

Voices from “Lands of the Living”: Summaries and Conclusions from the 2018 Symposium on the International Influence of N.F.S. Grundtvig

Introduction by Mark Bradshaw Busbee

In 1837, Grundtvig wrote that once nations develop systems of education that strengthen, ennoble, and enlighten the natural life of the people, then “freedom will bear the blessed fruits of . . . learning.”¹ Grundtvig’s vision for education, his call for progressive enlightenment, and his belief that proper education embraces an idea of living community and fellowship—these ideologies have informed educational movements in countries all over the world. In India, Grundtvig’s ideas blended first with Rabindranath Tagore’s educational program and later with Gandhi’s human rights revolution. In Japan, Shigeyoshi Matsumae founded Tokai University upon Grundtvig’s educational ideologies. And in the USA, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Rosa Parks studied at a Grundtvig-inspired folk school in Tennessee, called Highlander (a connection with Grundtvig that President Obama highlighted in 2016, in a toast at the Nordic State Dinner). These examples vividly illustrate the deep-reaching international influence of Grundtvig.

But what about Grundtvig’s influence today, in an increasingly globalized and corporatized world? To answer this question, Professor Anders Holm (University of Copenhagen) and I organized “Lands of the Living:

¹ These remarks can be found in “To the Norwegians Concerning a Norwegian High School,” one of Grundtvig’s essays collected in *The School for Life: N.F.S. Grundtvig on Education for the People*, translated by Edward Broadbridge (Aarhus University Press, 2015). Citation is from page 184.

An International Symposium on the International Influence of N.F.S. Grundtvig,” which was held at the University of London on August 2nd and 3rd, 2018. We invited community leaders, educators, priests, scholars, and students from 14 countries— Bangladesh, China, Denmark, England, Finland, Hungary, India, Japan, Nigeria, Norway, the Philippines, South Korea, Sweden, and the USA. And we identified two goals for the symposium: first, to have speakers share how Grundtvig’s ideas have been adopted and adapted in their home communities and, second, to give participants opportunities to form enduring collaborative relationships.

To meet the first goal, speakers were asked to tell stories about the living context of Grundtvig’s influence. Are the people aware of this influence? What are the visible manifestations of Grundtvig’s ideas, through practices in classrooms, learning communities, and wider culture? What adjustments have been made to Grundtvig’s ideas to make them culturally relevant? Other unanticipated questions and observations naturally emerged, and participants and speakers were encouraged to explore individual contexts and the potential Grundtvigian ideologies at work within them.

With efforts to meet the second goal came pleasant surprises and unanticipated new perspectives. We provided ample time between panels for participants to get to know one another; Clay Warren (George Washington University, USA), Ingrid Ank (Leader of the Grundtvig Academy), and Sara Mortensen (International Consultant of the Association of Folk High Schools) led group discussions on focused topics related to Grundtvig’s influence; and Edward Broadbridge (performer and translator of Grundtvig’s works) led participants in after-breakfast and dinner songs, in the folk-high-school tradition. These activities engendered an open atmosphere and fostered the friendly exchange of ideas. Professor Emeritus K.E. Bugge (Denmark), Professor Kirsten M. Andersen (Grundtvigsk Forum), Kim Arne Pedersen (Grundtvig scholar and pastor), Joy Isben (*Church and Life*, USA), and Professors Kausheyee Banerjee and Saheli Guha Neogi Ghatak (Adamas University, Kolkata, India) gave after-dinner talks and led the singing of songs by Grundtvig and Tagore. These events combined poignantly with planned speeches to fulfill promises suggested by the title of the symposium.

For their efforts, we offer our sincere thanks to those mentioned above, particularly Edward Broadbridge, whose wisdom, energy, and enthusiasm no doubt contributed to the success of the symposium, and to Kristine Schøler Hjort and Signe Sønderby, who assisted with on-site arrange-

ments. We are grateful to Copenhagen University's Faculty of Theology, Grundtvigsk Forum, Samford University (Birmingham, Alabama, USA) and, particularly, to the William E. and Wylodine H. Hull Fund at Samford for significant financial support for the symposium. Of course, our gratitude goes primarily to the participants and speakers who generously shared their time and knowledge. What follows are summaries of 13 of the presentations, arranged in the order they were delivered at the symposium. Following the summaries is a conclusion about Grundtvig's international influence, written by Thorstein Balle.

Impact of Grundtvig's educational ideas in India: A case study of Mitraniketan

By Reghu Rama Das

Reghu Rama Das is the Principal of the People's College. He holds a post-graduate degree in Sociology and a Ph.D. in Social Anthropology from the University of Kerala. He has worked in the NGO sector since 1993. He has visited a number of Folk High Schools in Denmark and has been exposed to the ideas of Grundtvig. He is a member of the Association for World Education and is President of its South Indian Chapter. He has also organized a number of workshops for disseminating the educational ideas of Grundtvig, Gandhi, and Tagore.

Mitraniketan was founded in 1956 by K. Viswanathan in Vellanad village in Trivandrum district in Kerala State, India. It is an educational and social experiment, with programs designed to educate and empower students and community members and to promote rural development. Most of the students and adults that Mitraniketan serve are members of tribal or historically disadvantaged communities. Mitraniketan's principles and practices draw from the ideas of Gandhi and Tagore, as well as Arthur

Morgan of the U.S.A. and N.F.S. Grundtvig of Denmark. Its educational mission is to promote the progress of society through the development of the entire individual. Following its motto of “community-centric education in an education-centric community,” Mitraniketan has grown and evolved over the years to develop new ways to meet the needs of its students and community.

After studying at Shantiniketan (the educational community that Tagore founded), volunteering in India and USA, and living in Scandinavian Folk High Schools, Viswanathan developed Mitraniketan as a community-based education project with facilities for education, farming, and rural industrial production. He was influenced by the functioning of folk high schools and its ideas in enlightening the local community for active citizenship. He visualized rural community development through individual enlightenment. In 1996, he established a folk high school in Mitraniketan to enlighten the village women and children. Named “People’s College,” the school is an adult learning center where people live and study. People’s College, known locally as “The College,” has been developed with the cooperation of the Association of Danish Folk High Schools in Copenhagen.

The College is a small community within the larger community of Mitraniketan. We developed the College as an alternative model of education. It focuses on live activities based on day-to-day needs to ensure living interaction and social learning in every activity, as envisaged by N.F.S. Grundtvig. Part of the process involves opportunities for students / participants to reflect upon their life experiences. Students are also inculcated with the spirit of secularism and democracy, as India is a subcontinent with many different cultures, and with understanding of language and religion, as people need to develop secular thinking and an interest in grass root democracy. This training will also help to awaken national consciousness of the participants.

People’s College attends to the educational and training needs of people, mainly women and young people, who are marginalized for various socio-cultural reasons. Many of the young people at the College have either dropped out of school or were unable to continue higher education due to lack of resources. Most of young people accommodated in the College are from socially and economically disadvantaged groups that are underserved by the existing competitive educational system. Their primary need is skill

development leading to employment. Realizing that the local community needs active citizenship for sustainable development, Mitraniketan also provides these people with personal and leadership development.

"Education for Life" is the purpose of the People's College; to achieve that purpose, we employ cooperative learning methods. This approach stands in contrast with the formal system of education. The trainer / facilitator motivates students in the learning process, involving them and ensuring their participation by adopting participatory teaching and learning methods. As a live, activity-based institution, social learning always involves students and facilitators as well as members of the local community. The College operates as a remedial education center filling gaps left by formal schooling and technical education. We impart technical education coupled with personality development sessions for ensuring employment and active citizenship. The mother tongue is used exclusively as the medium of communication in all activities.

Enlightenment programs for village women are designed by the women themselves working in self-help groups and imparting their knowledge and skills through leadership and livelihood activities. They engage in micro credit (savings and loan) activities in their groups, utilizing the savings to develop micro enterprises and to care for disadvantaged people in their villages. The College facilitates women's development by fostering their ability to access and use local resources and technologies and by helping them function collectively in both social and economic development of the local community. Along with these efforts, the College serves as a platform for women to share their concerns and problems.

The feedback received by the College tells us that educated students actively participate in local community politics and events. A good number of them serve as local Panchayath members, while others find various skilled and government jobs in and around their locations. It has been wonderful to see that, after finishing studies at Mitraniketan People's College, many of the students who, before coming to the college, were sitting idle in their homes, later either have jobs as skilled workers or pursue higher studies. A few of them are socially active, having taken up community activities by forming associations and village clubs in the community. These results make us very proud. They demonstrate that to a large extent we have achieved the objective of the College by developing rural leadership for active citizenship.

Grundtvig, Tagore and Some Experiences of Alternative Education in Bangladesh

By Tanvir Mokammel

Tanvir Mokammel is a filmmaker and author. He directs the Bangladesh Film Institute and Manabratan Kendra, a cultural school for the poor, low cast rural children in southern Bangladesh. As a young man, he worked as a left-wing journalist and later as an activist to organize landless peasants in rural Bangladesh. He has made six full-length feature films and fourteen documentaries and short films. Some of his films have received national and international awards. He has written eleven books, one titled *Grundtvig and Alternative Education* (Bangla Press).

“Where is the wisdom we have lost in knowledge? Where is the knowledge we have lost in information?” And being a prophetic poet, T.S Eliot, then almost inevitably posed the million-dollar question: “Where is the life we have lost in living?” The art of living, living our lives with the fullest human potentialities, remains a prime agenda in our post-cyber world. And it has always been a serious issue for the resource-poor, downtrodden people of Bangladesh. The question is: how can the ideas of one single person shape the minds of the millions of a nation? Well, N.F.S. Grundtvig’s non-formal educational ideas will always remain an example of that for Denmark.

What should we learn? How should we be taught? These are not only pedagogic questions; they are fundamental philosophic questions that guide our future generations. While discussing Grundtvig’s ideas of education, a Bengali like me believes that Rabindranath Tagore has to figure in somehow, as so many of Grundtvig’s educational ideas were so similar to Tagore’s.

