1967-1971, Bureau of Statistics.

It must be remembered that unemployment may be more serious for young persons just entering the labor market than for older workers because, as has been discussed before, the former group may not receive any unemployment benefits. Young people may, therefore, go to universities to get a student loan, later to be paid back. This may depress the youth unemployment figures, cause too great an influx of unmotivated students, and finally produce over-educated workers. This may lead to lack of interest in the work to be done and to increasing absenteeism as shown on Table VIII-7. This is an increasing problem and is being studied in the University of Lund. Though it is seen as a problem, there are also voices that say that absenteeism is one of the aspects of the increasing quality of life, since people have more spare time because of it.

Though all these data are of great interest, in relation to the study it is of even greater interest to view the unemployment rates in relation with educational background.

#### Unemployment and Education

In 1968 figures were published giving relevant information in this respect (see Table VIII-8). The figures indicate that for the total labor force the having of some vocational education proved to be more beneficial as regards employment chances than the having of more general education. Also, the lower unemployment rates for the older people with little education point to the possibility that work-experience is important.

TABLE VIII-7.--Absenteeism by Age Group.

Year	Total Average % Labor Force	16-19 % Age Group in Labor Force	20-24
1967	10.0	7.6	13.5
1968	11.0	8.2	13.5
1969	11.6	8.5	12.3
1970	12.6	9.1	15.2
1971	13.5	10.0	16.7

Source: Uniderad bearbetning arbetskrafts undersökningen,  
 Årsmedeltal, 1967-1971, Bureau of the Statistics.

TABLE VIII-8.--Education and Unemployment in the Labor Force: 1968.

Education	% in Labor Force	Unemployed by Educational Background			
		% Total	% Age Group		
			14-24	25-44	45-
1. Common school and continuation courses	54.6	2.20	3.14	2.18	1.99
2. One plus at least one year vocational education	16.3	1.90	3.13	1.81	1.11
3. Lower secondary "Real school", etc.	9.7	2.33	4.25	1.18	- .47
4. Three plus at least one year vocational education	10.9	1.80	4.14	1.10	- .70
5. Gymnasium	2.3				
6. Five plus at least one year vocational education	2.5	1.40	4.44	1.08	- .43
7. Higher education	<u>-.6</u>				
Totals	100.0	<u>2.0</u>	<u>3.63</u>	<u>1.75</u>	<u>1.60</u>

Source: Meddelanden fran utredningsbyran, 18-4-1969, 1969:12; 1(26).

As regards the 14-24 age group, it is remarkable that persons with a gymnasium education experienced higher unemployment than workers with some eight years of schooling, and that in all cases one year of vocational schooling decreased the chances of becoming unemployed appreciably.

The only year for which the figures were given in this way was 1968. Later, they were less detailed and differently grouped and, therefore, gave less clear a picture (Table VIII-9).

The figures do show, however, that for the total labor force those with less than nine years of education and those with one or two years of gymnasium did not differ much as regards unemployment rates. Only some higher education seemed to lessen the chances for unemployment.

In 1971-72, the picture changed, however. Due to the high enrollments in the universities, especially in the unrestricted faculties, giving more general education, unemployment among university graduates was very high, though this was not recorded in the official figures and was officially denied. The students had not registered with the employment offices because they were of the opinion that these could not give them the right employment anyway. To prove how serious the situation in fact was, the Student Union organized a drive for registration.

At the end of March, 1972 university students were on relief work--some were making traffic counts--and some received labor market training for jobs not requiring university education. Some worked on



TABLE VIII-9.--Education and Unemployment in the Labor Force: 1971.

Education	% in Labor Force			Unemployed by Educational Background and Age					
	Men	Women	Total	Age 16-24		Age 25-44		Age 45-66	
				Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
1. Less than 9 years	50.0	47.0	48.0	2.6	4.9	7.5	1.9	2.8	2.0
2. 9-10 years Common school and "Real school"	9.0	12.0	10.0	3.5					
3. Gymnasium at least 1 year*	9.0	15.0	12.0	2.5					
4. Gymnasium at the most 2 years	10.0	11.0	10.0	2.5					
5. Gymnasium more than 2 years	13.0	6.0	11.0	1.6	3.4	4.2	1.8	1.2	1.4
6. Higher education at the most 2 years*	3.0	5.0	3.0	1.8					
7. Higher education more than 2 years	6.0	5.0	5.0	0.7					
Total				2.4					

Educational Background Population (Age 20-66) and Labor Force (Age 20-66)			% of Total Population		% in Labor Force	
Education						
1. Less than 9 years			53		49	
2. 9-10 years Common school and "Real school"			8		8	
3. Gymnasium at least 1 year*			10		11	
4. Gymnasium at the most 2 years			9		10	
5. Gymnasium more than 2 years			10		11	
6. Higher education at the most 2 years*			4		4	
7. Higher education more than 2 years			5		6	

Source: Meddelanden från utredningsbyrån, 8.12.1971, 1971:29 (20).

Note: Different classification from 1968.

\*Presumably drop-outs.

the factory floor as ordinary workmen, with the normal pay going with the job.

#### Possible Causes of the Labor-Market Problems

Various people were interviewed as to the possible causes of increased unemployment, especially among the young. The comments received are here given under separate headings, though various persons mentioned more than one cause.

Structural change.--This was not mentioned by any of the interviewees but is often mentioned in official statements about the desirability of labor market training for the promotion of structural change. This, in turn, must promote economic growth. The desirability of more industrialization and possibly higher concentration of workers in certain areas are also mentioned as a solution to Sweden's present unfavorable economic position.<sup>2</sup>

Appendix Table VIII-2 gives an international comparison with regard to employment shifts. It shows that Sweden has experienced a greater shift away from agriculture and toward services. In industry and manufacture Swedish shifts have, however, been smaller. The increased services must largely be ascribed to increased social services, part of which must be called "remedical services," as will be shown in the next section.

One is, therefore, inclined to wonder whether the structural change in Sweden will indeed improve its economic position and its

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<sup>2</sup>Ministry of Finance, The Swedish Economy 1971-1975.



balance of trade. Furthermore, the distribution of the labor force over the various sectors seems to be inefficient. There is a shortage of workers in the mines, for instance, while there is an oversupply of workers in various services.<sup>3</sup> (See also Table VIII-5.)

The next factor mentioned by practically all interviewees was:

Insufficient practical training and actual work experience.--

Formerly many youngsters entered industries and received their training on-the-job or in the industry-schools. This has now changed.

In the ninth grade of the comprehensive school no direct vocational training is given, while vocational orientation is insufficient and inefficient. The practical work contact does not give a realistic picture of what a certain vocation really entails. The periods of practical work are too short and the pupils hardly take part in the work.<sup>4</sup>

Furthermore, youngsters of sixteen leaving school have built up certain expectations and requirements. They are unwilling to start from the bottom to learn a job. When they were younger, this was no problem. Now the young people are disinclined to take manual jobs even if these pay somewhat better than other positions. They refuse

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Björn Grünwald, Education and Training Department of the Swedish Employers' Confederation (S.A.F.), personal information received; and information received from various pupils.

to take work they think dirty, noisy or monotonous, but the more easy and pleasant jobs are not available to them because they are given to the old and ailing.<sup>5</sup>

Also, most streams in the gymnasium school give theoretical schooling only, without any possibility of work-experience. Students would have to obtain such experience in the summer vacation, but during that time all industries close. The theoretical streams hardly prepare even for the idea of having to work in the future. Most of the students are totally unprepared for actual work. The vocational training given does not prepare for the work situation, and machines may soon become outmoded. In fact, only the continuation school streams give the possibility of a combination of theoretical and practical training for intermediate level vocations, though some vocational streams prepare for work, but only in certain sectors.<sup>6</sup>

There is, and always has been, a shortage of qualified man power, even with high unemployment rates. In the enterprises workers are closely guided and followed, and the capable and suitable get better positions. There are, therefore, possibilities for upward mobility within the blue-collar and the white-collar jobs, but it is difficult to bridge the gap between the two. This can and

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid.; Laila Eriksson, Swedish Employers' Confederation (S.A.F.), personal information received; and Torbjörn Sundqvist, Vocational Rehabilitation Division, National Labour Market Board, personal information received.

<sup>6</sup>Grünewald, personal information received.

could be done, however, by taking courses in the evening and during vacations.<sup>7</sup>

Another comment was that:

Years of schooling have become a kind of screening device for hiring.--Formerly practically any youngster could be taught to perform practically any job adequately. Now that the majority of the young people have more education, it is assumed that there is something wrong with the youth who had not had so much schooling; that he is of inferior quality. The better educated are, therefore, so to say "creamed off" and the rest is discarded. As more youngsters are forced by law or social pressure to get more schooling, it becomes increasingly hard for those who are less academically minded to find jobs. This will become more so now that more general subjects are introduced in all courses, including the vocational ones.<sup>8</sup>

As regard unemployment among academics, the following comments were given.

The Labor Market was totally unprepared for the influx of university graduates.--This influx was caused by high enrollments in the unrestricted faculties. These, in fact, do not prepare for any special vocation.<sup>9</sup> The situation must partly be ascribed to the fact

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<sup>7</sup>Eriksson, personal information received.

<sup>8</sup>Anders Arfwedson, Secretary to the Association of Academic Workers (S.A.C.O.), personal information received.

<sup>9</sup>Grünwald, personal information received; Arfwedson, personal information received; and Uppsala Student Union, personal information received.

that in the pre-higher education stages insufficient information is given about studies and job opportunities. On entering higher education, students are not sufficiently informed either. They do not know what they can expect and make choices on the basis of rumors.<sup>10</sup>

Employers and the Labour Market Board were unprepared for the influx of university graduates on the labor market. Some persons say that it is simply incredible that no warning was given of the developing situation.<sup>11</sup> Others said that they had warned how serious the situation might be, but that no heed was given to these warnings. Others again said that the situation was purposely created to put an end to the favored position of academics with regard to employment possibilities and income.<sup>12</sup> Mr. Karlsson of the Confederation of Labour Unions (L.O.) denied that the situation was critical. The academics were still in a favored position.<sup>13</sup> He based this statement on the number of registered unemployed, but the majority of the academics had not registered at the employment offices, because they did not think these would not be able to help them to a suitable job

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<sup>10</sup>Grünwald, personal information received; and Uppsala Student Union, personal information received.

<sup>11</sup>Sundqvist, personal information received; and National Union of Students, personal information received.

<sup>12</sup>Arfwedson, personal information received; and Göran Kalin, International Secretary to the National Association of Secondary School Teachers (L.R.), personal information received.

<sup>13</sup>Ture Karlsson, Confederation of Labour Unions (L.O.), personal information received.

anyway. As has been said, there is a difference between the registered unemployment numbers and the rates as found by the sample surveys.

According to the Labour Market Board there were 3,000 unemployed academics in 1972, however; and in 1974-75, 23,000 more will be turned out.<sup>14</sup>

If the developments had been foreseen and publicized, the employers could have prepared themselves for it. If no workers can be found for jobs that are offering, production must be changed in such a way that jobs are such that available workers are willing to take them. This is attempted now; too late, however. Now employers are disinclined to hire over-educated workers because they may cause dissatisfaction and disruption.<sup>15</sup>

All this led to the following situation.

