



GÖTEBORGS UNIVERSITET

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The Poor Talent, the Unusually Knowing Housewife and the New You

A historical study about temporal constructions of gendered and
classed subjectivities in the working-class struggle for education in
Modernity's Sweden

Master's Thesis in Gendering Practices, 30 hec

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Abstract

The starting point of this thesis is the working class' fight for knowledge, education and *bildning* during the 20th century in Sweden. With the general question "who has the right to knowledge?" I go over text- and image material from the two time periods 1930-1949 and 1960-1979 and I also work with material from 2015. All material researched deal with the question of who should partake in education and knowledge production and for what purpose and I search for understandings of gender and class visible in the argumentation for the working class' right to education. The choice to make a historical study is part of my intention to elaborate with the concept of time. I argue that the discursive constructions of gendered and classed subjectivities that take shape in the material cannot be separated from what I call *temporal fantasies*; that is, cultural ideas about past, present and future. I find that such fantasies are crucial in the formation of *the important citizen*: a core figure in the idea about who should gain knowledge and why. I also aim at using the different time periods to illustrate discursive similarities – this in order to problematize the modern story about a linear, development-based time line that assumes historical shifts, generation differences and progress. I draw from the conviction that we need to seek new ways of dealing with time and history, since I believe this to go hand in hand with how we understand matters such as gender- and class based power orders.

Key words: education, *bildning*, knowledge, class, gender, time, temporal fantasies, subject positions, discourse, citizenship, modernity, history, Sweden

“Yet you surely hope, that the sheet of our Swedish history, that will tell of the social democracy’s transformation of society in the area of education and schooling, will get pondered in the future society, where it is given that you have a self-determined occupation and where you can just help yourself to the cultural values”

The signature Ingrid Levin in Morgonbris 1968

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Appendix 1

Appendix 2

Word list

This thesis is written in English. Although, throughout the thesis some words and concepts from the Swedish language are used which, because of the context specific meaning, are hard or impossible to translate. Here, I try to explain their meaning in a summarizing word list, but some comments are also made in footnotes throughout the text as the concepts are referred to.

Bildning A concept not captured by the term "education" which often involve external measurement, like degrees and specific competence for the labour market. *Bildning* focuses more on the internal process for an individual or group that engages in knowledge production. Sometimes the English term "liberal education" is used (see The National Encyclopedia) but since the term *bildning* in the Swedish context is largely associated to the 20th century democratization of knowledge and the Social Democratic impact on society, this is the term I will use.

Folkbildning A direct translation gives the term "people's bildning" which emphasizes the democratic aspect of the work of *bildning*: that the people are taking charge of their own knowledge production. In Swedish history, the people's movements or the temperance movement, the free-church movement and the workers' movement are often put forward as important for the work of *folkbildning*.

Folkskola Directly translated: "Folk School" or "People's School". Folkskola was from 1842 a statutory public school thought to provide a basic schooling for all children, in reality for farmers- and working class children who could not go to private schools. The Folkskola was replaced by the elementary school in the 1970's (Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2014:33-34, 56).

Gymnasium The upper secondary education instance in Sweden, that takes place after the nine-year elementary school. The schooling is often three years and optional.

Folkuniversitet Directly translated: "Folk University" or "People's University". Study association that works with *folkbildning* and adult education that for example differs from the academic university in terms of credits and grade systems.

Komvux Kommunal Vuxenutbildning, in English "Public Adult education". A function established in 1968 and provides adult education that equals elementary school or Gymnasium, partly for providing the formal qualification for further studies or work.

LO The Swedish Trade Union Confederation. A collaborative organization for fourteen Swedish trade unions for workers founded in 1898.

LOVUX Was an LO-working group during the late 60's and early 70's dealing with the political question of adult education.

1 | Introduction

I will start with an everyday walk that I often take. It is a walk from where I live in Majorna to the university at Campus Haga, where I took my bachelor exam in Political Science and where I have spent so many days throughout my education. Walking through Majorna; the so called working-class heart of Gothenburg, that is now also a trendy middle class hangout where you can buy a chair at “Majorna – things from the past” for 1500 kronor, is walking through history. That is, not by the *past*, but by *history*: our story about the past. I walk towards Stigbergstorget, past my parents’ house. They go to work, I go to the university where they have never set foot. Dad went seven years in Folkskolan. Mum quite upper secondary school after the first semester and now her words are ringing in my ears: ”Get an education! Never become economically dependent upon someone else! Don’t get stuck in health care like me!” I pass Komvux where she later on got the grades she needed for her assistant nurse job. I was in first grade and came with her a few times when we had the day off in school.