The people of Bangladesh unfortunately do not know much about Grundtvig. Perhaps the only material available in Bengali vernacular on Grundtvig is my small book *Grundtvig and Folk Education*. But the people do know basic tenets of non-formal education, thanks to Tagore. Like Grundtvig's, Tagore's educational ideas center on the maxim that education is for enlightenment and should not be certificate-oriented. Tagore loathed the existing school system of his time, "The Black School", as quipped by Grundtvig, or "School of Death" as aptly depicted by the Danish novelist Hans Scherfig in his novel *Stolen Spring*. Tagore strongly believed education should be joyful and creative and that learning should not be by rote only. At the same time, being himself one of the finest lyrical poets, Tagore was surprisingly not in favor of including too much poetry in the curriculum, as he believed that it would result in the lopsided development of students. He emphasized science education, and he truly believed in "Education for life".

We know how important the mother-tongue was to Grundtvig. He once wrote that "the mother's voice is the baby's joy," and he believed the language itself was imbibed with mother's milk. For Tagore, too, mother-tongue in education was as important as mother's milk for a child. Like Grundtvig, Tagore was against any "national curriculum" in education. A national curriculum serves only the purpose of the ruling elites and tends to marginalize minorities and disempower poor people, who should have the freedom to choose what they want learn and teach their children.

In his quest for the best possible education, Tagore concluded, "At the end of the day we reach for this inviolable truth, that education is provided not by any teaching method. But by the teachers. The human mind is a moving object and only a moving mind can understand it." Teachers were near the epi-center of Grundtvig's educational vision, too. The learning center that Tagore created, called Shantiniketan, had a Brahma genesis, but it gradually disassociated itself with any religious affinity and became a secular institution. Tagore's view seems to be quite similar to Grundtvig's doctrine that "faith has nothing to do with school." In a gist, Tagore's vision of education was that education should be in the mother tongue; it should be secular, joyful, non-gendered, history-oriented, rooted in culture, and full of creative activities. And it should be close to nature in order to teach students to live harmoniously with nature and

among themselves. It must occur in an atmosphere where the role of the teachers remains paramount.

One wonders how the *Weltanschauung* of these two great men from two different hemispheres could be so similar. Tagore himself visited International People's College (IPC) at Helsingør, Hamlet's town and, there, encountered core ideas of the Danish folk high school and Grundtvig's educational visions. Indeed, the Grundtvigian idea of a folk high school was a model, and the success of any model does not depend on how big it has grown but how many times it has been replicated. Many institutions all over the globe, even in our impoverished Bangladesh, are replications of folk high school models. We know these ideas cannot be exported, but they sure can be imported, and each country and culture will try to do it in their own way.

One school in Bangladesh modelled after the Danish folk high schools is called Gonobidiyalay (People's School). There are five schools like this located in different rural areas of Bangladesh with one central school near capital Dhaka. These schools were supported by the Danish International Development Agency (also known as DANIDA) from 1981 to 1990. But when DANIDA withdrew financial support, the schools continued to operate, but they seem to be losing their momentum, orientation and, to some extent, their visions. Due to demand of the students and parents, job-oriented skill training now has become more prominent than topics Grundtvig deemed important to enlightenment, such as history, poetry, or literature.

Intending to catch children young, I started a cultural school for children in a poor region in Khulna district. We began to teach subjects that normal schools do not teach, such as song, dance, play-acting, painting, and computers. History remained pivotal in the learning process. Like Grundtvig, we believe that people have to draw knowledge, experience, and vision from their own history and mythology. The Bauls, the popular mendicant singers of Bengal, never say "Manob" (Human) only, they say "Manobroton" (Human Gem). So, we have named our school as "Manobroton Kendro (Centre)." We believe that each child has the potentiality to become a gem. Our job as educators is to brush them and make them shine like gems. Now we have three more such schools in that region and one more is to open soon.

It is difficult to explain how Danish folk high schools initiated development of Danish cooperatives, the motor engine of the economic development of rural Denmark, but the correlation is clear. We also want to connect youth center activities with the economic needs of our children's parents who are mostly marginalized farmers. That is the ultimate dream. During my youthful days of leftwing activism about the enlightenment of the masses and civil society activities, I learned a few things from Antonio Gramsci. Gramsci initiated me to a path, to an odyssey, through which I ultimately encountered Grundtvig and his "Folkelighed" ideas. Today Denmark, and Scandinavian societies in general, serve as examples of how high the glass ceiling of human freedom can be raised. Even the sky may not be the limit. From Grundtvig's ideas of "Folkelighed," of freedom and civil liberty, we, the people living in lesser democracies like Bangladesh, where we have been struggling to build up democratic institutions and democratic values, can learn a lot.

We in Asian societies suffer from the old baggage of too much religiosity. But from Paolo Freire and his liberation theology we have learned that religion can also be a tool for human justice and social progress. Regarding the nuanced use of religion in social issues, I suppose that we can also learn a few things from Grundtvig, and we know that the juggernaut of market forces will run its course. Most importantly, we know that human beings are not just buyers and sellers in the market. Human beings are the only species capable of turning dreams into reality. Education is a soft power. It exists in a sector where wise investment and proper intervention can bring positive change. And if we have learned anything from Grundtvig, it is that we should never ever give up. For the pro-people educators and freedom-loving people all over the world, Grundtvig can still be a beacon for us, a shining lighthouse.

N. F. S. Grundtvig and the Baltic countries

By Antra Carlsen, Nordic Network for Adult Learning

From 1992-2004, Antra Carlsen worked as a Nordic-Baltic project leader at the Nordic Folk Academy, training adult educators, working to develop civic society in the Baltic countries, and assisting partnership-building between NGOs and Baltic national governments. When the Nordic Council of Ministers decided to use the Nordic-Baltic cooperation experience in Northwest Russia, she served as a project leader in Russia until 2005. Today she leads the Nordic Network for Adult Learning.

Popular enlightenment ideas in the Baltic countries date back to the times of the first Song Festivals, which were big national gatherings and cultural manifestations. In 1869, the first Song Festival was held in Estonia; in 1873, in Latvia. By the end of the 19th century, political parties had grown considerably, and a wide range of educational and cultural associations had been established. In 1890s, Jaunlatvieši (New trenders) introduced the idea of adult education in Latvia. Between 1918 -1940, the Baltic countries became independent and educational associations began to grow significantly. For example, in Estonia in 1919 there were 271 educational associations, and in 1939, there were 2200. In 1941, across the Baltic states, Soviet occupation and deportations halted the growth of popular enlightenment ideas and the construction of schools based on the ideas of Grundtvig. But between 1987-1991, a series of peaceful protests known as the Singing Revolution brought about the restoration of the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Simultaneously value-based education systems focusing on the learner were (re)established, with the help of extensive Nordic-Baltic cooperation. As explained below, the process followed slightly different historical paths, and Grundtvigian influence assumed different levels of impact in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

In Estonia, Grundtvigian ideas were introduced by Jaan Tõnisson, a young editor of a radical newspaper. In 1910, he published a book about the folk high schools after visiting the Nordic countries. His suggestion that such schools could help preserve the language and culture of the rural

population in Estonia led educational leaders to consider Grundtvig's ideas at educational conferences in 1909 and 1917. No action was taken until 1920, when the large Estonian–Swedish minority founded the “Birkas Agricultural and Folk High School,” the first folk high school in the country. It remained open until 1943 when most of the Swedish minority were deported to Sweden after the Soviet Union incorporated Estonia. The first folk high school for the Estonian majority was established in 1925 in Kunda; another folk high school followed in 1930 in Ravila.

Estonian independence in 1991 revived the folk high school idea, with help from Sweden and Finland. An Estonian–Swedish folk high school was established in 1993 in Paskleps, following in the footsteps of the pre-war Birkas school. Today, there are over 40 popular adult education centers and folk high schools in Estonia. The schools are open to everyone, regardless age or education level. These schools promote the adoption of Nordic (therefore, indirectly, Grundtvigian) ideas into Estonian culture. Most popular topics are art, crafts, music, languages, and self-development. A cup of coffee and cookies are often part of the learning process. Estonian adult educators say: “Popular enlightenment fits our culture well. It began in early 20th century when Estonian politician and educator Jaan Tõnisson traveled in Denmark and Sweden, and it is part of adult education today.” There were 22,500 learners in the popular education centers in 2017.

In 1911 Latvia, plans were being laid to establish two folk high schools with the goal being to create schools that unite education and life, but Russian authorities would not allow them. In 1930, the Mūrmuiža Folk University, influenced by the Danish folk high schools, was established. The school functioned like a University extension, carrying humanist ideas and beliefs in equal share to enlighten all members of society. Lawyers, doctors, artists assumed the role of teachers in folk universities. In 1938-1939, there were 15 folk universities with 3,374 students in Latvia. Zenta Maurina, philologist and essayist, spearheaded the Latvian popular education movement; she studied Grundtvig and Tagore. And, in turn, she inspired Paul Peterson, an agriculturalist and educator, to visit Ollerup Højskole in Denmark and, afterwards, he established schools to inspire young Latvian peasants to learn and develop their country, and to give common people general understanding of society and politics. After regaining independence in 1991, Estonia has seen several attempts to es-

establish folk high schools in Latvia. Most of them were non-residential. Receiving considerable support from Denmark, Rite Folk High School was, for a long time, the only Latvian residential folk high school. And another small residential folk high school, run by a Danish couple, was started in 1998 in Sauka.

Although it was rumored that Danish inspired folk high schools had been in Lithuania since 1906, no folk high school existed in the country before Lithuania gained independence from the Soviet Union in 1991. Interest in folk high schools in the 1990s was due to a considerable extent to Povilas Kuprys's efforts to promote their adaptation in Lithuania. Between 1995 and 2000, folk high schools began to be actively and intentionally established according to Grundtvig ideas. However, today, only two functioning ones remain: Šintautai Academy and Estate Academy of Rumšiškės Museum. The others do not receive state support and attention and have suspended operations for now.

The above brief accounts of the folk high school tradition (and the corresponding but indirect influence of Grundtvig) reveal the importance of cooperation among the Nordic and Baltic adult educators for development of adult learning activities after the independence of Baltic nations. The years 1991–2002 might be called a decade of competence development and learning, during which learning activities were offered in Nordic countries for Baltic educators, financed by the Nordic Council of Ministers. The cooperation deepened between 2002 and 2010, when the capacity to organize adult education strengthened. That period focused on the best ways to develop the competence of the leaders of education organizations. The third phase, from 2010 to today, is characterized by partnerships, common decision-making, and co-creation of knowledge. In 2002, Ivo Eesmaa and Tina Jääger from the Estonian Nonformal Adult Education Association stated, “We have undergone a rapid and profound development. We have made mistakes. Many who have tried to copy the Nordic training system literally have failed. Fortunately, we have also been smart and learned from our mistakes. We have learned from the Nordic examples and adjusted them to our situation, added examples from our own history, and found our own way.”