The situation in the beginning of 1972.--Unemployed university graduates have a couple of options. Some, after a spell of unemployment accept "lowlier" jobs, with the lower pay that goes with them. sometimes they get job-training in the enterprise, sometimes the simple job may prove a stepping stone to a better situation in the same enterprise.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>Grünwald, personal information received.

<sup>16</sup>Arfwedson, personal information received; and articles in daily newspapers.



Another possibility is getting retraining for some simpler job at the Labour Market Board, which then places them somewhere, for instance as salesmen.<sup>17</sup>

The third possibility is for graduates to continue their studies and receive a government study-grant, which, however, must be paid back later. They thus increase their debt, may become more over-educated, and spoil their job chances even further. Many students expressed the opinion that they would have been better off if they had started work much earlier. They would then have acquired seniority and they would have no or smaller debts to the government.<sup>18</sup> Finally, graduates can try to find work abroad.

It is feared that the present situation may lead to a dangerous brain-drain. The Association of Academic Workers sold 5,000 pamphlets with information about possibilities abroad. Probably only a small percentage did emigrate, however, because the Swedish graduates have to face a fierce competition of graduates in the other countries.<sup>19</sup>

It is hoped that, to a degree, the situation will redress itself. University applications have already dropped by 25 percent according to information received at the office of the Chancellor of the Swedish Universities.

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<sup>17</sup>Sundqvist, personal information received.

<sup>18</sup>Uppsala Student Union, personal information received; and National Union of Students, personal information received.

<sup>19</sup>Arfwedson, personal information received.

There are, however, also persons who see the sunny side of the situation.

Benefits that can arise from the present situation.--Possible positive effects may be the following:

Young people will no longer go to university to get a well-paying and easy job. Only those will embark on higher education who are really motivated and willing to sacrifice a great deal, just for the love of learning and dedication to the vocation they have chosen.<sup>20</sup>

A further possible advantage is that the young over-educated workers will influence the older workers and make them aware of their working conditions. The younger workers will be better able to voice dissatisfaction and make suggestions for the improvement of the working conditions and for different production methods. This will cause a new communication between workers and employers, which may lead not only to better working conditions, but also to more efficient production, because workers can get more involved in what they do and can use their full capacities. It need not be degrading for academics to take lowly jobs, if only they have the courage to cope with the situation and use their educational background to cooperate with the employers. This might also break down the barrier between the young and the old and between educational institutions and working life.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>National Union of Students, personal information received.

<sup>21</sup>Grünwald, personal information received.

Such an evolution requires different hiring policies, however. Employers must be aware that they must appoint persons with more education than they used to do for the same jobs. This, in turn, might cause those with less education but performing the same jobs as the better educated, to get higher pay. It would make for more equality.<sup>22</sup>

All these developments have led to the various proposals with respect to reforms.

New proposals with regard to university education and recurrent education.--The proposals for shorter and more practical courses at university level must be seen as partly a result of the developments just described. As has been pointed out, however, also in the new programs, only theoretical/practical training is proposed.

Possibilities for further education in employers' time are under discussion. Recurrent education would require financial security for the participants in the various programs.<sup>23</sup>

All these developments have made for higher public expenditure for education, including alternative education and labor market training. Furthermore, social problems and high unemployment have greatly influenced public expenditure. As has been discussed in Chapter VI, a balance between various expenditures is considered important. Therefore, this aspect will now be discussed.

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<sup>22</sup>Sundqvist, personal information received; National Union of Students, personal information received; and Arfwedson, personal information received.

<sup>23</sup>Grünewald, personal information received.

### Developments in Public Expenditure

As has been pointed out in the chapter on relevant literature, a proper balance between various expenditures may be of the greatest importance for economic growth and other developments.

In Chapter III some international comparisons were given. In Table VIII-10 an overview is given of increases in public expenditure in Sweden between 1950-1970. The figures are a resume of the more extensive table given in Appendix VIII-1.

TABLE VIII-10.--Increases in Public Expenditures Between 1950-1970  
in Percentages of G.N.P.

Public Expenditure	Percentage by G.N.P.
G.N.P. per capita increased by	445
Taxes per inhabitant by	730
Taxes as expressed in percentage of G.N.P. by	163
Expenditure on social services in percentage of G.N.P. by	259
Expenditure on education in percentage of G.N.P. by	242
Expenditure on Labor Market services by	926
Expenditure of law and order by	518

The figures indicate that increased taxes have mainly been spent for remedial measures, for measures to improve the imbalances in the labor market and to curb lawlessness.

The Swedish Government and the Minister of Finance do not make a secret of the fact that Swedish taxes are higher than anywhere else in the world. They are even proud of it. If Sweden

wants to build a welfare state, the money must be taken from the people who make it, and profit from the extra services.

Table VIII-11 gives an impression how public moneys are spent on various services and how they have increased between 1950 and 1970.

TABLE VIII-11.--Percentage Share of Various Services in Total State Expenditure.

Service	Year		
	1950	1960	1970
Alcoholism: treatment and prevention	- .16%	- .30%	- .42%
Law and order	1.31	1.63	4.44
Prisons	- .34	- .49	- .76
Police force	- .41	- .52	2.70
Labor market training	- .04	0.21	1.23
Relief work	- .21	- .66	1.37

Further details on expenditure in various services are given in Appendix VIII-3 and VIII-4.

The figures on Appendix VIII-3 show how steeply costs for combating alcoholism have increased. As has been mentioned in Chapter VII increase of alcohol problems among adults has stopped but alcoholism among the young is steadily increasing.

Appendix VIII-4 shows a sharp increase in expenditure for police; the keeping of law and order. It has been pointed out in the previous chapter that it is mainly the young that cause the

increase in problems in this field. The rising costs for prisons is partly offset by probable improvements in treatment and prison facilities.

For more detailed figures on expenditure on various types of education and training one can turn to appendices VIII-6, VIII-7, and VIII-8. They show how greatly the cost of labor market training has increased in comparison to the educational cost and how comparatively cheap voluntary education is, while formal adult education requires ever more money.

### Conclusions

The conclusion that must be drawn from the various figures is, that with increasing educational costs, other costs, mainly those required for remedial measures have increased far more steeply. This brings to mind the various opinions warning against the educational reforms and the establishment of large schools. The opinion was expressed that these would require large other expenditures to remedy the damage done in the schools.

There are, however, also other factors that may have caused the financial developments and the various problems. The probable importance of the various factors for the unfavorable developments will be evaluated in the last chapter.

## CHAPTER IX

### MAKING UP THE BALANCE

Before assessing the significance of the various trends found in Sweden and the relative merits of formal and alternative modes of education, it is desirable to first give a short overview of what has been found.

#### Summary of What Has Been Found

##### The Relevant Literature

A study of the relevant literature showed that the validity of the main popular suppositions upon which educational practices rest must be called into question. There are serious indications that:

1. A common school for all children does not eliminate socio-economic differences and may even aggravate them.
2. Learning ability increases with age and different individuals can learn at different ages, depending on social and other factors.
3. Compensatory education in early childhood or somewhat later is, therefore, not a solution to the problems arising from differences in ability caused by whatever reasons.





4. The finding that persons with more general education are more inclined to engage in further education may not indicate a causal relationship.

As to the economics of education, the literature gives indications that:

1. More general education need not necessarily be the cause of economic growth.
2. Increased and prolonged general education is often accompanied by increased youth unemployment and does not necessarily prepare persons efficiently for the changing demands of the job market.
3. The relationship between more formal education and higher income may be spurious, artificial and even harmful.
4. More general education does not necessarily improve the quality of life for the individual and the society.

Furthermore, there is a growing doubt as to the desirability of economic growth in its generality.

As regards alternative forms of education, the literature indicates that the various proposals for such education are sometimes not only in contradiction with research findings, but also with each other. They are hardly based on practical experience, though some of such experience can be found in some European countries.

The study of the background information on Sweden shows that the country's sudden leap into prosperity must largely be ascribed to

a number of influences which are unrelated to increased formal education, such as the following facts:

1. The Swedish leaders have always been ambitious, pragmatic people striving after power and prestige.
2. This was facilitated by the fact that for centuries the country had had a strong, centralized government, aided by an efficient centralized bureaucracy, while the majority of the people lived in closed agricultural or mining communities under paternalistic rule.
3. The country has stayed out of the two world wars and profited from the resulting consequences.
4. Sweden is the richest West European country as regards natural resources in combination with the landmass/population ratio, and it could take advantage of this favorable condition when other countries were suffering from wars and the aftermaths thereof.

These historic, national circumstances have led to other important developments. Generalizing one may say that due to the circumstances, the Swede is more of an organization man than most other Europeans. Sweden's social, economic and political structure rests on organizations rather than on individuals. For the last half century or so the most powerful organizations have been the Social Democratic Party, the Confederation of Labor Unions, and the Confederation of Employers. Other popular movements, such as the cooperative movement, also have played a significant part. Policies are decided on by these movements on a basis of compromise and

pragmatism. This, and the fact that the Swedes are used to living under a paternalistic rule, have made it possible for the Social Democratic Party to be in power for some forty years now. One might say that this party has taken the place of the former royal or noble rulers. By giving and taking and biding its time, by entering into coalitions as expediency dictated, it has been able to slowly introduce many of its objectives. This has led to a stable government, while pragmatism and compromise between Labor and Employers has led to a labor peace which has contributed to Sweden's economic growth.

The same tendency to form organizations has led to the development of nonformal education, of which the primary examples are the Folk High Schools, founded by the Farmers, and the lecture and study-circle activities. These were started by various associations to make up for the lack of formal education.

If education has played any part in Sweden's development, it is the lack of formal education which stimulated the development of nonformal education. A large proportion of the leaders who brought Sweden to economic and social development are the bloom of this kind of education after some six years of elementary schooling.

It is interesting to speculate to what degree this has influenced the drive for more formal education. It is common for parents to want to give their children an education which is better--as they see it--than they have had themselves.

It is possibly also because of the "humble" homes from which many of the leaders came that social reforms in Sweden are so highly publicized. It is the sudden and rapid change which catches the

attention. In spite of Sweden's reputation of being the welfare state in Europe, on closer scrutiny it appears that the average Swede is not better cared for than the average citizen of many of the other European countries. In many aspects which make for "the quality of life," Sweden is equal or inferior to some of the other European countries. It has, however, more cars, more T.V. sets, radios and telephones.

Taxes in Sweden are higher than in any other country and the citizens are more dependent on State services. The State is responsible for some 90 percent of all housing, is owner of many enterprises including those in trade and industry. Furthermore, the Government is steadily acquiring more influence in the private enterprises by means of tax-regulations and state representatives on the governing boards of the private undertakings.

The forming of large conglomerates is stimulated by the Government because these are taken to promote greater efficiency and, therefore, a better competitive position and greater economic growth. This is necessary for the financing of the social objectives of the Government.

#### The Educational Reforms

The study shows that the main reasons given for educational reforms are social equality, full employment and a vigorous economic growth. They have been based on social, political and economic principles rather than on psychological and educational ones. They have been introduced in the face of grave opposition of many educators and by means of political manipulation.