I walk down Stigbergsliden, towards Järntorget. I pass the job centre Arbetsförmedlingen and stand in the crossing. To my left: Olof Palme’s Place. There is the community center Folkets Hus, the state-sponsored Folkteatern and the sculpture *Through work in work*. The engraved text says:

In memory of those who fought for bread, justice and freedom. What they won we inherited. The legacy obliges.

Opposite of me is the ugly white building with the red logos. *The Workers’ Educational Association* [Arbetarnas Bildningsförbund]. *The Social Democrats*. *Folkuniversitetet for adult education* and *The Workers’ Movement’s Folk High School*. It is like standing on the square of workers’ history of *bildning*. I feel the legacy in my bones. When I stand at this square it is like time is physically present. Why do I want to describe this as if “time has stood still”? This square is haunted by Social Democratic history and the ghosts are everywhere. Although, it is not only the past that is present at this square. Looking around, it is accompanied by the story of The Future, demanding space and attention. The billboard on the tram stop is by the University West [Högskolan Väst] promising an *Academic exam & working life experience – at the same time*, showing a smiling black man ripping his

“freshman initiation” overall of, revealing a suit underneath. I also remember that the current slogan of the Social Democrats, even if it does not say so in the logo at the square, is *The Future Party*. Visiting their webpage, the first thing you see is the campaign *the future starts in school*. “Our politics” they say “invests in the future” and “Sweden should compete with knowledge and competence” (Socialdemokraterna 2015).

But right now, in this time, I am not in the future, but here, going to the University. I am not going to the Workers’ Movement’s Folk High School. Passing it, it is like passing a part of myself, a potential other life, towards another which is located only a few blocks away. I walk from the workers’ historical square, toward the University World. Campus Haga. The large university library. Handels. Departments. Faculties. A world that I know so well now, filled with merits, prestige, credits, grades, papers. The way out. The way in. I hear my mum again: “Get an education!”: present. “Look at where I ended up!”: history. “Don’t end up like me!”: future. It is about where you have been and about where you are going. In the entrance hall I grab an ex of the University Catalogue of the year. *Become you*, the front page says in large, black capital letters. In a picture a girl is riding a bike, smiling. “Here it is permitted to become you” the text says, “since GU has a study environment that is so open and multifaceted that there is space for all of you”. I am encouraged to “take the chance to become you... Welcome to the new you”. The new me. What was the old me? No matter who they are speaking of I know the statistics: less than one in four students come from families where the highest educational level is two year upper secondary school or less (Folkhälsomyndigheten, 2015). The new me. Past, present, future. In a month I will be double ”scientist”. Political scientist. Gender researcher. I have papers that will decide my future. I will show them to my mum.

1.1 Purpose and research questions

My belief is that the way we understand and speak of education and class – or the way we do not speak of it – cannot be separated from the way these phenomena have been understood and spoken of in past time. By researching material that has been used in the struggle for workers’ right to knowledge, both *by* and *for* workers, I aim at seeing how the role of education, citizenship, gender and class have been constructed and understood.

The purpose of the thesis is to problematize the role of temporality in the construction of different groups *and* in the way power structures operate in the discussion of who has the right to knowledge and education.

Through experimenting with the concept of temporality I want to discuss and problematize how questions of class, gender and education interact with understandings of *time* and *history*. How are understandings of past, present and future part of the way class and gender are understood and (re)produced? The purpose of working with material from different times is to show how temporal figurations are important constructions, no matter *when* we discuss class and education. They re-occur in the material from all the researched time periods, and I want to show that our understandings of *how different* separate times are and how we constantly *develop* on a linear time-line, are crucial to the way we can speak of and understand the matter of who has the right to knowledge and education. This is the reason for why I have deliberately chosen not to structure the analysis along a chronological time-line. The research questions I aim at answering are:

- What values are ascribed to *bildning* in the material?
- What subject positions are constructed for workers in the material? How are these gendered-classed?
- What discursive understandings of past, present and future show in the material and how do temporal fantasies relate to the way class, gender and knowledge are understood?

1.2 Disposition

The thesis is structured into six parts. In the introductory part I have introduced the topic of the thesis together with purpose and research questions and I end this section with presenting research from different research fields important for my work. In the second part I will present the theoretical and methodological approaches that have been important for my thinking about time, knowledge, class and gender. I present them together, since I partly use perspectives reflected in both theoretical and methodological attempts. In the third part I present the material on which I have grounded my analysis and parts of the material are also

put in Appendix 1 for further illustration of the texts and images I analyze. The fourth part is divided in three analytical chapters where I make a discourse analysis of my material. I have deliberately chosen not structure them along a chronological time line, since I argue throughout the thesis for why such an approach is problematic. Instead, I present these chapters thematically along the temporal understandings they reflect and discuss. In the last chapter I discuss conclusions of the analysis and reflect on what happens when you introduce the analytical concept of temporality into the discussion of class, gender and knowledge.