To maintain the “folk spirit”: The impact of Grundtvig’s
educational ideas, case of Hungary

By János Szigeti Tóth

Tóth holds a PhD in Education, and he studied Sociology at Budapest University. He has served as an associate professor at other universities, has authored and co-authored several books and articles, and has managed many international and national development projects in the field of adult learning. He is the president of the Hungarian Folk High School Society (FHSS), and he was President of the European Association for Education of Adults from 2002 to 2008 (EAEA). In 2007, he was inducted into the Adult and Continuing Education Hall of Fame (kept at the University of Oklahoma, USA).

In 1995, K.E. Bugge explained how folk high schools (hereafter “FHSs”) express and serve the “folkelig aand” (folk spirit). He wrote that FHSs “should always reflect the cultural identity of a particular people. Furthermore, they should respond to the challenges of a particular historical and political situation.” Bugge’s points serve to describe elements in the development of FHSs in Hungary, particularly the years of their birth in the 1930s and suppression between the 1949 and 1985, years of reemergence in the 1980s and 90s when it was possible to legislate them, and finally years of fulfillment in the 2000s.

In the 1930s, powerful influences conspired to initiate the folk high school movement. FHS ideas were embraced first by influential Hungarian writers. The “First Folk High School Community of Hungarian Writers” articulated FHS ideals most powerfully. The outstanding writer Zsigmond Móricz coined a catchphrase still used today: “To have better citizens, better patriots and better individuals is the aim of FHSs.” Historical churches quickly came to play a significant role. Despite the Catholic majority of Hungary, the FHS movement emerged voluntarily in the 1930s and was initiated by the Calvinist and Lutheran minority. Organized by two Jesuit monks, Jenő Kerkai and Töhötöm Nagy, KALOT, the largest youth movement, also supported the FHSs by proclaiming the goals 1) to produce more Christlike people, 2) to educate rural villages, 3) to build a strong nation, and 4) to inspire Hungarians to respect them-

selves. KALOT young people lived in a “symbolic village” called Szeretefalva (Village of Love), which had a set of goals: 1) to educate young adults to adopt a Christian world view, 2) to acquire national consciousness, 3) to learn to think critically, and 4) to prepare young farmers for inevitable land reform and for the establishment of Western type co-operatives. This last goal had the deeper objective of training to implement a new type of self-governance.

For nearly 40 years, between 1949 and 1985, FHSs were banned institutions. However, in the mid-1980s, general social excitement emerged, a wide variety of organizations were formed, and an increasingly intense public life began. In 1988, the Hungarian Folk High School Society’s (HFHSS) formation assembly took place, and Hungary began an oddly calm process of democratization. Reviving FHS-s followed a comprehensive socio-political trend: people began to struggle for the future of small settlements and their autonomy; they began emphasizing local identity, civic responsibility, and self-consciousness; and they began to organize civil associations. After the first free elections since the Second World War, the government set up the support for FHSs. However, there was in reality little progress on this front. In the late 1980s, hope in the promise of reform was on the rise.

Aware of new international trends, educational authorities decided to create a new law on adult learning and education. (The previous law was promulgated in 1976.) The HFHSS joined the parliamentary group with other non-government organizations and participated regularly in preparatory discussions. The planned law was too old-fashioned and institution-centered, instead of focusing on people, community, and the right to education, ideas in keeping with contemporary European legal principles. Finally, a decision was made by the HFHSS with the help of international professional support. We, the promoters of the new law, gave the names and addresses of the relevant government personnel to our foreign friends and asked them to write letters of protest. We urged them to state publicly that Hungary’s education policy towards civil organizations was not moving in the right direction. The most successful letter was written by the Danish AOF to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Education in Hungary. And, as a result, we successfully amended the relevant paragraphs, and we published our gratitude to our most fervent supporters, the Danish AOF, with a public award. The Parliament accepted our FHS

amendment into the new law, only under foreign pressure. HFHSS people felt ashamed of our lawmakers and the government.

After 1990, when international cooperation was reopened, a euphoric mood of European reunification “folk high school” swept Hungary. Everyone knew what it was about, and bilateral cooperation programs were begun with the Dutch, Swedish, Danish and German FHSs. From 2000 onward, a paradigm shift had begun in education policy in the EU; lifelong learning came to the fore again and the Grundtvig program became a European funding platform, with the aim of strengthening the European dimension in adult education. Between 2000 and 2015, HFHSS and its member organization network had a tremendous innovative significance through participation in the Grundtvig program with more than 20 individual projects.

In conclusion, FHSs served to maintain and developed authentic variants to the “folkelig,” which is particularly important in today’s world when in many cases national identity has shifted to dangerous nationalism, and people-centered thinking is pervading populism. FHSs clearly seek to help the less-educated layers of society; they give hope to an otherwise desolate country through emancipatory democratic adult education. Like poverty, social differences grow in the world, and FHSs must help find a way forward. FHSs helped re-establish education for the people and revival measures that resist subversion of education into mass propaganda for political indoctrination. And FHSs have never been more important than today in Hungary, as we are witnessing a post-2010 authoritarian turn. During the communist regime, individual responsibility and social cohesion were very low. Today, we can see that the post-capitalist and populist policy is the same thing, and we must fight it through education.

Fircroft College of Adult Education in England: Grundtvig's influence then and now

By Melanie Lenehan, Fircroft College

Lenehan is the Principal and CEO of Fircroft College of Adult Education. She started as a practitioner, teaching in higher, further, and adult education. She is passionate about residential adult education and the way it can change lives. Through her research, Lenehan seeks to raise the profile of adult residential education to demonstrate its positive impact and how it works for the most disadvantaged adults.

Fircroft College of Adult Education of Adult Education is an English residential college (one of only three) based in Birmingham, England. The College was established and developed upon the Danish Adult Folk School model, and Grundtvig's thinking still manifests itself today through the College through its residential environment, emphasis on togetherness through community and fellowship, and its implementation of transformative learning and critical pedagogy.

George Cadbury, Jr., and Tom Bryan established the College in 1909, following a trip to Denmark where they discovered the Danish high folk schools. Bryan's first visit in 1904 convinced him the secret was education and co-operation. The two concepts, they decided, were interdependent. When established, the main features in common with the Danish high folk schools were the insistence on the value of residence and, as they express it, "comradeship of the teacher and the scholar," the freedom of discussion, and the care of the individual. Bryan felt the tutorial (which was the current model in adult education) did not afford workers the best that older universities had to offer. He wanted the common people of England to experience college life. Cadbury felt that in politics and industry men must learn to co-operate. He believed that such cooperation might be instilled through cohabitation, as well as in working together to achieve intellectual and practical goals. Fircroft was to be a "poor man's university." It was to make men aware of the living truth. Bryant felt that "The true education is not preparation for examination but a preparation for life."

The core elements of citizenship and pedagogies of co-operation, collaboration in its early history were all influenced by Grundtvigian thinking.

To understand the Grundtvig connection, it is important to understand how the residential aspect of the college supports its core purpose. Fircroft College is situated in a unique, beautiful and historic space, in Cadbury's family home built in 1902. Our learners say that the beauty and value of the historic buildings and grounds makes them feel valued themselves, it "gets away from such spaces only being for the rich." Holford and Clancy's report (2017:26) found that the college generates a sense of safety, security, retreat, and refuge for people often fleeing difficult home lives. It is true that a transition to a safe place is vital to learners who had often had traumatic life experiences, such as domestic violence, homelessness, alienation of asylum seekers, or unemployment. Many learners note the inclusive nature of the college, particularly how welcoming it is to people from all backgrounds. They describe the ethos by stating that "they can feel the energy running through the place." In the Holford Clancy research, many learners emphasized the value of togetherness, community, and fellowship. They described the social benefits of living and learning in a small and intimate environment. Most feel that they are "surrounded by other people who motivate them." Within this atmosphere participants become immersed in their learning and, at times, are changed profoundly, so that they can create new lives and opportunities for themselves and others.

Fircroft College is a diverse community and many of its members have been failed by the school system. The College offers further chances for learners from all walks of life and of any age over 19. Many have complex support needs. This diversity provides richness of experiences, views, and opinions. And to meet various needs the College is learner-centered. Teaching is individualized and person-centered and support is scaffolded so that students advance step-by-step at their own pace. They know that they are "being listened to" and they know help is on hand if needed. A big part of this is the residential education model, which means our learners must emphasize the peer group and learn about each other's views and personalities. The result is that learners report feeling empowered by seeing "people like me achieving and succeeding". Connections with others are "mutual, creative, energy-releasing and empowering for all participants."

Transformative learning and critical pedagogy were Bryan's goals. At the beginning of Fircroft College, he stated his intention to create an environ-

ment where teacher and student were considered as equals, as “comrades in the quest for truth,” and he said that “a good teacher must have the faculty for friendship”. Teachers and learners are still seen as equals. The small nature of the college allows learners to get to know their teachers and feel that they can be approached them as equals. Times outside the programmed lessons, such meal- or coffee times, are opportunities for fellowship. These principles, influenced by the concept of enlightenment, are alive and well in the residential college. Learners say that their experience fosters critical thinking and radical understanding of politics and society that challenges mainstream views. Dialogue and debate lead to thoroughly engaged learning, in the classroom, at the coffee machine, over breakfast, lunch and dinner, and in the evenings after classes have finished.

Fircroft College was set up as an experiment in adult education in the spirit of Grundtvig’s philosophy and the model of the high folk schools. Despite the many challenges it has faced, it is still standing 109 years later. And it is going from strength to strength. The College has some of the highest success rates in England and in 2018 was rated the top College out of 190 in England for student satisfaction. What is thrilling is that the core principles of Grundtvig’s thinking which so inspired Tom and George, survive, albeit indirectly, today.

Finding N.F.S. Grundtvig in the U.S.

By Vicky Eiben

After visiting Highlander Folk School (USA), Eiben committed herself to building understanding about Grundtvig and the folk school movement in the United States. She became a founding board member of Driftless Folk School in Viroqua, Wisconsin. Her teaching and research as Associate Professor remain focused on rural folk school initiatives at the Cobscook Community Learning

Center, Driftless Folk School, and North House Folk School. This fall, she is organizing the first-ever Upper Midwest Folk School Gathering, and she now works in a teacher preparation program at Viterbo University.