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The various reforms all went into the direction of more of the same general education for every one, of the abolition of private educational institutions, of the abolition or incorporation of vocational schools in the formal general educational system. In the vocational streams, progressively more general subjects were introduced. Increasingly, options for various types of schooling have been delayed. Therewith also the possibilities were diminished for youngsters to opt for early employment.

Because the reforms caused grave practical problems, and did not achieve the objectives, continually new reforms had to be introduced. In the process individual freedom of educational and vocational choice seems to have been progressively curtailed.

Nation-wide objective tests have been introduced. Grading all over the country is on the so-called normal curve, and placement in the various streams of the upper-secondary school is largely decided upon by the Board of Education in Stockholm. Decisions are made on the basis of labor market requirements, the obtained grade-point average of the student and on the student's preference. Against the central decision there is no recourse. The stream in which a student is placed decides what he can study later at a university or some other institution for higher education. Also, placement in certain faculties is again decided by the grade-point average received in the upper-secondary school.

It seems that social equality and economic requirements are hard to match with individual freedom of choice. Not only has the freedom of choice of adolescents as regards educational and vocational

choice been postponed and reduced, but also the educational content is decided on by the central authorities. A central committee must decide on the acceptability of the content of books for theoretical subjects.

Furthermore, a computer data-bank has been established in cooperation with the Bureau of Statistics to be able to keep close track of what happens in the various schools all over the country. This will facilitate the task of the administrators and the task of the central authorities in deciding on stream allocations and other measures. The possibility is considered of keeping computer cards for each student, also, after he has left school.

The information obtained indicates that with extended compulsory education and the curtailment of real freedom of choice academic standards have gone down. This has made it necessary to design new curricula which, however, seem not to solve the problem of keeping up standards and differences in ability.

It is officially recognized that all efforts with respect to education have not appreciably diminished social inequalities. The less privileged in socio-economic respect are still under-represented in the more academic streams and in the universities. Therefore, new proposals have been made that all students can enter university, irrespective of the earlier stream in upper-secondary school which has been attended. There are also proposals for recurrent education through which students can enter the labor market after having finished the upper secondary school--that is to say, at the age of 18 or 20--and take up further schooling at some later date. This means

that all students must be prepared to be able to follow university studies. How this must be achieved is not stated.

For social reasons and in view of labor market problems with high unemployment rates among graduates who have studied humanities and more general higher education, it is suggested that university studies be more vocationally biased and less attention be given to scholarly studies. Also administrative and organizational changes are proposed. According to these proposals, employers and employee organizations will have greater influence on the university curricula and on the places made available in various subject fields.

Vocational courses must be given but these must be more theoretical than practical.

#### Adult and Alternative Modes of Education

During the last five years the Government has set great store by adult education as a means of bridging the educational gap between the older and the young. This gap has increased considerably due to the educational changes, which have caused youngsters to stay in school longer and more students to go to a university.

In 1968 public evening gymnasias were established. These offer formal education at lower- and upper-secondary levels and prepare for the same qualifications as the regular schools. These gymnasias have, however, not come up to the expectations in that they mainly attract the younger people who already have had a fair amount of education and need further qualifications for jobs or university entrance. This has made it necessary to refuse entrance to students



who have had the chance to receive that kind of education in the regular school system. Preference is given to older people and to persons who have not had more than six or seven years of schooling.

In spite of this, older persons with a minimal education prefer to attend the study-circles offered by a number of private associations, of which the Workers Education Association is now the largest. These circles have an old history and have become increasingly popular. In 1970 some 50 percent of the population between 30 and 74 attended a study circle. Practically all persons attending such circles are over 30 and have had not more than six or seven years of formal education.

An enormous array of subjects are offered, varying from child-care to music, psychology, law, economics, engineering and a great number of more common and extremely uncommon languages. Each circle has some five to ten participants led by a specially trained leader, who may not teach. The participants study the chosen subject together. There are no entrance requirements and no certification. People just come for the love of learning and for social interaction. Unlike the evening gymnasias, participation is not free. Students must pay a small fee which may be reimbursed by either the labor movement or, in some cases, the employer if the subject's studies are considered of importance to the movement or the employer.

The Government subsidizes the study circles and is trying to get more influence on the curricula with respect to subjects which must be considered "general educational." There is some pressure for formalizing the instruction. This meets with great opposition from

the associations which fear that therewith the attractiveness of the circles will be lessened. There is also some talk about incorporating some of the subjects into the formal adult education system. This, it is feared, would deprive the participants of the social advantages of the circles.

On the other hand, the Confederation of Labor Unions and the Workers' Education Association have petitioned the Government for a grant to do research and experimental work in the field of adult education. This is considered necessary in view of the fact that the formal adult education system proves to have so little attraction for the older and less educated people. The two organizations will investigate in what way recruitments for participation must be done, what form the educational activities must have and how the leaders must be trained. It is suggested that adult education must be given more or less on the model of the study circles.

Parallel to this is a Government proposal for "recurrent education." The reasons given for this proposal are that the increasing educational cost do not allow for expansion of formal education and adult education. If less money is available for the latter form of education more persons will seek more formal education and a vicious circle will have set in. The gap between the educated and the undereducated will grow, together with the gaps between those in the world of work and those in the world of school, and between the young and the old. This, in turn, will result in a gap between the governed and the governing, which will lead to grave troubles. It will lead to the forming of subgroups in society which may upset its total structure.

Because recurrent education cannot be introduced before various provisions are made for job and income security, it is suggested that for the time being all attention be given to adult education. Once recurrent education has been introduced, adult education will become superfluous, since the young and the older will study and work side by side.

In the proposal for recurrent education, it is clearly stated that it must take place after a formal-education-period of some eleven to thirteen years. This means that the present elementary and secondary education system must be left intact. No attention is given to the fact that youth problems already start in the upper-grades of the compulsory comprehensive school, that is, in grades seven to nine.

The Folk High Schools are a well-known feature of Scandinavian nonformal education. Also, this education has an old history in Sweden and was originally established by private organizations to supplement the inadequate formal educational system. Gradually the Government has obtained more influence on these schools by giving subsidies for their activities. In the process in subjects and instruction have become more formal in most schools, many of which give certifications which enable the students to enter tertiary education. Some have become virtually theoretical vocational schools. Only under special circumstances can youngsters under eighteen enter the Folk High Schools which are mostly co-educational boarding schools. The students come from various backgrounds, but most have had a fair amount of formal education. Often they go to a Folk High School to find themselves or to get away from the "rat-race" for a while.

With the extension of formal schooling it was feared that enrollments in the Folk High Schools would drop. This has, up until recently, not been the case. Yet the most recent trend is towards a decreasing interest in the more formal Folk High Schools and a growing desire to enter the less formal type.

Although the Folk High Schools are the best known type of alternative education in Scandinavia, they enroll in Sweden a much smaller percentage of the age group than the study circles. The percentage of the age group between 18 and 50 has varied between 0.27 in 1950 and 0.40 in 1970, in spite of the fact that studying at a Folk High School may not be more expensive for the student than living at home and studying at some other educational institution. This is due to the grants which students can obtain.

Semi-private adult education at the tertiary level is also available but is not of a significant influence. Students must pay a fee, while formal higher education is free, and subjects are taught by university professors in small groups. The students are prepared for the formal examinations.

Correspondence education is offered by some Government institutions but the attempts are new and little can be said about the results. A large private institution seems to be of some significance, especially with regard to curriculum development. Its curricula and media are bought and used by some public educational institutions, such as the evening gymnasia.

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### Social-Psychological Developments

The study shows that in recent years all types of youth delinquency have increased. There has been a rise in alcoholism among ever-younger children, which was not accompanied by a similar trend among adults. Due to a concentrated effort of private temperance organizations and the government, alcoholism in general has decreased.

Drug abuse, especially among the young is on the rise, while also destructiveness, fraud and theft have increased among the younger age groups. This has led to a strong increase in convictions in courts and in imprisonments. Psychological problems and suicide rates among the young have gone up while this is not the case with the adults.

Knowledgeable persons suggested as possible causes of this phenomenon next to the influence of the school, a variety of other factors, which, consequently, were studied (see Appendix IX-1).

1. Working mothers. The research does not show that this factor can have had a considerable influence on the unfavorable developments, however. Appendix IX-2 shows that the number of children under sixteen with working mothers more than doubled between 1960 and 1970, but such children only made up about half of the total age group in 1970, so that the total influence of working mothers can only have been some 25 percent. This small percentage combined with other research findings make it improbable that working mothers can

have been a strong factor in the enormous increases in the problems.

2. Illegitimacy of children was not mentioned by interviewees as a possible factor. Some correlation was found, however, in one of the Swedish research projects studied. Appendix IX-3 shows that indeed illegitimate births have increased considerably between 1960 and 1970, but this group made up only 10 percent of the group most affected by the problems. Furthermore, the increase during the above-mentioned ten years was insignificant for this age-group. Illegitimacy can, therefore, hardly be considered a cause of the increased problem. This also explains why it was not mentioned by the interviewees.
3. Urbanization was often mentioned as a possible unfavorable influence. Appendix IX-4 shows, however, that the population in the three largest towns went down. It is true that there was a slight population increase in the four next largest towns, but these can hardly be called large cities. Furthermore, Swedish research indicated that having moved into Stockholm did not influence the incidence of problems among schoolchildren.
4. Increased wealth was mentioned by one source. Appendix IX-5 shows that private consumption has gone up some 50 percent since 1963, but also prices have risen. Furthermore, working mothers make life more expensive. They need to buy more

expensive clothes and more pre-prepared expensive food because they have less time for their housekeeping. Besides, other findings in the research suggest that many families have less money to spend than some years ago.

5. Alcoholism of the parents was found to have an unfavorable influence on the children, but the figures indicate that this problem has gone down among adults, so that it cannot have influenced the increase in youth problems. The trend should have reduced these problems.
6. Insecurity, lack of goal-directedness, confusing life-changes and the increased speed of life are hard to measure. Besides, the first two can be related to the school experience of the youngsters; the postponement of choices and the impossibility of taking a job at an earlier age.

This leaves education and educational practices as a possible cause of the increased social and psychological problems. It was mentioned by almost all interviewees, sometimes in combination with earlier maturation and a frustrated desire for independence. Also, a prolonged adolescence, due to longer schooling, was mentioned. Since in research done in Sweden also a relationship was found between problems and education and/or ability, it seems that, indeed, education may be the most important factor contributing to the rising social-psychological problems among youngsters.

Some influence may, however, also be ascribed to the combination, the interaction, between the various factors. These are,



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however, closely connected with the policies aiming at economic growth to promote the development of the "welfare state."

### Economic Developments

Economic growth has been one of the main objectives of the Government. Such growth requires--it was said--a well-educated work force and, therefore, more schooling. The study shows, however, that Sweden's economic and productivity growth has not increased with the introduction of more and prolonged general education, mostly at the cost of vocational training. Such growth has been more vigorous in some other European countries which had a greater percentage of the young people in vocational and apprenticeship programs. It is noteworthy that Germany, which has the lowest educational cost, the lowest youth unemployment and the highest percentage of youngsters in vocational and apprenticeship programs seems to have overtaken Sweden as regards G.N.P. per capita.