1.3 Research field

In this thesis I discuss many different aspects of class and education. For one, the thesis has a historical perspective and this is for the purpose of exploring the role of temporality when matters of class injustice in knowledge and education are discussed. Besides this, there is also a power analysis exploring how the idea of the educated citizen is connected to intersectional power hierarchies, such as gender and class. Thus, there is no easy positioning of the thesis *only* within Gender Studies, educational studies, education sociology, history or history of ideas. These are all fields where research of class and education is common. However, I could say that I use Gender Studies in the study of class and history “touching upon” or interfering with traditions of thinking and working from several other disciplines. Two research fields have been particularly important for my work: the first is field of the intersection between *gender and class*, and the second is that of *temporality and gender*. What I have been trying to do is to bring these issues, which are often dealt with separately, together.

The research field of gender and class

Lukas Moodysson’s movie *Fucking Åmål* had premiere at Swedish cinemas in 1998. Seeing it was a head-over-heels experience and it is still my favorite movie of all times. It has it all; the difficulties certain people experience trying to live their lives through the web of gender-classed norms and power systems. Fifteen years later I saw another movie, set in the 2010’s France instead of the 1990’s Sweden. *Blue is the warmest colour* also deals with the complex entanglement of class and gender, showing how the possibilities and limitations for sexual mobility are intertwined with classed positions. An aspect that has not been that highlighted, but that is highly present in both movies is the matter of education. In *Blue is the warmest colour* the young couple Emma and Adèle are introduced to each other’s families. Emma’s intellectual parents serve oysters and when Adèle says that she would like to be a preschool

teacher there is a tense ambiance at the table. At Adèle's house the father warns Emma, when she tells of her dreams to become an artist, that one cannot make a living out of painting.

The dreams about the future for the youths in *Fucking Åmål*; the ideas about what can and cannot be, are tightly knot to their gendered and classed subject positions.

"Are you gonna be a psychologist?" Jessica asks her sister, Elin, who is choosing between that or becoming a model.

"Not a chance you get into that. Do you get what grades you need?" Jessica's boyfriend Markus adds.

"Alright" Elin replies. "Then I'll have to be a motor mechanic instead then" [Markus is studying motor engineering]. "*That you need really high grades for*"¹

A researcher who has also been watching *Fucking Åmål* is social anthropologist and gender researcher Fanny Ambjörnsson. She actually writes that her dissertation *In a class of their own* is about norms "...made visible through a fictive Åmål...For it is among reality's equivalents to Elin and Agnes, Jessica and Johan Hult that I have gathered material for this study" (Ambjörnsson, 2003:11). She is making an interesting study of how gender, class and sexuality formations take shape in the lives of a group of upper secondary school students. Inspired by sociologist Beverly Skeggs' contribution to the matter she shows how middle class femininity and its status is highly connected to both whiteness and heterosexuality (Ambjörnsson, 2003:204 f).

When I read about how classed and gendered subjectivities are made in relation to the educational context I often come across this type of research; where the matter is studied *through* the experiences of certain individuals. In addition to Ambjörnsson's interactive participant observation there is also the research strand of class journey portraits. In sociologist Lena Sohl's dissertation *Knowing one's class: Women's upward mobility in Sweden*, where she is moving in the feminist and postcolonial critique that has re-formulated the concept of class. Many of the women in her dissertation have made their class journey through education and Sohl analyzes this tendency from an intersectional perspective. This demand, she claims; to put efforts on higher education, work hard and be "well integrated" in the Swedish society, is a significant part of contemporary racism (Sohl, 2014:419). She also

¹ The emphases throughout the dialogue are my own.

focuses on how sexuality can be a central dimension of reproduction or breaking with class belonging (ibid:422).

I love this style of taking on an analysis of class injustices; where you come in contact with the complex mechanics of how power works *through* the accounts of certain people. Although, I also find it interesting when *other* matters than individuals play the main part in research. As when gender- and cultural scientist Nirmal Puwar takes on the matter of how intersectional power structures are institutionalized in education and academia through studying the *physicality of* spaces, walls, positions and bodies. In this phenomenological analyze of institutional racism, she describes experiencing hardship to move in spaces such as the Whitehall or the Westminster, something that she connects to the institutions of power and racism impregnating such spaces (Puwar, 2004:35). I understand this research as also dealing with how certain subjectivities are racialized, gendered and classed, but through another perspective than for example Ambjörnsson and Sohl. A perspective that opens up for analysis of how institutionalized class hierarchies in academic time and space works for and against different subject positions.

A strand within this research field that is important for my topic is that of the construction of citizenship and citizen fosterage through education. Political scientist Sara Carlbaum analyses in her dissertation *Will you be employable little friend? (Blir du anställningsbar, lille/a vän?)* how discursive constructions of future citizens are made in political reforms for upper secondary high school during four decades in Sweden. She shows how these constructions are connected to gender, ethnicity and class in different ways depending of discourse. For example she discusses how discourses of entrepreneurship and employability reproduce class-related and ethnified constructions of femininity and masculinity (Carlbaum, 2012:231).