The ideas of NFS Grundtvig traveled to the United States with Danish immigrants in three waves of folk school development. The first was in the late 1800s when six schools were established. Two of those original schools remain today: Danebod in Minnesota and Ashland Folk School in Michigan. Danebod offers programming during the summer; the folk school spirit is very much alive there in the singing, discussion, dancing, crafts, and fellowship. Ashland, now Circle Pines, has a strong social justice orientation.

The second wave of folk schools swept the USA in the 1920s. Olive Campbell and Marguerite Butler spent two years visiting schools in Scandinavia and, in collaboration with the people of Brasstown, North Carolina, they founded John C. Campbell Folk School in 1925. They applied Grundtvig's idea that people would be enlightened not by Greek and Latin but by studying their own literature, lore, craft, and economy. Jens Jensen was born in Denmark and brought his understanding of folk schools with him when he immigrated to the U.S. In 1935, he established The Clearing in Ellison Bay, Wisconsin. He called The Clearing "a school for the soil" believing that soil is a metaphor for regional ecology and culture which is the basis of self-knowledge, clear thinking, and responsible citizenship. Today, The Clearing offers classes in nature studies, creative writing, fine and folk arts, history, and philosophy. Myles Horton became aware of Ashland Folk School in the 1930s, and then he spent a year in Denmark. He wanted non-formal adult education to contribute to change in America. He listened deeply to the desires and needs of people in Tennessee, and he was compelled to found Highlander Folk School. Since its inception, Highlander has served as a catalyst for grassroots organizing and movement building, particularly in the U.S. Civil Rights movement.

Stories from three schools offer insights into the varied ways that Grundtvig's philosophy and the Danish model inspired third wave initiatives. In 1998, a group in Washington County, Maine, began a community-based research project on education. They wanted to know "what models of education have led to sustained and substantial positive social change." The group attended a workshop on how to start a folk school led by Jacob Earle from Denmark and Hubert Sapp, former director of

Highlander. Cobscook Community Learning Center emerged from this process with the mission: “To create responsive educational opportunities that strengthen personal, community, and global well-being.” CCLC is a hub of educational opportunity and offers a variety of courses, social and art events, and activities and programs initiated by community members. Collaborations have resulted in an alternative high school, programming for at-risk youth, and public-school support and an intervention system called Rural Turn-Around for Children. Their work fills a critical social and educational niche. Director, Alan Furth, emphasized, “By taking care of the spirits and hearts of individuals, we will ultimately have a healthier, safer, and more respectful society.” Ultimately, they would like to work at the political level to make this type of social infrastructure available in other communities as it is with Scandinavian folk schools.

North House lies on the north shore of Lake Superior in the town of Grand Marais, Minnesota. In 1997, Mark Hanson, a local boat builder, was asked to teach a month-long, kayak building class as part of community education, and the experience ignited a vision. Mark had grown up spending a great deal of time with his grandfather who was a strong Grundtvigian. He remembered his grandfather saying that Grundtvig believed schools were needed that supported the holistic development of rural people. Mark believed that the philosophy and approach of Scandinavian folk schools would be an ideal fit for Grand Marais. Today, the school has six buildings, a large sailboat, works with 140 instructors a year in a variety of courses, and also offers programming for public schools. In 2016, NHFS brought \$10.6 million into the local economy. North House exists today because of Mark’s relationship with his Grundtvigian grandfather. We hear traces of Grundtvig in a quote from Director Greg Wright: “When you start to get to know a landscape or when you begin to use your hands, you’re digging into the guts of what it is to be human. . .” “We are trying to connect the past, the present, and the future together to make sure life stories are rich and so is our perspective on what makes us human.”

The founders of Driftless Folk School near La Farge, Wisconsin were inspired by experiences at North House, John C. Campbell, and Highlander. They desired to build on the rural, agricultural heritage of the area as well as the heritage of immigrants, the indigenous people, and the geological and natural history of the region. Courses and events are offered on local farms, in the homes and studios of local residents, and at

a newly developing campus. A wide variety of classes are offered such as blacksmithing, stargazing, folk dancing, herb gathering, and traditional homesteading skills. Program Director Mark Sandberg reflected, "As humans, for so much of our history, learning has been from one another . . . how to make tools, build homes, secure and preserve food, read the sky, and make the very clothes we wear. Folk schools help re-establish this connection to our rich human heritage. In the fast-paced world in which we live where disconnections are common, to feel human and connected to our environment, ourselves, and one another is welcome."

Schools in the U.S. share a number of beliefs that are part of Grundtvigian thought and the Danish folk schools for life: learning is life-long, oral culture/the living word is central, schools are responsive to the needs and struggles of ordinary people, wisdom of ordinary people is valued, learning is hands-on and experiential, learning is non-competitive and emphasizes local culture, learning takes place within community, human identity is at the core of education, and education is local, decentralized, and originates from local people.

Democracy, Leadership, and Education: Finding Grundtvig in the Modern US Folk School Movement

By Dawn Jackman Murphy

Murphy is a Fellow with Fielding Graduate University's Marie Fielder Center for Democracy, Leadership, and Education. She has collaborated with the Folk Education Association of America to launch the Folk School Alliance Community of Practice (CoP). Through the CoP, North American folk schools connect and collaborate, utilizing Web 2.0 mechanisms. Dawn also works in the field of Adult Basic Education as Associate Dean of Transition Studies for a community college in Olympia, Washington, USA.

In the last two decades, the United States has seen a dramatic increase in the number of organizations being founded as folk schools. At the beginning of the 1990s, there were only twelve active nonformal education organizations calling themselves “folk schools” or documenting a tie to the Danish folk high school model. Historically in the United States, only one to two such organizations or folk schools were founded each decade; however, during the 1990s this pattern began to change. Nine folk schools were founded during the 1990s, a 75% increase that hinted only at a much larger movement. By 2010, an additional twenty-two schools had been founded and, in the last eight years, the dramatic upward trend has continued. The Folk Education Association of America (FEAA), on a hiatus since 2002, returned in 2014 and began tracking the modern U.S. folk school movement. As of July 2018, the Folk Education Association of America and its new project, the Folk School Alliance, has identified 82 currently active organizations including two in Canada, who either identify themselves as a folk school (through their name) or who have connected themselves to the folk school movement through the Folk School Alliance. This data suggest that from 1990 to 2018, there has been an almost seven-fold increase in the number of folk schools in the United States.

Given the dramatic increase in folk school founding in the last three decades, the modern US folk school movement can be described as very young. 69% of active schools are less than eleven years old, and 43% are less than four years old. Additionally, most, if not all, operate as non-governmental, non-profit or non-business entities and receive no municipal, state, or federal funding. In practical terms this funding trend means that the founders and initial supporters of these schools begin by investing their own savings and the donations of others in order to operate the schools. From an organizational development perspective, these schools fall into the first two stages of development, which we might call “existence” and “survival.”

The twelve pre-1990 schools were located in the Midwest and South regions of the United States. These two regions continue to have the highest density of folk schools; however, nearly all regions of the United States now have folk school representation. A map of North American folk schools can be found through the Folk School Alliance website at <http://folkschoolalliance.org/folk-school-links/>. The map shows that the Mountain and South-

western regions of the United States have very few folk schools. This pattern may change if the rate of folk school founding continues.

The modern folk school movement in the United States varies from the previous phases of folk school founding not only in its dramatic upward trend but also in terms of the inspirations and motivations behind their creation. Specifically, periods Danish American Folk Schools and U.S. Folk School Adaption connect directly to Denmark either through Danish immigrants or school-founder visits to Denmark. The 1970s was a time of innovation and experimentation and perhaps a fermentation period for the current U.S. Folk School movement. Direct ties with the Danish roots of folk education are not as clearly defined; however, in a review of school websites and social media, the strands of Grundtvigian influence are evident. Twenty-seven of the eighty-two active schools, 34%, explicitly articulate their connection to Danish folk school traditions or to Scandinavian heritage and school models. Evidence of Grundtvig’s influence can also be found in the format and offerings of the U.S. folk schools. In a 2017 Folk School Alliance survey, schools were asked, “What is the focus/foci of your school/organization? (check all that apply).” The table below provides the responses.

Focus or foci of the school / organization	(% of total Responses)
Traditional Skills	83%
Lifelong Learning	78%
Arts and Crafts	72%
Nature, Environment, or Ecology	67%
Personal Development	67%
Community Development	56%
Music	50%
Regional Cultural and/or Historic Preservation	50%
Economic Development Including micro entrepreneurship.	28%
Dance	17%

The table above shows that although most modern U.S. Folk Schools emphasize the historic or poetic content by focusing on “traditional skills” and “arts and crafts,” approximately half of the respondents also included focus areas such as “community development” and “regional, cultural, and/or historic preservation.”

With the emergence of the Modern U.S. Folk School Movement, the Folk Education Association of America has rediscovered its purpose as a facilitator and supporter of community-based, learner-led education. The FEAA’s 2017-18 strategic plan, targets five ambitious goals: (1) to build a cohesive and collaborative network of Folk Schools, (2) to cultivate a sustainable FEAA leadership group that reflects the folk school community, (3) to build FEAA’s internal capacities, (4) to expand participation in Folk Education to the non-traditional participant, and (5) to create and maintain a Folk Education philosophical roots, past achievements, and current innovations resource repository. The FEAA has made progress towards the goals described; however, the area of most advancement is in building a cohesive and collaborative network of Folk Schools.

The inevitable question is why? Why have folk schools become so popular in the USA? The answer can only be guessed, though some of the folk school leaders have shared their opinions. In conclusion, here they are: Stacey Waterman-Hoey, Founder of Arbutus Folk School (Olympia, Washington), writes, “People feel socially disconnected and economically disempowered. There is an interest in simplifying life, increasing our ability to make our own useful and beautiful things and providing for our own needs. There is a growing feeling of unease about our reliance on the global economy and awareness of our impact on a fragile ecosystem. Our economy and education systems are increasingly enriching a few, while leaving dissatisfied lives for the many.” Kara Grupp, Founder of Three Pines Farm (Cedar Falls, Iowa), writes, “I feel that there is a pull within us to return to the tactile and tangible in this very technological age... to reconnect with our grandparents’ knowledge, and to find new spaces of community that align with our interests and vision for the future. Rhonda Lindsey, Founder of Southern Appalachian Folk School (Jaspar, Georgia), writes, “Marble mining is the local industry and we used to have a wealth of artisans who used that as their medium. One day we woke up to discover the old ones who had those marble carving skills were gone.” And Geraldine Johnson, Creative Director of Aspire Artisan Studios and Folk

School (Waconia, Minnesota), writes, "People hunger for authentic connections with others and the true satisfaction of creating something with one's own hands. We build community."