Labor market problems. Another major objective of the Government, closely connected with economic growth, has been full employment. Unemployment together with numbers in relief work and labor market training have gone up consistently, however. What is most disconcerting is that increasing numbers of young persons are affected by unemployment. The unemployment rates for older workers with less formal education are lower. Figures in the study show that work experience and some vocational training are more important than some more general education as regards employment as well as income.

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Furthermore, in 1970-71, 29 percent of the persons starting labor market training were under 24; that is to say, of the year group that had "benefitted" from the educational reforms and more general education. In that period the age group under 24 only constituted 18 percent of the labor force.

In 1972 university graduates, especially those from the faculties which give mainly "general" education, were unemployed and unemployable unless they were willing to take more lowly jobs with the lower pay going with them. Some graduates were being retrained for such employment.

Also, absenteeism is a growing problem in Sweden and in this respect, too, the younger workers show higher rates than the older ones.

Finally, also the demand and supply seems to be out of balance. While people are unemployed, there are unfilled vacancies, and these mostly do not require a great deal of education.

Knowledgeable persons interviewed as to the possible causes of the labor market situation, mentioned the wrong kind of education, the attitudes of the youngsters and hiring practices as the main causes of the problem. Youngsters with less education than the majority of the applicants were "screened out" as inferior. In many cases the jobs did not require the extra education, however.

On the other hand, youngsters with more education are disinclined to take jobs which are less pleasant and do not come up to their expectations because they do not require the education which has been received.

To solve the problem it is said that the young people must change their job expectations, and the employers must change their hiring standards in keeping with the new educational level of the young workers. Some people hope that the new situation will make for more equality and better production methods, if persons with different educational backgrounds will have to work together. It will make for a better understanding among persons with different educational backgrounds and may cause the less educated to get better pay if they do the same work as the better educated. It is not mentioned that this might raise the production cost and make Sweden's competitive position even more difficult than it has become of late. Such a development might cause further unemployment, which is not conducive to economic growth.

Structural change was not mentioned by the interviewees as a possible cause of the growing unemployment. It is, however, officially often referred to as desirable for a vigorous economic growth. It is also said that it requires more labor market training and retraining.

Appendix IX-7 shows that structural change has not been very great in Sweden, however, during the last years. This may explain why this possible cause was not mentioned by the interviewees.

Public expenditure. This aspect of the economy gives a revealing picture of the various developments, as shown by the following figures.

Increases in Various State Expenditures Between 1950 and 1970  
(see Appendix Tables VIII-4, VIII-5, VIII-6 and XIII-7)

Education total	1,275%
Labor market training	27,646%
Relief work	4,718%*
Prevention and treatment of alcoholism	2,718%
Police force	4,888%

\*1950-1968

The high figures for increases in expenditure for labor market training and for the police force indicate serious increases in manpower and in law and order problems. The educational cost only refers to the State expenditure on education. A closer look will be given at these expenditures.

Increases in Various State Expenditures on Education Between  
1950 and 1970  
(see Appendix Table VII-7)

Total	1,275%
Compulsory education	553%
Vocational and secondary education	1,040%
Higher education and research	2,600%
Adult education	960%*
Folk High Schools	792%
Other voluntary education	536%
Labor market training	27,647%

\*1967-1970

The percentages for compulsory, vocational and secondary education only refer to State expenditure. The local authorities pay about half the costs.

The percentages for the Folk High Schools and other voluntary education only reflect the State subsidies.

The high increases for vocational and secondary education and for higher education and research reflect the steep enrollment

increases. This, in turn, shows that it is not enrollments per se that count but the type of education given. As has been mentioned, vocational education has become much more theoretical and less practical, while the highest enrollment increases in higher education have been in the faculties which give more "general" higher education.

The figures show that with increased expenditure on education, costs for "remedial" measures, such as labor market training and the keeping of law and order have increased much more. This seems to indicate that more general education per se does not improve the labor force nor the quality of life.

### Conclusions

The conclusions which seem indicated by the findings in this study are that:

1. Compulsory education was extended and more general education for everyone was introduced and/or stimulated on social, economic and political grounds, rather than on psychological and educational ones. The measures were aimed at creating more social equality, a better prepared work force and full employment. The latter two conditions were necessary to promote economic growth, which was required to meet the social aims of the Government.
2. The economic and social aims have not been achieved.
  - a. The educational changes have not led to a more vigorous economic growth. There has been a growing overt or covert unemployment since the introduction of the educational changes, especially among the young.

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More labor market training was required also for the young who had profited from the educational changes.

Absenteeism has increased, especially among the young, which may probably be seen as a growing work-dissatisfaction.

- b. The educational changes have not appreciably promoted social equality and it is even said that there is a growing gap between the educated and the uneducated and between the young and the old.

The lower socio-economic classes are still under-represented in the academic lines of the gymnasias and in the universities, in spite of considerably increased enrollments.

- 3. It is hard to say if the interest for formal adult education has increased since no figures are available for enrollments in this type of education before it was taken over from private enterprise some five years ago. The latest information on applications for entrance in Folk High Schools seem to indicate that the more nonformal modes of education at this level have a greater attraction than the more formal modes of education.

Participation in voluntary alternative modes of education has increased considerably, but the participants in this kind of education are all older and have had very little formal education. The increased participation may be partly due to vigorous recruitment activities.

Those who have received more formal education are less inclined to engage in voluntary further education, unless it is for the acquiring of certifications which improve vocational opportunities. This indicates that more general education has not increased the love of learning.

4. Educational problems that have been encountered are: book-weariness, absenteeism and dropping of academic standards. To meet these problems, the following changes have been introduced or proposed.

New curricula have been introduced in the comprehensive school to make for greater student motivation and interest and for greater relevance of what has to be learned, without detracting from the general education aspect, which has even been strengthened.

For the gymnasium, new curricula have been designed to keep up the academic standards and yet cope with individual differences in ability. They make the impression, however, of obscuring rather than solving the problem. With regard to tertiary education, plans are under discussion to make this education more vocationally biased, and geared to labor market requirements. There is also a proposal for the introduction of recurrent education at this level, at some future date. Such education will enable a person to go back to school when practical work experience has made for more study motivation. Hopefully, if the young and the older work and study together at different periods, social and generation

differences will lessen. Adult education will then become superfluous. For the time being, however, all attention must be given to this latter education. Before recurrent education can be introduced, job and income security must be assured, while the secondary schools must prepare the students for work as well as for further studies.

No attention is given to the fact that recurrent education at the tertiary level will offer no solution for the problems which already arise at the comprehensive school level.

5. Concomitant with the educational changes, the following developments have been observed:

- a. Increases in alcohol and drug use among the young and among ever-younger children, which phenomenon is not matched by a similar increase among adults.

Increases in psychological problems and suicide rates, especially among the young.

Increases in destructiveness, disturbances of the peace, fraud and theft among teenagers leading to more convictions in courts and to higher rates of imprisonment, again not matched by similar increases among adults.

- b. Increasing youth unemployment.

Increased need for labor market training also among the young.

Increased absenteeism from work, more so among the young than among the older.

- c. Strong increases in public expenditure on "remedial measures" such as labor market training and the keeping of law and order. These increases are a reflection of the problems mentioned under a and b.
6. The relationship between these developments and the educational changes is hard to establish with certainty. The study strongly indicates, however, that the problems which have been observed are to a large degree related to educational developments. A study of other possible causes, such as working mothers, illegitimacy, urbanization, increased wealth and structural change, shows that these factors can either not, or only to a small degree, explain the unfavorable trends. It is possible that the interaction of various influences may also have been a cause. The study suggests, however, that the educational changes have played a major part in the increase in youth problems. One may venture to say that if education has not entirely caused the problems, it has certainly increased them rather than helped to solve them.
7. What kinds and forms of education might be most effective?

The finding of an answer to this question was the second objective of the study.

The findings in Sweden suggest that the type of nonformal education as offered in the study circles is most conducive to the love of learning. This type of education, therefore, deserves full attention.

Formal and prolonged general education have not improved the love of learning per se. Persons with more education seem to take more further education to improve their occupational chances. Furthermore, with the introduction of the educational reforms in the direction of more and longer general education in Sweden, youth labor market and social-psychological problems have increased. This kind of education, therefore, seems less effective for the improvement of the individual and social quality of life.

The relevant literature and the study findings indicate that possible causes of this phenomenon are that youngsters need to get independence and responsibility earlier, and that prolonged schooling creates a generation gap and subcultures. These may threaten the structure of society and make a smooth evolution more difficult.

#### Final Observation

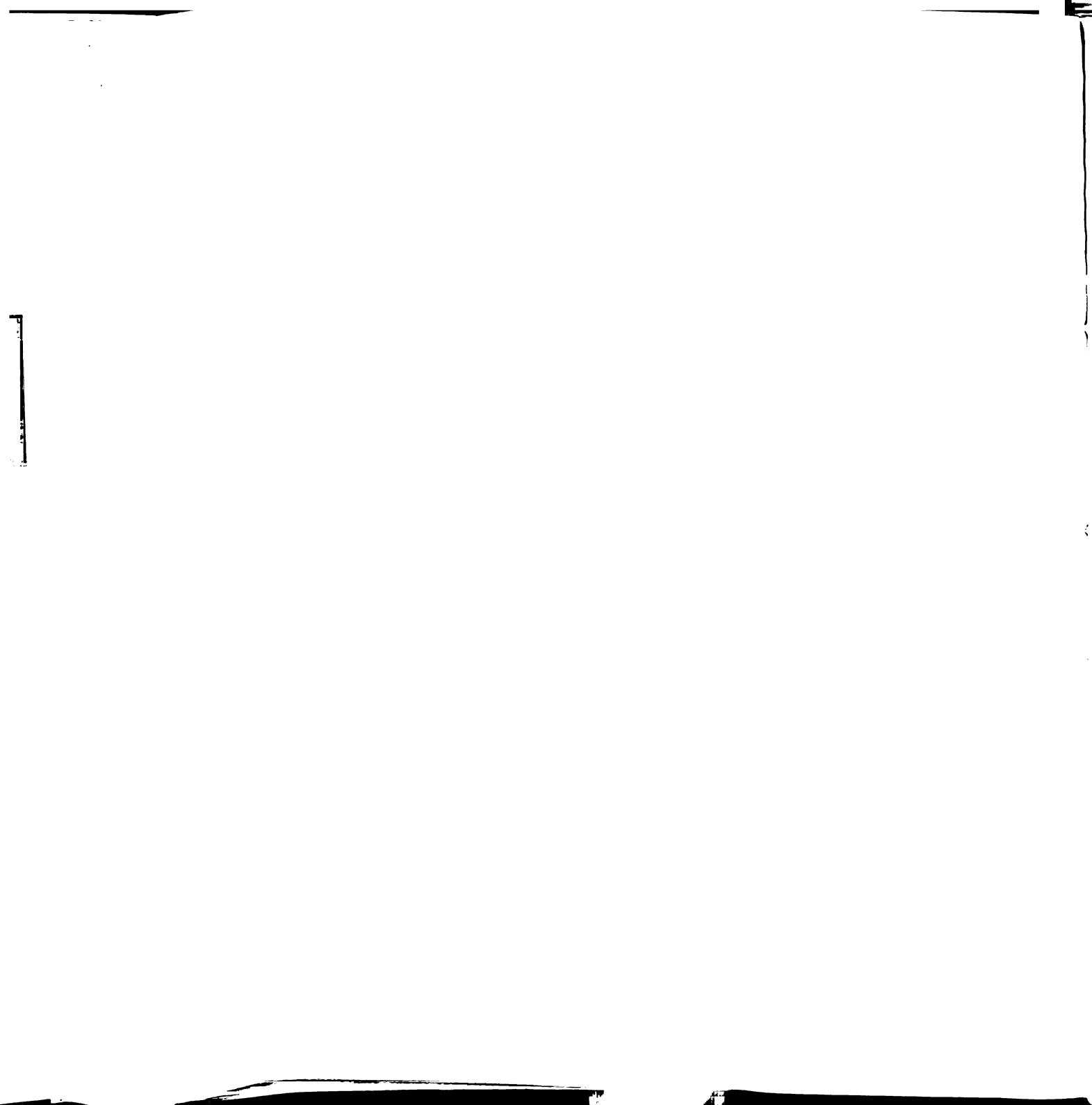
The developments in Sweden show a remarkable similarity to those in the United States.

#### A Possible Solution to the Educational Crisis

The study and its final conclusions suggest that the kind of education given in the Swedish study-circles and in the less formal Folk High Schools might well give a solution to the encountered problems. Such education starting at much younger ages, as suggested by the Council of Europe,<sup>1</sup> in "Permanent Education," may foster

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<sup>1</sup>Herbert Jocker, The Future Shape of Permanent Education, Studies on Permanent Education, No. 15 (Strasbourg, Decs 3/Decs 6, 1970), 16.702 04.3/51.03.



love of learning and prevent the unfavorable developments encountered in the comprehensive schools in Sweden. Spells of real practical work-experience which gives independence and responsibility, alternated with spells of schooling, may bridge educational, generation and social gaps.

Small curricular units should then be made available to students at any age, at any moment they desire to study a certain subject. For every subject, units on various levels of difficulty and with different approaches should then be made available for the students to choose from, so that they can fulfill their specific needs in keeping with their ability and interests. It should also be possible to refer a student to a particular study-leader for guidance and help. Small groups of students with similar interests should be enabled to study together.

Such an organization would make for a continual and smooth interaction between economic and personal needs and education, between adults and the young.

Money now spent on expensive and inefficient formal education and on all kinds of remedial measures could then be used more profitably for salaries for the work done by the young people; work from which they could learn and gain valuable life experience. It might eliminate expensive counseling services, as well as emotional problems.

Jobs created for the young need not deprive the adults of their positions. There are a great many jobs which are now left undone and which could add to the quality of life. There is no reason

why youngsters should not, for instance, help study-leaders; why they should not help in hospitals in bringing around food and drink, or read to the sick; why they should not help in a laboratory washing up the glassware and weighing chemicals. The newly-created jobs need by no means be menial and degrading. They might yield the service which is lacking in the service-economy of today.

It is true that such a change would require an entirely new approach to the economic system and to education, but it might lead to a better society with greater social equality and a better understanding between the old and the young.

Besides, a complete rethinking of society would be required if economic growth is no longer to be striven after. Such a new attitude would require an entirely different attitude towards production and, therefore, towards preparation for the labor market, education and later life.

The education as proposed might make a smooth transition possible from the one to the other economic system.

#### Recommendations

It is clear that in the previous section only speculations are given. More research is required as to practical results of formal and alternative modes of education in other countries. It is suggested that a suitable country for such a study would be Germany, to begin with. It has the greatest number of apprenticeships in combination with vocational schooling and plans for opening a second route to the university by way of vocational education and practical experience.



A further recommendation is that the present and similar studies be analyzed by means of information theory, which may be able to attach probability values to possible causes and results.

Finally, it is suggested that studies touching on educational planning be done in cooperation between economists, manpower specialists, sociologists and educationalists. Educational, social, psychological and economic aspects of life should be viewed as a total system and studied as such.

## APPENDIX

## APPENDIX

### I.1--Persons Interviewed Officially

#### At the National Board of Education

- Mr. Sven Elmgren, Head of the Information Department.
- Mr. Hans Högberg, Head of the Division of Information on Vocational Training in the Upper-Secondary Schools, then entrusted with the designing of new curricula.
- Mr. Viljar Nairis, the Second Secretary to the National Board of Education, then entrusted with the designing of a computer data bank.
- Mr. Gönar Andersson, Head of the Information Department of the Department of Adult Education.

#### At the Office of the Chancellor of the Swedish Universities

- Mr. Ernst Erik Ehnmark, Information Department; and a young man, presumably a representative of the Student Union.

#### At the Board of the Stockholm School System

- Mr. Sven Enander, 1st Inspector of Secondary Schools of the Stockholm School System.

#### At the National Labour Market Board

- Mr. Torbjörn Sundqvist, Secretary to the Vocational Rehabilitation Division.
- Mrs. Karin Wretman, 1st Secretary to the Information Service.

At the National Board of Health  
and Welfare

Mr. Daniel Wiklund, Head of the Alcoholics Department and  
member of Parliament.

Mr. Jan Ording, Head of the Narcotics Department.

At the Child Welfare Board

Mrs. Maud Helling (precise function unknown)

At the Department of Housing (Bostadstyrelsen)

Mr. Just Gustavsson, Head of the Information Department.

At the Central Bureau of the Statistics

Various persons

At the National Swedish Police Board

Mr. Hjalmar Fridman, Educational Department of the Police.

At various professional and other  
organizations

Mr. Tore Karlson, Educational Expert at the Confederation of  
Labour Unions (L.O.).

Mr. Anders Arfwedson, Secretary of the Central Organisation of  
Academic Workers (S.A.C.O.).

Mr. Björn Grünwald, of the Educational Department of the  
Confederation of Employers, S.A.F.

Ms. Laila Eriksson, Information Department, S.A.F.

Mr. William Brandt of the Workers' Education Association, A.B.F.

Mr. Göran Kalin, International Secretary to the National  
Association of Secondary School Teachers, L.R.

Mrs. Gunhild Lukács, secretary to the National Parents' Organization, R.H.S.

The president and other officials of the Swedish National Union of Students, S.F.S.

The president and other officials of the Uppsala Student Union.

Miss Susanne Olsson, president of the Swedish Pupils' Central Organization, S.E.C.O.

#### Various scholars

Prof. Torsten Husén, Institute of International Pedagogics, Stockholm University.

Prof. David Magnusson, Psychological Laboratories, Stockholm University.

Prof. Wilhelm Sjöstrand, Pedagogical Institute, Uppsala University.

Prof. Knut Sveri, Department of Criminology, Stockholm University.

#### Various other persons

Mr. Peter Hammerberg, Rector of Folkuniversitetet and Kursverksamheterna (university extension and private adult education).

Mrs. Ruth Links, Associate Editor of "Sweden Now."

## IV-1

**The structure of the 9-year compulsory school**

		Optional subjects	Freely selected work	
SENIOR LEVEL	Grade 9	29 hpw compulsory subjects (of which 3 hpw English)	4 hpw	2 hpw
	Grade 8	30 hpw compulsory subjects (of which 3 hpw English)	3 hpw	2 hpw
	Grade 7	29 hpw compulsory subjects (of which 3 hpw English)	4 hpw	2 hpw
MIDDLE LEVEL	Grade 6	35 hpw compulsory subjects (of which 4 hpw English)		
	Grade 5	35 hpw compulsory subjects (of which 4 hpw English)		
	Grade 4	34 hpw compulsory subjects (of which 2 hpw English)		
JUNIOR LEVEL	Grade 3	30 hpw compulsory subjects (of which 2 hpw English)		
	Grade 2	24 hpw compulsory subjects		
	Grade 1	20 hpw compulsory subjects		

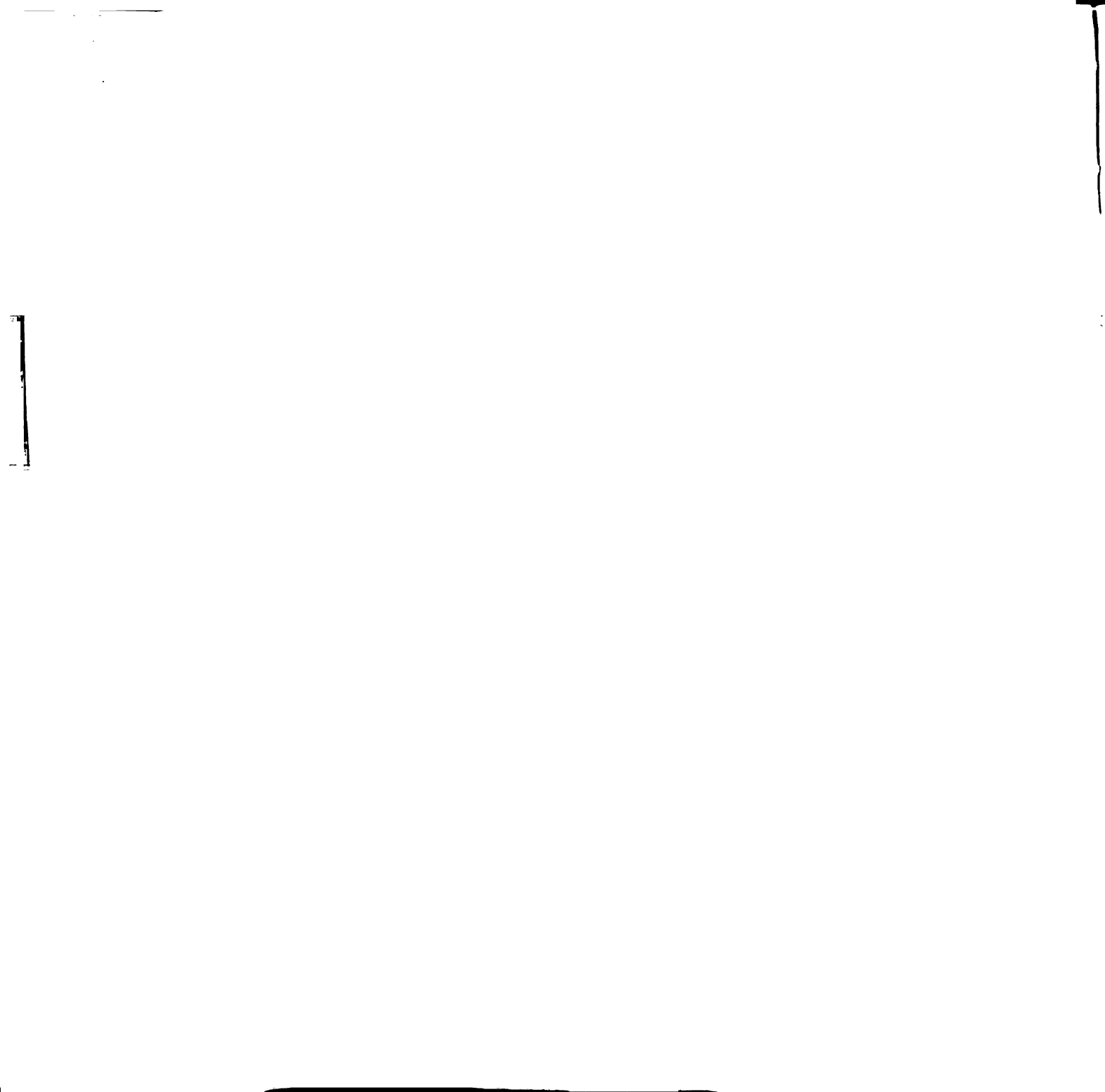
hpw = hours per week

Esselte Tryck, Sthlm 70

Grades 7—9 offer a choice between a general course and a more advanced course in Mathematics, French, English and German.