Grundtvig's Educational Ideas in Nigeria

By Kachi A. Ozumba

Kachi A. Ozumba studied at the University of Ibadan, University of Leeds and Newcastle University in UK where he obtained his PhD as an Overseas Research Scholar and a fellowship of the Higher Education Academy. He has taught in schools in Nigeria, Denmark and UK, and is also a prize-winning writer. He is the chair and director of the Grundtvig Movement of Nigeria.

The origins of our work with Grundtvig's ideas in Nigeria could be traced back to the early 1980s. As a top official of the West African Examinations Council, the prime examinations body in the country, the founder of the Grundtvig Movement of Nigeria, Dr. Kachi Esogbuna Ozumba (1942-2011), witnessed firsthand the negative impact of a one-sided bookish and certificate-oriented educational system, which produced many dropouts and frustrated graduates. The emphasis on passing examinations and obtaining certificates had turned the system into what Ozumba dubbed "education for certificates." He began searching for an alternative idea of education and, eventually, he heard about N.F.S. Grundtvig from an acquaintance who had attended a Grundtvig conference in Askov, Denmark.

Further research led him to the discovery of Grundtvig's idea of "Education for Life," of a robust education not focused on passing examinations and obtaining certificates, but on living a life. This idea also reminded him of his indigenous traditional system of education, which had as its

primary objective the preparation of members of the society to live lives useful to themselves and to their communities. Ozumba had a feeling akin to Grundtvig's frustration with what he called "schools for death." Grundtvig's frustration, in 19th century Denmark, gave rise to his ideas for the "school for life."

For Ozumba, the question became how to introduce (or re-introduce) this education-for-life idea in the Nigerian postcolonial educational landscape. The system placed examinations on a pedestal and valued rote memorization and worshipped certificates. So entrenched was this exam-driven system that any attempt to dispense with it wholesale, as we find in Grundtvigian schools in Denmark, would have been tantamount to an act of suicide by a school in Nigeria. This should not be surprising in an environment where social security was virtually non-existent, poverty was rife, and a good examination certificate was largely seen as ticket to a good life. Ozumba met this challenge by formulating a Grundtvigian curriculum to run parallel to the already existing exam-driven curriculum. He introduced in our Grundtvig Schools in Nigeria an examinations-free, life-focused Awareness Curriculum that would run alongside the usual academic/vocational curriculum so that students who pass through our schools would be educated, not just to make a living, but to live a useful and satisfactory life, within their communities and nation.

The Awareness Curriculum aims at stimulating and developing attitudes, ideals and values within our students. It exposes our students to activities that aid the development of a sense of self-worth, cultural pride, active citizenship, cooperative spirit, initiative, resourcefulness, critical thinking, fairness, tolerance, and community spirit. Activities that fall under this curriculum include Umunna Meetings; You and The News; You, Democracy and Human Rights; People who Changed their Societies; and the School Police, Court, and Parliament. Some activities are comprised largely of lively discussions and debates (of the type Grundtvig termed 'the living word'). For example, You and The News involves discussion of a current event and how it affects the student as a member of society; and You, Democracy and Human Rights aims to create a personal and practical understanding of the concepts of Democracy and Human Rights through discussions of the human rights articles and concepts in the context of daily life activities and experiences, in and out of the school.

Some other activities of the Awareness Curriculum, such as the School Parliament, the Police and the Court, are largely simulations.

This fine blend of regular and Grundtvigian contents is the basis for schools run by the Grundtvig Movement of Nigeria. The Grundtvig Institute, founded in 1984, now with a population of almost 500 students, is a residential post-secondary school offering the Awareness Curriculum alongside vocational training for self-employment, paid employment, or further studies in Catering and Hotel Management, Fashion and Textile Design, Computer Studies, Office Technology and Management. While the equally residential Grundtvig International Secondary School, founded in 1998 and now with a population of about 600 students, offers its Awareness Curriculum alongside national and international academic secondary school curricula. Both schools have been oversubscribed since 2016, and both have received much recognition for the unique educational work they are doing in our society.

In conclusion, and in the words of Dr. Kachi Esogbuna Ozumba, founder of the Grundtvig Movement of Nigeria: "What Grundtvig did was to help us rediscover values and practices which we had jettisoned to our peril in our breakneck speed to so-called western civilization."

Philippine Encounter with Grundtvig

By Edicio G. dela Torre

Ordained a Catholic priest in 1968, dela Torre worked with farmers struggling for land reform and assisted the urban poor with community organizing. When martial law was imposed in 1972, he joined the resistance movement, was arrested twice and spent nine years in various military prisons. Released from prison when democracy was restored in 1986, he advocated for the idea of popular democracy. Visiting Denmark in 1987, he was introduced to Grundtvig and the

folkehøjskole. After that experience, he started the Education for Life Foundation.

When I said I wanted to promote Grundtvig's ideas and the Danish folkehøjskole in the Philippines, my Danish friends told me, "Grundtvig cannot be exported; but he can be imported." And so, we did import Grundtvig, with more than a little help from Danish friends. Why and how we did it reminds me of a principle that I learned in seminary, Thomas Aquinas's aphorism "Quidquid recipitur, recipitur secundum modum recipientis" (Whatever is received, is received according to the condition of the receiver.) In hindsight I can see the conditions that made us in the Philippines positively receive Grundtvig.

My first encounter with Grundtvig was in late 1987, and it was accidental, but fortunately it happened during a "Grundtvigian moment" in the Philippines and in my life. What is a "Grundtvigian moment"? It is a specific situation in a country's political and developmental process that favors an appreciation and application of his ideas. An initial sign of such a moment is when the dominant elite open themselves to reforms, and welcome, rather than resist, change. That moment becomes more Grundtvigian when people do not remain passive beneficiaries. They seize the opportunity to become active citizen-participants, and they push for changes and reforms even beyond the initial limits set by the elite. My encounter with Grundtvig took place after "people power" had successfully restored democracy in the Philippines, after more than a decade of authoritarian and repressive rule that started when martial law was imposed in 1972.

During those years of repression, I actively participated in the resistance movement against the martial law regime. I clearly wasn't very good at it because I was captured twice and spent nine years in different military prisons. If I had encountered Grundtvig during that time of resistance or imprisonment, would I have "received" him the way I did later? Probably not. But in 1986, I was just released from prison into our newly-won democratic space. My mind and heart were full of new questions. How do we insure that those who benefit from the positive change are not only the elite and middle class but also the grassroots majority? How do we go beyond merely restoring the same elite-dominated, pre-martial law democracy? How do we promote a broad-based participatory, popular democracy?

I advocated three programs that are integral to achieve popular democracy – community organizing, popular education, and grassroots leadership formation. That was the situation and frame of mind that primed me for my encounter with Grundtvig. Learning about Grundtvig and the folkehøjskole felt like looking into a special mirror. In that mirror, I saw the “School for life” as the picture of our emerging dream, of higher education for grassroots community leaders in the Philippines. Although from another place and time, this picture was validated by more than a century of practice.

I liked what Grundtvig said about democratization in Denmark, that farmers in Jutland should participate in the consultations and debates which must not be dominated by intellectuals in Copenhagen. In 1992, we set up the Education for Life Foundation (ELF) to apply the ideas of Grundtvig and the Danish folkehøjskole to the Philippines. Our core program was “grassroots community leadership formation for grassroots community empowerment.” We called it “Paaralang Bayan, Paaralang Buhay.” School of the People, School of Life. We explained that we were not simply transplanting a Danish seed to Philippine soil. We were nurturing a child of two parents—Grundtvig and the Danish folkehøjskole—with our Philippine tradition of popular education as a partner.

Since Grundtvig wrote more than 1,500 songs, let me shift my metaphor from mirror to melody. His central melody kept playing in my mind—education for life. We improvised on that tune in the manner of Filipino jazz musicians. We interpreted his idea of “education for life” as educating grassroots leaders for the whole of life: Education should not be only for economic life, although that is an urgent need. Not narrowly focused on political life either. We wanted to develop grassroots leaders who have a well-rounded sense of what it means to be human and empowered. We designed a six-week residential course on “Leadership and Empowerment,” starting with “Kwentong Buhay,” or Life History Workshop. Participants share their life stories and lessons they have learned, from their achievements and also from their failures. We seek to build the self-confidence of the grassroots participants, and demystify the process of learning. We remind them: We learn for life, and also learn from life. In our native language: “Hango sa buhay, tungo sa buhay.” Learning sessions include actual life contexts, such as visiting cooperatives to observe projects and interview their members, meeting with government officials for practice

negotiations, or live interviews in radio programs. We seek to develop the following three core competencies and clusters of skills people need to lead: 1) communications (in small groups, public presentation, through media), 2) negotiations, and 3) non-violent conflict resolution.

Returning to their communities, leader-graduates pursue their own improvisations. They promote citizens' participation to solve community problems and ensure democratic governance. These efforts intertwine with many others. They must revive inactive cooperatives, mediate conflicts among their members, practice reflexology, mobilize the community on environmental issues, and serve as community educators. In the process, some have enhanced their credibility and influence, and some have been elected to village and town councils. They are contributing to democratization of the Philippines, from below. Although we failed to build a school campus, we were amused and consoled by the dry humor of a Danish evaluator, who said, "Among the efforts to apply Grundtvig's idea of the folkehøjskole to countries in the South, you are one of the most successful, because you have failed." Yet we still dream of a Philippine network of different kinds of Schools for Life, with campuses for residential courses. Toward that dream, we continue to build a community of leaders and learners, groups of people who continue learning how to lead, and continue leading others in how to learn.