Utbildningsförlaget

Source: The Swedish Comprehensive Compulsory School.



IV

General Overview of the Various Lines in the Gymnasium

Main lines

2 years  
vocational

4 years  
academic

3 years  
academic

2 years  
theoretical  
practical

Arts

2 sublines

Liberal arts

music

Social Sciences

5 sublines

social sciences

consumer

restaurant + catering  
child and youth welfare  
health + medical care

Economics and Commercial

3 sublines

economics

economics

distribution + clerical

Natural Science

1 subline

natural science

Technological Sciences

13 sublines

technology

Clothing manu.  
Food manu.  
Workshop  
Motor eng.  
Woodwork  
Building +  
constr.  
Electrotech.  
Processing  
tech.



<u>Main lines</u> (cont'd)	<u>4 years</u>	<u>3 years</u>	<u>2 years</u>	
Technological Sciences (cont'd)				* Forestry * Agriculture Technical

Total sublines with music, then still to be introduced: 23

Most of the sublines have alternatives and subalternatives. In the vocational lines some of these start already in the first year, but most do so in the second year. See appended list.

In the 2-year technical line students must complete nine months of practical training before starting their second year.

Source: The National Swedish Board of Education, The Integrated Upper Secondary School: Three Schools in One (Utbildningsforlaget, 1971).

\*In the booklet Natural Science and Technical lines were put under one heading.

Modern agriculture and forestry as assumed to be more technical than natural science, and placed accordingly.

The Various Lines and Variants in the Gymnasium School

<u>3 year lines</u>	<u>variants in 2nd year</u>	<u>variants in 3rd year</u>	<u>variants 4th year</u>
Liberal Arts	semi-classical classical aesthetic social		construction housing construction electro-power telecommunications
Social science	aesthetic social		
Economics		accounting distribution administration economics/lang. ages	
<u>4 year line</u>	aesthetic social		
Technical		mechanical eng. building electro-technical chemical	

The Various Lines and Variants in the Gymnasium School (cont'd)

2 year lines (previous continuation school)

	<u>variants in 1st year</u>	<u>variants in 2nd year</u>
Economics		
Social		
Technical	mechanical eng. building electro technical chemical	electro power or telecommunications

2 year vocational lines

Motor engineering	motor mechanics mechanical engineering spares personnel aircraft mechanics
Consumer line	home management bias textile bias restaurant and catering

Arts and Social Subjects

Liberal arts

<u>3 year</u>	<u>with variants in 2nd year</u>
	semi-classical classical aesthetic social
	aesthetic social

Social Sciences

Consumer	<u>2 year</u>	<u>variants in 2nd year</u>	
		home management textile	
Restaurant and catering			
Child and youth welfare		child nursing	
Health and medical services and geriatrics		mental nursing	
Music			
<u>Economics and Commercial Subjects</u>			
Economics	<u>3 year</u>	aesthetic social	<u>variants in 3rd year</u> aesthetic social accounting distribution economics/languages
			288
Distribution and clerical	<u>2 year</u>	distribution clerical accounting typing	
Economics			
<u>Technical and Scientific Subjects</u>			
Technical	<u>4 year</u>	<u>variant 3rd year</u> mechanical eng. building	<u>variant 4th year</u> construction housing

Technical and Scientific Subjects (cont'd)

<u>4 year</u>	<u>variant 3rd year</u>	<u>variant 4th year</u>
	electro technical	electro power
	chemical	telecommunications

3 year

Natural science

Clothing manufacturing

<u>2 year</u>	<u>variant 2nd year</u>
	women's clothing
	men's clothing

Food manufacturing

catering  
restaurant staff  
baking and pastry  
butchers

Workshop

workshop mechanics  
metal workers and welders  
heavy plate  
steelmill trades

Motor engineering

motor mechanics  
mechanical engineers  
spares personnel  
aircraft mechanics

Woodwork

joiners  
pattern makers  
boat builders

Technical and Scientific Subjects (cont'd)

Building and Construction

<u>2 year</u>	<u>variant 2nd year</u>
	concrete
	building joiners
	bricklayers
	streets, roads and conduits
	mining

heating and sanitary fitters  
 painters  
 building platers  
 floor-layers

Electro-technical

electricians  
 telecommunications repair staff  
 guiding and regulating devices  
 telecommunications fitters  
 office machinery repairs staff

Processing Techniques

chemistry  
 food processing  
 paper and pulp  
 metallurgy  
 building materials

Forestry

Agricultural

Technical

mechanical engineering  
 building  
 electro-technical  
 chemical

APPENDIX TABLE VIII-1.--International Employment Rates.

Country	Unemployment Rates Adjusted to U.S. Definitions				Unadjusted as Reported					
	1960	1962	1964	1966	1960	1962	1964	1966	1968	1970
Sweden	1.5	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.4	1.4	1.1	1.4	1.9	1.5
Belgium	--	--	--	--	4.2	3.3	2.2	2.7	4.5	3.0
France	2.6	2.0	1.9	2.4	1.3	1.2	1.1	1.4	--	--
Germany	- .7	- .4	- .4	- .4	1.2	- .7	- .7	- .7	1.5	- .7
Netherlands	--	--	--	--	- .7	- .7	- .6	- .7	1.9	1.1
U.K.	2.4	2.8	2.4	2.3	1.6	2.0	1.6	1.5	2.5	2.6
U.S.	5.6	5.6	5.2	3.9	5.6	5.6	5.2	3.9	3.6	4.9

Source: Constance Sorrentino, "Unemployment in the United States and Seven Foreign Countries," Monthly Labor Review (September, 1970), 12-24.

APPENDIX TABLE VIII-2.--Average Annual Rates of Change in Employment by Sector.

Country	Agriculture		Industry		Manufacture		Services	
	50-60	60-70	50-60	60-70	50-60	60-70	50-60	60-70
Sweden	-3.4	-5.3	0.8	0.3	0.5	-0.4	1.8	2.8
Belgium	-2.7	-4.6	1.0	1.7	1.1	1.9	1.9	2.5
France	-3.3	-3.8	--	1.2	--	0.9	--	2.3
Germany	-3.7	-4.1	2.4	0.4	2.8	0.7	2.4	1.1
Netherlands	-2.1	-3.5	1.4	0.9	1.2	0.6	2.0	2.3
U.K.	-1.8	-3.8	0.9	-0.3	1.1	-0.1	0.8	0.9
U.S.	-2.7	-4.6	1.0	1.7	1.1	1.9	1.9	2.5

Source: Constance Sorrentino, "Employment Shifts in 10 Countries," Monthly Labor Review (October, 1971), 3-12; and, for the unadjusted figures--International Labor Office, Bulletin of Labour Statistics 1971.

APPENDIX TABLE VIII-3.--National Accounts.

Year	G.N.P. Million Swedish Krone, Current Price at Factor Cost	G.N.P. Per Capita Swedish Krone	Cost of Living Index	Taxes Per Inhab. 1,000 Swedish Krone	Taxes % G.N.P.	Social Services % G.N.P.	Education % G.N.P.	Total Labor Market % G.N.P.	Law and Order % G.N.P.
1950	29,280	4,158	100	.99	23.8	--	3.44	0.19	0.22
1951	35,960	5,065	116	1.22	24.2	8.3	3.47	0.15	0.22
1952	40,270	5,632	125	1.27	23.2	8.4	3.78	0.17	0.23
1953	40,183	5,587	127	1.51	27.2	9.2	4.16	0.24	0.25
1954	42,344	5,853	127	1.66	28.6	9.9	4.15	0.23	0.26
1955	55,507	6,242	131	1.75	28.2	10.5	4.28	0.23	0.28
1956	49,200	6,702	137	1.85	27.6	10.7	4.43	0.25	0.30
1957	53,028	7,172	144	2.10	29.4	11.2	4.67	0.29	0.33
1958	55,153	7,417	149	2.09	28.4	11.9	4.85	0.78	0.35
1959	58,504	7,830	151	2.24	28.8	12.0	5.08	0.92	0.34
1960	62,715	8,370	153	2.68	32.1	12.1	5.09	0.80	0.35
1961	68,408	9,070	161	2.87	31.8	12.1	5.25	0.62	0.36
1962	73,443	9,687	168	3.23	33.6	12.7	5.84	0.72	0.39
1963	79,178	10,380	70	3.44	33.7	13.7	6.12	1.16	0.40
1964	81,886	10,641	179	3.92	34.3	14.1	6.78	1.14	0.76
1965	96,199	12,376	188	4.47	34.7	14.8	6.97	1.01	0.93
1966	108,528	13,837	200	4.99	36.1	15.6	6.77	1.10	0.99
1967	116,483	14,758	208	5.42	38.7	17.3	7.14	1.63	1.0
1968	123,248	15,538	212	5.90	38.0	19.1	7.40	1.63	1.01
1969	134,233	16,770	219	6.52	38.9	20.0	8.48	1.59	1.20
1970	149,701	18,524	234	7.23	39.0	21.5	8.34	1.76	1.14
				Increase	Increase	Increase	Increase	Increase	Increase
				445%	730%	259%	242%	926%	518%
				1950-70	1950-70	1950-70	1950-70	1950-70	1950-70

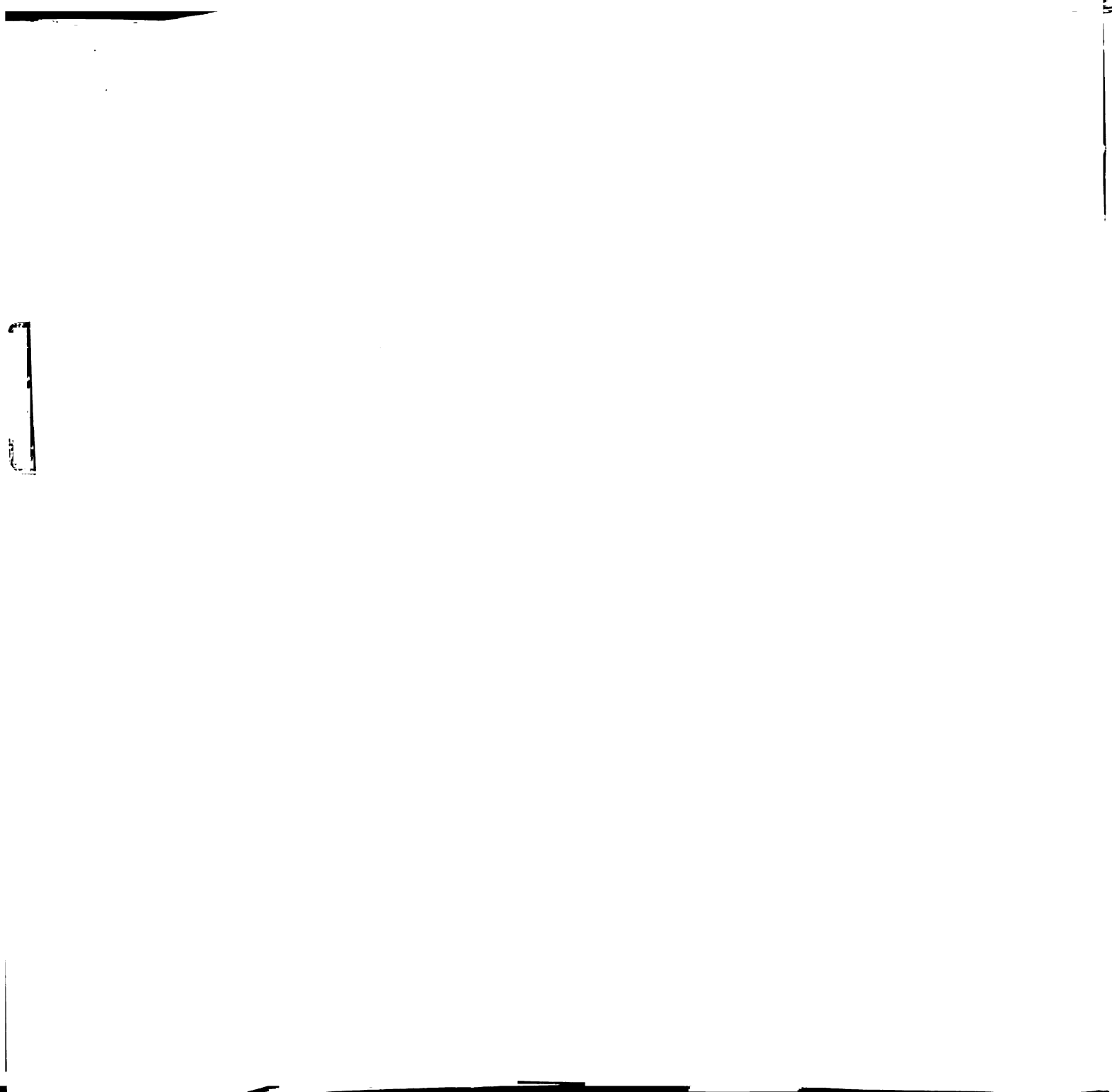
Source: Swedish Statistical Yearbooks; own computations.



APPENDIX TABLE VIII-4.--Expenditure on Social Services (in 1,000 Swedish Krone).

Year	Total Social Services		Expenses Medical Care Including Alcoholism	Per 1,000 Inh.	Per 1,000 Inh.	State Expenses on Alcohol Abuse	Per 1,000 Inh.
	Total						
1950	2,668,000	378.9	728,000	103.4	5,701	- .81	
1951	3,012,000	424.3	872,000	122.8	7,092	1.00	
1952	3,452,000	482.8	1,068,000	148.5	8,541	1.19	
1953	3,767,000	523.8	1,093,000	152.0	10,184	1.42	
1954	4,183,000	578.2	1,183,000	163.5	12,382	1.71	
1955	4,911,000	673.7	1,835,000	251.7	17,917	2.46	
1956	5,364,000	730.7	1,986,000	270.5	22,429	3.06	
1957	6,022,000	814.6	2,319,000	313.7	29,651	4.00	
1958	6,549,000	880.7	2,407,000	323.7	35,936	4.83	
1959	7,033,000	941.3	2,550,000	341.3	43,539	5.83	
1960	7,632,000	1017.9	2,806,000	375.6	40,780	5.44	
1961	8,250,000	1093.8	3,074,000	407.6	46,816	6.21	
1962	9,344,000	1232.5	3,498,000	461.4	50,579	6.67	
1963	11,027,000	1454.5	4,364,000	572.1	60,968	7.99	
1964	12,514,000	1626.2	4,886,000	634.9	56,036	7.28	
1965	14,463,000	1860.8	5,614,000	722.3	65,500	8.43	
1966	16,901,000	2154.9	6,658,000	848.9	77,499	9.88	
1967	20,218,000	2561.6	8,487,000	1075.3	94,170	11.93	
1968	23,409,000	2951.3	9,953,000	1254.8	112,924	14.23	
1969	26,435,000	3302.6	11,326,000	1414.9	124,671	15.57	
1970	31,163,000	3856.2	13,782,000	1705.4	155,000	19.18	
	% 1970 of 1950 1168	% 1970 of 1950 1017	% 1970 of 1950 1893	% 1970 of 1950 1655	% 1970 of 1950 2718	% 1970 of 1950 2368	

Source: Swedish Statistical Yearbooks; own computations.



APPENDIX TABLE VIII-5.--Expenditure on Labor Market Purposes.

Year	Total Expenditure on Labor Market		Public Works (Relief Work)		Expenditure on Training	
	in 1,000 Swedish Krone	per 1,000 in L.F. Swedish Krone	in 1,000 Swedish Krone	per 1,000 in L.F.	in 1,000 Swedish Krone	per 1,000 in L.F. Swedish Krone
1950	75	--	10.6	--	1.7	--
1951	69	--	7.3	--	1.2	--
1952	76	--	7.3	--	1.8	--
1953	96	--	12.7	--	0.83	--
1954	130	--	14.2	--	0.24	--
1955	131	--	15.9	--	0.26	--
1956	158	--	19.9	--	0.50	--
1957	181	53	26.9	7.86	0.70	0.20
1958	197	90	44.1	12.70	2.1	0.60
1959	312	88	109.4	31.03	15.6	4.42
1960	280	78	90.2	23.48	29.2	8.14
1961	251	69	73.4	20.19	33.4	9.19
1962	320	87	91.3	24.83	56.4	15.34
1963	445	118	175.0	46.67	83.5	22.27
1964	468	126	176.7	47.67	109.1	29.41
1965	525	141	183.1	--	124.5	33.32
1966	633	167	217.7	57.50	148.4	39.20
1967	1,047	277	370.1	98.09	256.7	68.03
1968	1,287	337	445.2	115.93	344.4	90.06
1969	1,339	349	--	118.04	400.0	96.15
1970	--	--	--	107.46	470.0	115.69

Source: Swedish Statistical Yearbooks; own computations.

APPENDIX TABLE VIII-6.--Expenditure on Law and Order (in 1,000 Swedish Krone).

Year	Law and Order Total	Police		Prison		Per Prisoner
		Total	Per 1,000 Inh.	Total	Per 1,000 Inh.	
1950	65,184	20,315	2.8	17,154	2.4	4.47
1951	77,685	22,799	3.2	21,603	3.0	4.56
1952	90,739	28,592	4.0	25,042	3.5	4.53
1953	98,763	32,682	4.5	27,056	3.8	4.65
1954	108,712	36,195	5.0	30,087	4.2	5.07
1955	126,591	46,363	6.4	33,916	4.7	4.54
1956	148,769	55,578	7.6	42,237	5.8	5.01
1957	173,998	68,888	9.3	48,600	6.6	4.94
1958	191,218	73,376	9.9	57,166	7.7	5.83
1959	201,218	80,184	10.7	61,846	8.3	5.98
1960	222,248	86,578	10.7	67,099	8.9	6.51
1961	243,097	86,833	11.5	76,274	10.1	7.08
1962	289,741	107,665	14.2	88,670	11.7	8.09
1963	321,141	115,715	15.2	104,071	13.6	9.63
1964	621,571	351,662	45.7	121,543	15.8	10.78
1965	891,480	525,957	67.6	143,458	18.5	15.50
1966	1,073,591	596,691	76.0	174,917	22.3	16.05
1967	1,163,331	647,902	82.1	184,543	23.4	15.96
1968	1,245,168	682,538	86.0	205,754	25.9	17.09
1969	1,616,605	953,845	119.2	289,890	36.2	25.19
1970	1,700,286	993,025	122.9	292,334	36.2	26.54
		Increase 1950-70 4888%	Increase 1950-70 4389%	Increase 1950-70 1704%	Increase 1950-70 1508%	Increase 1950-70 593%

APPENDIX TABLE VIII-7.--State Expenditure on Education.

Year	Total State for Education	State on Compulsory Education	State on Secondary and Vocational	State on Higher Education and Research	State on Study Grants	State on Adult Education	State on Folk High Schools	State on Labor Market Training	State Subsidies Voluntary Education	Total Education and Labor Market Training State
1950	571.06	533.00	116.32	46.39	--	--	--	1.70	8.47	968.86
1951	703.77	547.77	151.93	54.81	--	--	--	1.20	9.39	1149.48
1952	872.99	443.09	189.76	70.67	--	--	9.69	1.80	10.80	1384.50
1953	946.73	560.99	213.60	77.45	--	--	10.26	0.08	14.17	1593.22
1954	1006.20	599.07	220.00	80.10	--	--	13.52	0.24	18.08	1633.44
1955	1107.09	608.84	265.25	90.17	--	--	14.11	0.26	23.35	1780.35
1956	1267.54	650.35	308.00	108.80	--	--	14.76	0.50	26.94	1984.03
1957	1444.45	737.47	388.65	128.76	--	--	12.58	0.70	31.96	2243.16
1958	1573.56	797.85	434.27	153.75	--	--	16.52	2.10	34.00	2407.66
1959	1815.29	839.42	510.71	190.86	--	--	16.44	15.60	31.72	2708.89
1960	1928.80	914.32	579.95	203.16	--	--	20.66	29.20	33.67	2854.99
1961	2209.59	974.97	479.96	239.36	186.23	--	23.94	33.40	33.83	3212.99
1962	2509.97	963.58	539.62	282.78	181.82	--	25.80	56.40	43.31	3715.57
1963	2892.42	1087.15	587.13	343.61	203.94	--	29.65	83.50	48.87	4309.92
1964	3489.53	1243.48	698.45	410.38	345.23	--	35.09	109.10	42.86	5363.31
1965	3851.05	1447.87	735.75	471.61	415.07	--	41.66	124.50	76.06	5975.01
1966	4591.18	1523.80	924.09	620.36	424.44	--	45.67	148.40	77.12	7104.56
1967	5234.53	1830.21	1009.26	703.85	444.39	23.63	56.19	256.70	84.68	8137.60
1968	5563.70	2074.08	970.35	763.47	440.10	111.28	56.15	344.40	36.00	9610.05
1969	6931.19	2247.80	1152.18	1096.26	477.97	171.07	95.19	400.00	39.66	11300.00
1970	7281.99	2949.05	1210.95	1207.62	547.50	227.66	76.80	470.00	44.94	
	± 1275%	± 553%	± 1040%	±2600%		± 960% in 4 years	± 792% 1952-69	±27,647%	± 530%	1166%

APPENDIX TABLE VIII-8.--State Expenditure: Alternative Education (in million Swedish Krone).