Grundtvig's Influence on Japan

By Midori Sakaguchi

An International Cultural Youth Exchange student in 1986-1987, Sakaguchi attended Silkeborg Højskole during the Autumn semester of 1986. She completed the doctoral program in Graduate School of Arts and Sciences at University of Tokyo in 2000, and she has worked at Meiji Gakuin University since 2001. She

was a visiting scholar at Danish Pedagogical University, Aarhus University, in 2008-2009. Her publications include "Dichotomy in Education" (2007) and "Education of Recognition: Daghøjskole in Denmark" (2018, forthcoming).²

In the nineteenth century, Grundtvig's educational ideas were brought into Japan with agricultural reform, which was caused by the high demand for cash and milk. In 1868, the Japanese government opened its borders in order to modernize the country, and various experts from the Western countries were invited. During that process, Denmark became one of the model countries for Japanese farming and dairy industries, and Grundtvig and folk high schools were introduced as a viable means of developing rural areas. In 1873, the government changed its economic system to a monetary based economy, and subsequent revisions to land taxes forced peasants to pay their tax in cash. Rice was no longer accepted as currency. All the peasants who had until that time been self-sufficient, 80% of the population, faced the new reality that they must earn cash to pay their land tax. At the same time, as the borders opened, many Westerners along with the government-invited some 3,000 advisors or Christian missionaries flocked to this far-east developing country, and they brought their eating habits. They wanted milk, cheese, and pork. So, the dairy industry became the magical solution both for the peasants and the Westerners.

In 1876 and 1878, the Japanese government built two important colleges; Sapporo Agricultural College (1876), later Hokkaido University, and Komaba Agricultural College (1878), later University of Tokyo. At these colleges, many researchers were engaged in translating books, studying European countries, or testing new seeds and seedlings. Important researchers emerged from these institutions. Kanzo Uchimura (1870-1933), graduate from Sapporo Agricultural College, authored *The Story of Denmark* (1911), introducing the story of planting trees to recover the desolated land by the engineer Enrico M. Dalgas and his son Christian. Uchimura was a well-known Christian religious leader who started non-

² I would like to thank to Naoto Koike for discussions and advises for manuscript. This work was supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Numbers JP16K03532 and 18K02317. Explanation of important figures here are mainly based on Takeshi Uno's work, "The study of Folk High School", Keisui Publisher, 2003. Shigeyoshi Matsumae, 1945, "Revival of Denmark from the Defeat," Tokai Publisher.

church movement in Japan, and in 1947 his story on Dalgas and his son was adopted for a textbook for primary schools. The book was read nationwide.

Eizo Yahagi (1870–1933), a professor at University of Tokyo, Faculty of Agriculture, and the very first person who introduced Danish agriculture in 1901, praised Denmark and positively compared it with Italy or England as wealthy and successful nation, where the population doubled even though they lost a great deal of territory after the war with Prussia in 1864. Yahagi studied in Europe in 1902–1907, visited several agricultural schools including folk high schools, and published articles such as “Production Union in Denmark” (1908). Shiroshi Nasu (1888–1984), a student of Yahagi’s, later became a professor at University of Tokyo, Faculty of Agriculture, too, and he translated A.H. Hollmann’s book *Die dänische Volkehochschule und ihre Bedeutung für die Entwicklung einer Völkischen Kultur in Dänemark* in 1909. Hollman’s book included quotations from Grundtvig’s poem “Columbus” and his essay “Grossen Mythologie.” This book was so widely read and so influential that a several agricultural schools were established as early as 1910’s, just a few years after its publication.

After a wave of researchers, many officials started to have interests in Denmark and, inspired by Hollman’s book, folk high schools. The Ministry of Home Affairs planned a public agricultural school in 1915 in Yamagata, the northern part of Japan, to support the peasants, and Takeshi Fujii (1888–1930) was made head of school. The schools were supposed to be designed to train future leaders in rural areas, but it turned out to be more like a training center for colonialization in Eastern Asia. Fujii resigned the Ministry soon after the school opened, joined non-church movement with Kanzo Uchimura who had at that time become an evangelist. After Fujii, Kanji Kato (1884–1967) became the dean of the Yamagata school and other agricultural training schools. Kato admired Grundtvig so much that he made agricultural schools into nationalistic, spiritual, and Shintoistic training centers. In 1922–1924, Kato visited Europe and stayed in Askov Folk High School, but he was disappointed in long adored Denmark. He could not accept the highly commercialized life he saw in Copenhagen, the impure relationships he observed between men and women, and the secular modern European way of life that surrounded him.

During the early twentieth century, some of the educators also started to have interests in Grundtvig's thoughts on education. Shigeyoshi Matsumae (1901-1991) visited folk high schools such as Askov, Snoghøj, Ollerup, Vallekilde, IPS, and Frederiksborg in 1934 (3). He was deeply inspired by these schools, and when he returned to Japan in 1936, he founded Bosei school in rural Tokyo. Bosei was a small boarding school for the youth to do Judo, Bible studies, and dialogue. It later became Tokai university, the 7th largest university in Japan today.

After more than 100 year's history of Grundtvig's influence, Japan still did not have proper translations of Grundtvig's original texts or related books, until recently. Mitsuru Shimizu published a translation of *School for Life* in 1996 and a translation of Christen Kold's book in 2007. He is best known as the director an association called the “Grundtvig Society in Japan.” Naoto Koike is the author and translator of many books including Grundtvig's original texts. Today, in Japan, Koike's books and translations are considered the most respected academic guides to Grundtvig's thought.

Today, there are some project-based, short-term programs similar to folk high schools run by young Japanese, such as IFAS, Kunimi Højskole or Nishinoshima Højskole, but none of them are very directly influenced by Grundtvig's thought itself. Still, Grundtvig's texts are widely read by students and academics, who have interests in dialogue based alternative education.

Grundtvig and the Education of South Korea

By Hae-jin Chung

Hae-jin Chung graduated from a school influenced by Grundtvig's thought and, later, studied Philosophy of Education at the university, writing a master's thesis

titled “Grundtvig’s Thought and Practice as the Ideal Foundation of Alternative Education,” and a doctoral dissertation titled “Grundtvig’s Thoughts about People’s Education.” She now teaches Philosophy of Education and Introduction to Education. Her interest in the Danish education system and Grundtvig continues.

In the 1920s and 30s, the rural enlightenment movement opened Korea to ideas of the Danish people’s education, in their practical forms. Intellectuals during that period sought to educate peasants who had not experienced modern education, through reading and writing and agricultural pedagogies, so that they could escape from impoverishment. They looked to Denmark as a model of a country that overcame a national crisis similar to the one Korea was facing at that time. Many people wanted to follow Denmark’s example and begin peasant education. In the early days when the Danish example of education was first known, it operated in the form of a night school or provisional educational institution. These educational institutions were operated like short-term courses for adults, like the people’s high school in Denmark. Most of these schools, however, were closed by the Japanese, after Japan had annexed Korea.

After independence from Japan, some institutions for farmers’ education were established. Representative institutions of the new movement were the Christian farmers’ institute founded by Bae Min-soo in 1954, the Poolmoo school established by Lee chan-gap and Joo ok-ro in 1958, and Ganaan farming school established by Kim Yong-gi in 1962. Among the three schools, the only general school for young people was Poolmoo school; the other two focused solely on the education of adult farmers. Another school influenced by Grundtvig was the Osan school founded by Lee Seung-Hoon in 1907. Osan School was established and operated before the Danish type of people’s high school of became known in Korea, but information about Grundtvig later influenced Lee Seung-hoon.

Osan School and Poolmoo School have tried to accept and practice Grundtvig’s ideas of people’s education most closely. Lee Seung-Hoon tried to empower people to enlightened themselves through the people’s education. He said, “There must be a man who takes a sword. More important is that the people awaken. We do not know how the world is going on, so it is the most urgent to awaken them.” He believed that to enlighten the people learning must take place in the mother-tongue, and the history of the country must be taught through storytelling. Poolmoo

school, founded by Lee Chan-gap and Joo ok-ro, required a long period of preparation. In 1938, Lee Chan-gap went to Japan and visited the rural schools, and he learned as much as he could about the peasant movements of Denmark and educational thought of Grundtvig. Lee later visited the people's high school in Japan and stayed for three months. When Lee returned to Korea, he founded Poolmoo school with Joo. In the beginning of the school, Lee Chan-gap mentioned that he had learned a great deal from the book by A.H. Hollman, a German historian who studied people's high school and Grundtvig. Lee wrote,

I know that this is the kind of thing we have to listen to. They (Grundtvig and Kold) are not just rural activists. They are the sons who awakened the nation. Is it not more interesting if the humanistic education that they have done has made Denmark the present rural paradise?

Lee focused on education that can enlighten people. He also valued the history of the country and the mother-tongue and, today, his school still practices the education for the people and for life.

One of the most important people to spread of knowledge about Grundtvig and the Danish people's school was Ryu Dal-young, a professor at Seoul National University who devoted his life to the rural movement and wanted to make a better country by enlightening people. During Korean war, Ryu Dal-young published a book *For the New History: Danish Education and Co-operative* that he had conceived for several years in Daegu, a refugee camp in 1952. The book was so impressive to the public that it went through 26 reprints in a few years. In the book, Ryu Dal-young wrote,

I was burning with a passion to build a Denmark of the East. There was a large picture of Grundtvig in my room. I brought the picture from Denmark in 1956. I prayerfully looked at the picture every morning before going to work. Only one revolution can be tolerated for us. It would be the quiet revolution by the people who are self-enlightened.

Between the 1960s and 1990s, the Danish people's high school and Grundtvig seem to have been forgotten by the people in Korea. After 2000, Song Sun-Jae, a professor at Methodist Theological University (cur-

rently Chairman of the board of “Teachers’ College for Life”) reintroduced Grundtvig and the Free school in Denmark. And in 2010, he published a book titled *Free-education of Denmark which Raises Great People* in 2010. And in 2016, Oh Yeon-ho who loves Danish society founded Gumtje efterskole which is the same as a Danish continuation school. He wanted to understand why Denmark is such a happy country. His research led him to the answer: Danish education and Grundtvig were the reasons. He published a book *Can we also be happy?*, which is about Denmark. Since the book’s publication, interest Denmark and the education of Denmark has grown.

At last in Korea, some people who experienced Danish people’s high school have decided to found a people’s high school. The founder is a student of Krogerup people’s high school named Yang Seok-won. The school has as its keywords “pause,” “self,” “freedom,” “community,” “empathy,” “life itself,” and “living by one’s own reason.” The school does not yet have a physical setting or even a central office; Yang Seok-won is in the process of gather participants to make a curriculum and of operating a short-term course. These days many Korean are becoming interested in the Danish education system and Grundtvig, because they desire change in Korea’s education system. And many find inspiration in Grundtvig’s idea of the “school for life.”