Year	Folk High School	Other Voluntary Education	Labor Market Training	Evening Gymnasium	Formal Ed. Total State and Local	Alternative Total	Social Ed. Exp. Subsidies Formal
1950	--	8.5	1.7	--	1,007	19.0	--
1951	--	9.3	1.2	--	1,247	19.2	--
1952	9.69	10.8	1.8	--	1,524	22.0	--
1953	10.26	14.2	0.8	--	1,673	25.0	--
1954	13.52	18.1	0.2	--	1,756	28.7	--
1955	14.11	23.4	0.3	--	1,947	34.2	--
1956	14.76	26.9	0.5	--	2,179	38.5	--
1957	12.58	32.0	0.7	--	2,478	44.4	--
1958	16.52	34.0	2.1	--	2,679	48.0	--
1959	16.45	31.7	15.6	--	2,974	58.8	--
1960	20.66	33.7	29.2	--	3,191	76.5	--
1961	23.94	33.8	33.4	--	3,588	78.9	186
1962	25.80	43.3	56.4	--	4,143	112.0	182
1963	29.65	48.9	83.5	--	4,845	144.4	206
1964	35.09	42.9	109.1	--	5,555	163.0	345
1965	41.66	72.0	--	--	--	--	415
1966	45.67	77.0	148.4	--	7,348	236.7	424
1967	56.19	84.6	256.7	24.0	8,320	477.2	441
1968	53.61	36.0	344.4	111.0	9,741	564.4	449
1969	--	39.7	369.2	171.0	11,389	592.7	489
1970	--	45.5	452.7	239.0	12,487	755.4	532

APPENDIX TABLE IX-1.--Increase in Youth Social/Psychological Problems (in 100,000 of age group).

Year	Convicted in Court			Put in Prison			Put on Probation			Alcoholism			Admitted to Psych. Hospitals			Suicide Rates	
	15-17	18-20	21-24	15-17	18-20	21-24	15-17	18-20	21-24	15-17	18-20	21-24	15-17	18-19	20-24	15-24	15-24
1950	186	569	482	9.0	111	195	12.7	285	189	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
1956	152	837	706	2.9	187	347	21.4	355	225	654	2,330	2,378	--	--	--	8.4	8.4
1960	425	1,236	820	8.2	288	465	124.0	616	283	857	2,217	1,952	--	--	--	7.4	7.4
1962	525	1,210	906	4.6	298	476	142.5	570	285	947	2,394	1,910	162	420	--	8.5	8.5
1965	223	1,115	838	11.2	356	505	161.0	572	229	1,098	2,615	1,924	147	453	--	8.6	8.6
1968	251	1,362	1,093	12.3	370	570	165.0	700	352	867	1,807	1,914	205	591	--	16.7	16.7
1969	284	1,482	1,105	9.8	375	568	171.0	723	345	933	2,282	1,983	--	--	--	12.3	12.3
1970	--	--	--	13.0	409	578	157.0	735	357	--	--	--	--	--	--	13.3	13.3
Increases: in %	154	260	250	144	369	291	124	260	190	144	decline	decline	120	141	--	--	170

APPENDIX TABLE IX-2.--Working Mothers.

Percentage of Children Under 16 With Working Mothers			
Year	% of Children of Married Working Mothers	% of Children of Unmarried Working Mothers Widows or Divorced	% of All Children Under 16 With Working Mothers
1950	9.0	3.5	12.5
1955	--	--	--
1960	16.0	--	20.0
1965	24.0	5.0	29.0
1967	38.0	5.1	43.1
1969	44.0	5.9	49.9
1971	49.0	6.5	53.5

Sources: Swedish Statistical Yearbooks; Arbetskraftundersökningen.

Notes: Data was not available for all years; some had to be deduced from number of working mothers and average number of children.



APPENDIX TABLE IX-3.--Illegitimate Children.

Year	Illegitimate Births in % of All Births	Illegitimate Children of $\pm 15$ in % of Age Group	Illegitimate Children of $\pm 11$ in % of Age Group
1950	9.8	--	--
1955	9.9	--	--
1960	11.5	--	9.9
1965	13.5	9.8	--
1967	15.0	--	--
1969	16.3	--	--
1971	21.7	$\pm 14.0$	11.5

Source: Swedish Statistical Yearbooks.



APPENDIX TABLE IX-4.--Urbanization.

Year	Percentage of Pop. in 3 Largest Towns		Percentage of Pop. in the 4 Following Largest Towns		Percentage of Pop. in 7 Large Towns
	Nos. in Stockholm		Nos. in Uppsala		
1950	18.3	744,143	3.89	63,001	22.2
1960	19.2	806,903	4.29	77,518	23.5
1967	18.6	767,606	4.91	97,172	23.5
1968	18.4	756,697	4.97	99,589	23.3
1969	18.2	747,490	5.02	101,696	23.2
1970	18.0	740,489	5.88	127,448	23.9
	Decrease		Small Increase		Small Increase

Source: Swedish Statistical Yearbooks.

APPENDIX TABLE IX-5.--Increased Wealth.

Private Final Consumption in 1,000 Swedish Krone	
Year	Per Capita in 1963 Prices Per Year
1950	4.79
1955	5.28
1960	5.80
1965	7.14
1970	8.54
± 50% increase since 1963	

Source: National Accounts OECD Countries; per capita computed.

APPENDIX TABLE IX-6.--Labor Market Problems.

Year	Unemployed				Absenteeism			In Labor Market Training % of Labor Force	On Relief Work % of Labor Force	Total Training and Relief and Unemployed
	Total Sample Survey	% of Age Group in Labor Force			% of Age Group in Labor Force	Total Average				
		16-19	20-24	16-24						
							16-19			
1965	1.2	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.18	0.40	1.79
1967	2.1	5.2	3.2	3.9	10.0	7.6	13.5	0.43	0.76	2.81
1968	2.2	5.7	3.0	3.9	11.0	9.1	13.5	0.62	1.08	4.10
1969	1.9	4.6	2.8	3.4	11.6	8.5	12.3	0.77	1.43	3.62
1970	1.5	4.3	2.2	2.9	12.6	9.0	15.2	0.82	1.40	3.82
1971	2.7	7.7	3.7	5.1	13.5	10.0	16.7	0.82	1.45	3.92

Source: Arbetskraftsundersökningen; Central Bureau of Statistics.

APPENDIX TABLE IX7.--Labor Market Problems; Structural Change.

Year	Number of Workers in Several Branches in % of Total Labor Force					
	Agriculture	Mining	Manufacture	Construction	Commerce	Transport Services
1950	23.0	5.0	31.0	8.0	13	8 17.0
1962	13.0	1.0	32.0	9.0	16	7 22.0
1953	13.0	0.5	31.0	9.0	16	7 22.0
1954	13.0	0.6	31.0	8.7	16	7 22.0
1955	12.0	0.6	32.0	8.8	15	8 23.0
1956	10.0	0.5	31.0	9.0	16	7 21.5
1957	10.0	0.4	31.0	9.0	15	7 22.0
1958	9.0	0.6	30.0	9.0	14	7 23.0
1959	9.0	0.6	30.0	10.0	14	8 23.0
1970	8.0	0.5	30.0	10.0	14	7 24.0

Source: International Yearbook of Labour Statistics.

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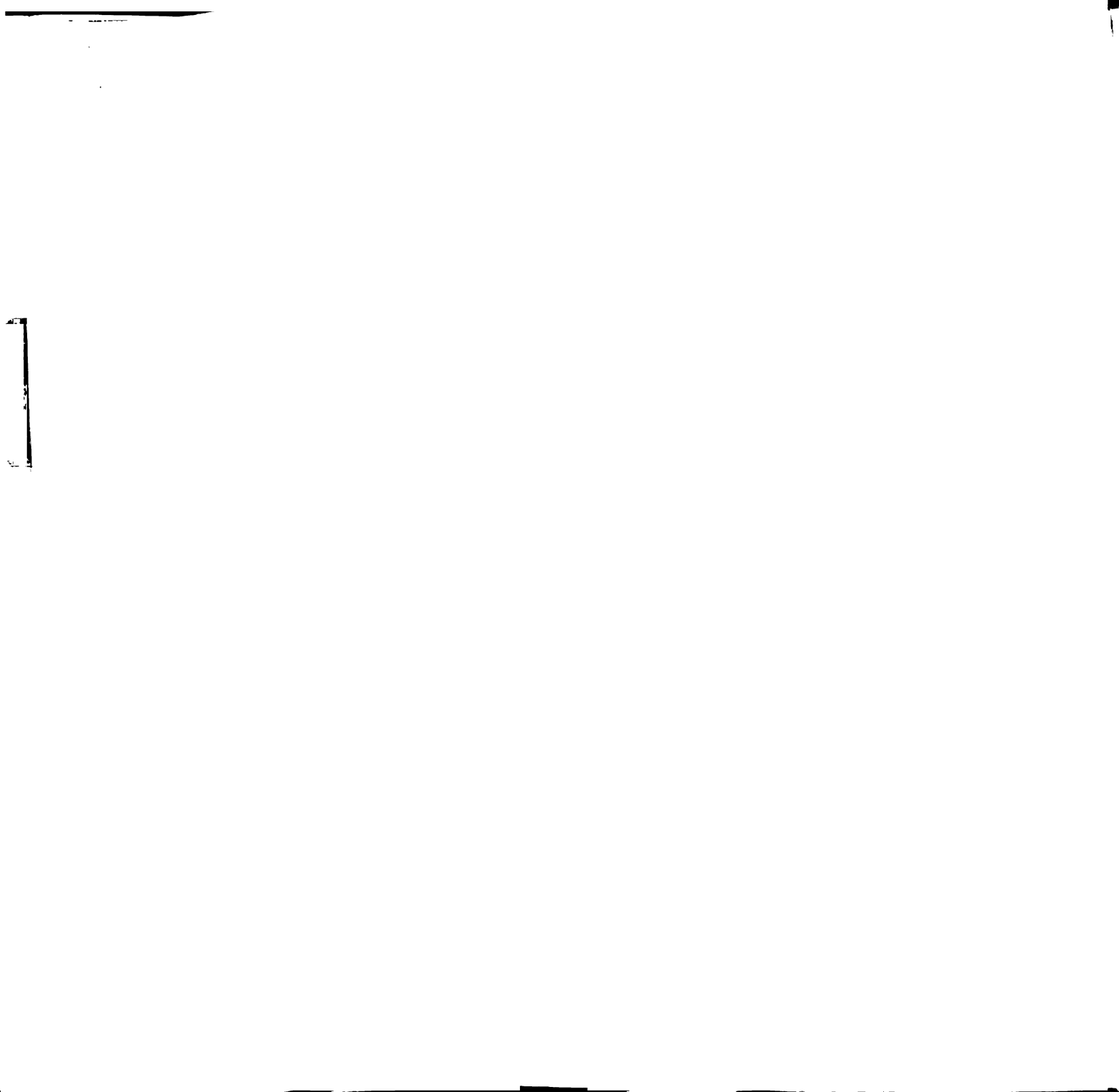
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