Rediscovering “The Chinese Grundtvig”: An Introduction to Lei Peihong’s Pedagogical Contribution in China

By WEN Ge

WEN Ge is a lecturer of Systematic Theology. He studied Grundtvig at the Grundtvig Study Centre of Aarhus University and in 2014 finished a Ph.D. dissertation on Grundtvig’s public theology.

Grundtvig was introduced to China in 1906. Before the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949, Grundtvig was popular with many Chinese educators and intellectuals who tried to achieve national salvation through adult education and village construction. Among those who were influenced by Grundtvig's pedagogical thinking in China, Lei Peihong (1888-1967) stood out so much so that his students called him the “Chinese Grundtvig.”³

Well-known as an educator, theorist and a practitioner, Lei is one of the promoters of popular education in China since 1920s. In 1928, he introduced innovative pedagogies, and he strove to construct a national educational system (including both formal and informal education) to serve the people and nation. Lei first learned about Grundtvig and the Danish folk high school during his studies in the United States in the late 1910s. In 1928, he visited Denmark in order to know how Danish folk education was practiced and how it effectively influenced the whole of the Danish society. He experienced school life at the International People's College at Helsingør, and he also mentioned Askov and John Borup Folk High School in his writings. After his visit, he wrote a series of articles introducing to China Grundtvig's ideas and the Danish educational and social development. These include “Grundtvig the Prophet of the North: Founding Father of the Folk High School” (1928), “The Danish Cooperative System” (1928), and “The Nordic Adult Educator Kold” (1931). In his eyes, Danish adult education system was one of the best and most effective of its type in any of the countries he visited.⁴

What impressed Lei most was how Grundtvig's pedagogical thinking and the folk high school successfully transformed Danish society and nation.⁵ In the 19th century, Denmark suffered from national defeats,

³ 杨汝熊：《“中国的格龙维”》，载于《雷沛鸿纪念文集》，（南宁：广西政协文史办公室，1988年），87页。[Yang Ruqiong, “The Chinese Grundtvig,” in *Essays in Memory of Lei Peihong* (Nanning: Guangxi zhengxie wenshi, 1998), 87].

⁴ 雷沛鸿：《祝成人教育世界大会（1929）》，《文集（一）》，438页。[Lei: “A Congratulatory Essay to the World Adult Education Conference (1929),” in *Writings of Lei Peihong*, vol. I (Nanjing: Guangxi Education, 1989), 438].

⁵ 雷沛鸿：《北欧的先觉者格龙维》，《文集（一）》，280页。[Lei Peihong, “Grundtvig the Prophet of the North,” in *Writings of Lei* (1933), 280].

loss of land, political challenges and economic depression. Lei attributed Denmark's salvation and revival to Grundtvig and the Danish folk high school. In the late 19th century and the first half of the twentieth century, China also suffered from various socio-political crises caused by western colonialism and imperialism. Lei therefore thought that adult education should also be promoted not only in his home province Guangxi, but also in the whole of China.⁶ He fully realized the difference of the contexts and people's characters, so he warned that China should be thoughtful about which aspects of the Danish system should be adopted.

As a result, Lei started to teach adult education at Jiangsu Provincial Normal College (江苏省立教育学院) in 1928. In the following years, he not only talked about the meaning and importance of popular education, but he also practiced what he spoke about by establishing the Experimental Popular Education Center of Nanmen (南门实验民众教育馆) which aimed at training the poor and the rickshaw people in 1930 and in many other places.⁷ When he returned to Guangxi and began implementing basic education, the American missionary Dr. Wood Eddy predicted that Guangxi would be the only exemplary province in terms of educational achievement in China.⁸ During Lei's service in Guangxi, 80.87% of all the Guangxi children—that is, 3,332,363 children—received basic education; 86.69% of all adults—4,083,977—received education, according to 1941 statistics. This is unprecedented in Chinese history.⁹ In 1945 in Guangxi Province, Lei established Xijiang College, which had as its purpose to make education a reality for the people. He referred to the Danish folk high school again in order to show the power of education to trans-

⁶ 雷沛鸿：《最近广西教育设施的趋势（1934）》，《文集一》146页。[Lei, "The Recent Tendency of Guangxi Educational Facilities," in *Writings of Lei* (1934), 146].

⁷ 喻本伐、方玉芬：《中国的格龙维：雷沛鸿》《教育研究与实验》2010年第二期：68页。[Yu Benfa and Fang Yufen, "The Chinese Grundtvig," *Educational Research and Experiment* no. 2 (2010), 68].

⁸ 《胡适之〈南游杂议〉的介绍》，《雷沛鸿文选》，韦善美、潘启富编（南宁：广西师大出版社，1998年），271页。“Introduction to Hu Shizhi's 'Journal of the Southern Visit,'" in *Selected Writings of Lei Peihong*, ed. Wei Shanmei and Pan Qifu (Nanning: Guangxi Normal University, 1998), 271].

⁹ 雷坚：《雷沛鸿传》（南宁：广西人民出版社，1997年），128-29页。[Lei Jian. *On Lei Peihong* (Nanning: Guangxi People's, 1997), 128-29].

form people for the sake of political, economic and cultural democracy.¹⁰ He wanted Xijiang College to provide not dead but living education that would take into account each student as a living person; he wanted teachers and students to have living interactions and promote mutual learning; while promoting formal education, he also wanted to expand into informal education not for the sake of degrees or diplomas, but for the sake of the enlightenment of people and the improvement of their lives. All this was to be done according to Lei's special understanding: "life is education and society is school."¹¹ Here we can clearly see Grundtvig's influence upon him in the aspects of the living word, the living interaction between teachers and students, and the life-oriented program. In short, Lei believed that the success of any education depends on its connection with people's life.

Popular education, according to Lei, is not only an education movement, but also a social movement, making education really popular and making the society equal.¹² In order to reach that goal, he criticized educational process that treat people mechanically, and he encouraged direct contact between teachers and the people with active mutual learning.¹³ Lei said that, as a new educational enterprise, the people's education should be based on and for the people's life.¹⁴ It should aim at both making education popular among people and transforming them (民众化, 化民众).¹⁵

Furthermore, Lei drew on the inspiration from Grundtvig and tried to promote life-long education, but he tried to approach it from the Chinese

¹⁰ 雷沛鸿:《西江学院的世界文化基础(1947)》,《雷沛鸿文选》,519-20页。[Lei Peihong, "The World Cultural Foundation of Xijiang College", in *Selected Writings* (1947), 519-20].

¹¹ 雷沛鸿:《西江学院之教育实施方针(1946)》,480-481页。[Lei Peihong, "The Educational Guideline of Xijiang College" (1946), 480-81].

¹² 雷沛鸿:《普及民众教育的几个技术问题(1933)》,《文集一》,56页。[Lei Peihong, "A Few Technical Questions of Practicing Popular Education" in *Writings of Lei*, (1933), 56].

¹³ *Ibid.*, 57, 73.

¹⁴ 雷沛鸿:《本院研究实验工作计划总纲并说明书(1931)》,67页。[Lei Peihong, "Outline of Explanations of College Research and Experiment Work" (1931), 67].

¹⁵ 雷沛鸿:《广东民众教育事业的曙光(1930)》,《文集一》,76页。[Lei, "The Dawn Light of Guangdong Popular Education Enterprise," in *Writings of Lei* (1933), 76].

cultural perspective. In Chinese, education is constituted by two characters: 教 means teaching, exercising or practicing while 育 refers to cultivation and nurture and edification. While 教 makes life systematic and lasts only for some time, 育 takes the whole life's journey. Only life-long education can revive and lift up national spirits.¹⁶ Thus Lei creatively contextualize Grundtvig's thought for his people.

In closing, Grundtvig's pedagogical thinking and the Danish folk high school system deeply influenced Lei who tried to save and build up the Chinese nation in a Grundtvigian way. Without copying the Danish model mechanically, he promoted adult education in China so relentlessly that he was even called "the Chinese Grundtvig." Today it will be of great significance to rediscover Grundtvig's pedagogical legacies in China in part via Lei's efforts.

Why Grundtvig still matters in Sweden

By Tomas Rosengren

Rosengren is a teacher at Strömbäcks Folk High School. He also serves as vice spokesman for the Folk High School Association of Sweden.

The Swedish folk high school turns 150 years old in 2018, which means we have to look back to our roots. Swedes react to Grundtvig's ideas in a variety of ways; we seem to have difficulty dealing with interpersonal conflicts and spirituality, two areas that Grundtvig emphasized. In 1868, the

¹⁶ 雷沛鸿：《教与育的区别》，《雷沛鸿文选》，112-13页。[Lei Peihong, "The Difference Between 'jiao' and 'yu'", in *Selected Writings of Lei*, 112-13.]

first three schools were founded upon the ideas of Grundtvig concerning each and every person in the very childhood of modern democracy. We translate these ideas into the ability to choose and practice a profession, to express experiences, thoughts and feelings in one's mother tongue, to engage in the lives of others, to become an active citizen of the community.

Our governmental mission today, in 2018, 150 years later, is formulated in four similar purposes: to strengthen and develop democracy, to make it possible for people to influence their life situation and create, to empower individuals to participative involvement in societal development, to bridge educational gaps and raise the level of education and cultural awareness in society, and to broaden the interest for, and increase participation in, cultural life. Close scrutiny of these purposes suggests that the Swedish folk high schools are more influenced by Grundtvig than many of us are willing to admit. It might be said that, today, we have the same purposes. It's only that we use different tools. There are two ways for students to be part of the Swedish folk high school. There are general courses, taken as a way to qualify for higher education. All Folk High Schools hold general courses, suitable for those who have not completed their secondary education, since they can provide equivalent knowledge.

Another way is through special courses, taken as a way to deepen individual interests. Students may choose from aesthetic subjects, such as music, theatre, art and design, or they can choose courses in athletics or environmental studies or subjects relating to developing countries.

The folk high schools in Sweden have built up a reputation of being very successful "taking care of stuff," which basically means that people who have failed to progress through the traditional educational system can succeed in the folk high school. Some might say that we assume the role of the "cleaning people" of the educational system, the ones who step in to tidy-up what the normal education system cannot handle. We face big questions. How do we keep the central ideology of Folk high school education alive under stressful financial circumstances? How do we find 500 new Folk High School teachers and new ones to replace retiring teachers? All of these questions must be answered within the governing idea that we are in the business of making students become someone, instead of something, and aware of their citizenship, not just in the local community, but as world citizens in a multicultural society.

We have to remind ourselves that Grundtvig still matters, even in Sweden, but in a new time when nationalism has turned into internationalism. The Folk High School still has an important role to play over the course of the next 150 years.

Grundtvig in Norway

By Synnøve Sakura Heggem

Heggem was born in Japan and, later in her childhood, she lived in a folk high school in Norway where both of her parents were teachers. Her interest in Grundtvig stems from her life-long interests in sacred sound through hymn tradition and in the history of ideas. As a pastor and researcher (on Grundtvig's poetic spirituality), she strives to serve society's local and global needs.

The relationship between Grundtvig and Norway is a complicated love story. Until 1814, when Grundtvig was 31 years old, Norway and Denmark were twin kingdoms. After that year, Norway got its own constitution, which ended 400 years with different kinds of unions. Grundtvig deeply regretted the breakup. Twice he considered moving to Norway for making a living there, first as minister, next as professor. All his life Nikolai Frederik Severin was close to Norway, "The Land of Rocks – the northern answer to (St) Peter" – as he once said. In 1837 he wrote to Norwegians about setting up a Norwegian Folk High School. He loved and imagined Norway as a country, as people and, not least, as history and mythology. Therefore, he trusted Norway as promising location for a "naturally free school". In 1851 he visited Norway, invited by the Student Union to a Nordic conference. The Norwegian Parliament even closed its doors some hours during Grundtvig's sermon in Oslo Cathedral, where he commented on religious freedom. Afterwards he joined the debate in

Parliament – where one of the politicians defending religious freedom actually quoted Grundtvig. The result was that Jews were allowed to become Norwegian citizens. Two years later, in a thank you letter to the Student Union after his 70th anniversary, Grundtvig declared his dream about a Nordic University, “both for the sake of present and future generations . . . a Nordic, Free and Independent Enlightenment for Life . . . a unity of all the Nordic people, built in English style.”

And so the folk high school movement in Norway began in Sagatun in Hamar in 1864, and folk high schools became, and still are, a vital part of Norwegian culture with around 80 schools. Norway also has some Grundtvigian Free schools – for children, mainly in Gudbrandsdalen and Østerdalen. And it could be said that Nordal Rolfsen’s reading book from 1892 was instrumental in spreading Grundtvig’s ideas to Norwegian primary schools. Through Rolfsen’s book, centuries of strictly religious tradition for school training ended. Core values associated to the mother-tongue, song poetry, patriotism, history, and cheerful Christianity together were central. Among selected historical items for what made us Norwegians up to about 1960, Rolfsen’s book is central. It must be said, too, that even though enthusiastic Grundtvigians in Norway include one of the most famous Norwegian authors, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, Grundtvig also met some of his sharpest critics from Norway, one of them, Professor Caspari, was central in the discussion concerning Grundtvig’s matchless discovery. In a certain period, theological candidates sympathizing with Grundtvig were even forbidden to work as ministers.

When I was studying at the University of Oslo, I met Grundtvig as an icon at the Faculty of Theology. My research on Grundtvig and sacred sound has led me to believe that singing traditions are key to Nordic spirituality in general. Norwegians often sing Grundtvig’s hymns in our (about 1500) churches. They are reckoned as our own spiritual heritage. We can choose among 32 in the official hymn book. Up to about 1960 such hymns were part of daily practice every morning at primary schools all over Norway. Tollef Kilde, the founder and mayor of the small village town at Rena was so inspired by Grundtvig that he reshaped the village in a clear unifying way. The local administration center and hotel, the primary school and the church combine local timber, historical and mythological details and continental jugend style. This plan works in both directions because Norway plays a distinct role in Grundtvig’s authorial

choir of voices. Central mythological figures as Freia, Thor and Odin, are part of a heritage shared by Norway and Denmark.

Grundtvig's notion of "The big heart of humanity" is one of my favorite quotations. In his core model, sacred sound, not unlike Tagore's model in India, there is a unifying power going both through and beyond different denominations, religions and civilizations for reshaping peace, beauty, truth and goodness to make mother earth grow and to protect her from destruction. Since the love story between Grundtvig and Norway, after all, is a limited part of Norwegian history, it may die if Norwegians don't recreate a unifying sacred sound in folk high school and church and connect with different religions and society in general.

Conclusions about the International Influence of Grundtvig, based on the projects presented at the London-conference

By Thorstein Balle

As the above remarks reveal, most of the presentations at "Lands of the Living: An International Symposium on the Influence of N.F.S. Grundtvig" might be described as narratives about the international reception of the folk-high-school concept. As such, they collectively suggest how difficult it is to separate discussions about the international influence of Grundtvig himself from discussions about Grundtvig and the Danish folk high school tradition. Blurring the boundaries between the two areas are the following factors: first, the fact that Grundtvig's ideas lack sufficient translation into languages other than English, and most of the translation work itself deals with Grundtvig's thoughts about education; and second, the habit of non-Danes who know about Grundtvig nearly always visiting folk high schools when they visit Denmark. These two factors establish

the general conception that Grundtvig is, first and most importantly and influentially, the founder of the folk high school. Therefore, to offer some conclusions about Grundtvig's international influence, I would suggest an approach that begins with the folk high school tradition and not Grundtvig's original ideas. My approach allows for categorization of folk high schools (and therefore Grundtvig's influence) into five categories, which I will explain below.

But before moving to categorization, it is important to explain the basic associations made between the folk school, on the one hand, and Grundtvig, on the other. In Denmark, the folk high school tradition acts as a framework within which individual schools have a great deal of freedom. All folk high schools are boarding schools that must follow the same basic rules. None of them, for example, are allowed to give official exams or institute methods to determine content or skills competence. However, within this broad traditional framework exist a variety of school types. Some schools emphasize personal development; some art, music, and performance; and some politics and society. Even among sets of schools sharing curricular emphases, various pedagogies and practices are employed. For example, among schools stressing personal development, some focus on physical fitness and some on intellectual and spiritual development.

Similarly, while the conceptual origins and bases for Danish folk schools arise from Grundtvig's core enlightenment ideas, the function and day-to-day operations of folk high schools in contemporary Denmark do not necessarily relate directly to Grundtvig and his thoughts. The board and staff at each individual folk high school define the mission and determine everyday practices. It is not inaccurate to say that the folk school tradition has been deeply influenced by ideas other than Grundtvig's, principally by ideological forces evolving alongside unique historical developments in Danish society.

The reception of Grundtvig's ideas outside Denmark has been similarly and, in many cases, primarily subject to the contingencies of history and the needs of people in specific cultures, and not directly to Grundtvig's original ideas. Aspects that are absolutely central to Grundtvig's thoughts about education and enlightenment—most notably, his ideas about Christianity, practices and roles of the church in society, and the worship of God—can be identified in some Scandinavian folk schools (consider the Norwegian presentation as an example), but most schools outside of

Denmark do not identify Christianity as a key aspect of their mission or practice. In fact, more Grundtvig-inspired schools announce agriculture and farming as areas of emphasis. These schools often refer to the Danish cooperative movement as a crucial factor for agricultural development and society advancement in general. It is true that Grundtvig urged people in society to cooperate, but his influence on the cooperative movement was indirect. Farmers behind the movement studied at folk high schools where they were taught about the power of cooperative labor and later, in their home villages, they became proponents of collective work. In Denmark, the connection between farmers and folk high schools led to the formation of the agricultural school, which is a type of folk high schools dedicated to blending farming knowledge into traditional folk high school curricula.

The example of the development of the agricultural school and, in fact, the general evolution of the folk high school in Denmark can inform understanding of the various “Grundtvigian” projects described at the “Lands of Living” symposium. It is clear that Grundtvig’s influence internationally is carried along by a number of ideologies that have come to be associated, directly or indirectly, with Grundtvig’s original ideas. The following list of categories identifies and explains the purpose of five types of folk schools. A list of countries is given where this type of school exists. It is, of course, very important to note that each school or project likely pursues a combination of goals, but as I see it, they all articulate a central purpose that is central to their identity.

Here are the five categories of folk schools outside of Denmark according to their purpose:

1. Schools and projects that stress a national dimension: The central purpose is to shape school life through teaching that expands students’ knowledge about history of the nation and the people, culture, language, songs, legends, religion, etc., in order to preserve or to re-awaken national identity and ideas of democracy. The following nations feature schools with this purpose: Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, South Korea (Lee Seung-Hoon), and USA (J.C. Campbell Folk School).

2. Schools and projects that stress the emancipatory dimension: The central purpose is to give students the desire to pursue knowledge and skills

and the courage to emancipate themselves and others from social or political oppression. The following nations feature schools with this purpose: China (Lei Peihong), India (Mitraniketan), Nigeria, The Philippines, and USA (Highlander Folk School).

3. Schools and projects that stress the individual dimension: The central purpose is to foster students' personal development. The following nations feature schools with this purpose: England (Fircroft Collage), Japan (Bo-sei school), South Korea (Yang Seok-won), and USA (CCLC).

4. Schools and projects that stress the knowledge and skill dimension: The central purpose is to prepare students with skills needed in specific trades or to provide day-to-day knowledge of household tasks for satisfying everyday family life. The following nations feature schools with this purpose: Sweden and USA (Driftless Folk School).

5. Schools and projects who stress the agricultural cooperate dimension: The central purpose is to farming skills, to enable and encourage students to make agricultural reforms, and develop cooperative farming practices. The following nations feature schools with this purpose: Japan and South Korea.

This attempt to offer categories of the areas of Grundtvig's international influence around the world is, of course, not based on any fully research-concept, but I think it provides a clear picture of the impact Grundtvig's ideas have had outside of Denmark. A key qualifier is that reception has in most cases occurred via the spread of the influence of the Danish folk school tradition and, in cases where the schools or projects label themselves as "Grundtvigian," must be understood as a process of interpretation of Grundtvig's ideas through the lenses of history and culture. In the end, it could be said that a study of the international reception of Grundtvig's ideas must necessarily be a history of the reception of reception.