Gender and temporality

The second research field that has been important is that of *gender and temporality*. Here, I have looked for research that understands time as *one* important part in the process of how different power mechanisms work together. An example is literature- and gender researcher Rita Felski who in her readings of Marshall Berman's analysis of Goethe's *Faust* shows that *time* is not neutral, but highly gender-coded. She discusses how *past time* is (re)produced and pictured as feminine and present *time* as masculine. Also professor of American Studies and Ethnicity, Comparative Literature and Gender Studies Jack Halberstam deals with how

spaces, but most importantly for this thesis; *aspects of time* are not neutral, given entities but rather part of hetero- and cisnormative power mechanisms (Halberstam, 2005).

Apart from gender and class presented in the previous section, Ambjörnsson is also dealing with the matter of temporality, discussing the issue of how *age* is an important factor of the heteronormative time line (Ambjörnsson, 2013). Like Halberstam, this approach problematize *temporality* like any other intersecting aspect of power.

I wanted to highlight these two research fields since this is where I have, in different ways, gathered inspiration, found challenging questions and been directed towards new ways of thinking about the topic of my thesis. In a similar way to how the researchers dealing with time and temporality work with gender, I want to involve the aspect of *class and knowledge* in a power analysis of how all these aspects work together.

2 | Theoretical and methodological approaches

When discussing the matter of what decides who has the right to knowledge I start off in perspectives that understandings are solid and stable. With such an approach definitions of *knowledge* and its usage are therefore constantly reformulated and changing. I use post-structuralist² discourse theory throughout the thesis; both as theoretical and methodological approaches. In this part I present perspectives that have been important for my reflections: first dealing with my own position, then introducing the way I have worked with text- and image analysis. I then present the perspectives on class and temporality that have been important for the thesis.

2.1 My position: situating my knowledge

Writing a thesis is trying to problematize and discuss issues that I find interesting and important. This process involves producing knowledge and sharing my account of the world; actions that in many aspects are connected to power. The traditional way of doing and viewing research: that *we* (researchers) study objects *out there*, rests on the understanding that it is possible to place yourself *outside* of the knowledge act; the production of knowledge. With this perspective the researcher is often “invisible” in the text, in the illusion that the theory/material “speaks for itself”. What is ignored in such an approach is the subjectivity and power always there when knowledge is created and produced.

In the classic essay *Situated Knowledges* professor of feminist theory Donna Haraway is dealing with what it means to “see something” that is; to understand, create knowledge or “say something about something”. Haraway writes that:

Vision is always a question of the power to see...How to see? Where to see from? What limits to vision?
What to see for? Whom to see with? Who gets to have more than one point of view? Who gets blinded?
Who wears blinders? Who interprets the visual field? (Haraway, 1988:587).

Two people, viewing “the same scene”³ will thus see very different things, and so the retelling of what happened; the crafting of knowledge, will also be different. How I understand,

² I am at the same time hesitant when using the term “post-structuralism”, since I see the usage of “post”- as a clear marker of temporal “shifts” over time – something I find highly problematic. I develop this further throughout section two. See also note 8.

³ I use this expression to illustrate the process of reproducing and creating knowledge, in which the two viewers are part. That said, I am aware that a statement like “the scene” suggests that there actually *is* something there, outside of the viewers understanding. This is a problematic understanding, especially when I want to illustrate

will be a product of experiences, it is in our head, in our bodies and in the place; physical and social, that we are located. To be self-reflexive and create awareness about this position, both for yourself and potential readers is, in Haraway's words, to *situate your knowledge*. When discussing the importance of feminist and postcolonial perspectives on knowledge in the academy, sociologist Suki Ali argues that noticing of the own situatedness and partiality, should be used as a strength in the feminist approach to research (Ali, 2007:207).

The idea of a “solution”

The first time I read Haraway I ended up with a feeling of relief: this is it! A great tool to counteract the power structures you reproduce as a researcher aiming at “saying something about the world and the people in it”. Haraway wrote that “it is irresponsible to not be able to be called into account” (1988:583) so the solution seemed to be easy; just declare your position and try to shed light on where your knowledge is coming from. However, this perspective is also problematic in several ways.

For example, the act of “calling myself into account” is still based on *my own* understandings about myself. *I* am the one providing the reader with information about myself – and of course, there is no other possibility, since there is no “*pure*” *knowledge* behind the subjective. However, using this approach in order to *even out* the power position you sit in as a researcher is not altogether satisfying in my view. I notice that it rather provides me with a dangerous feeling of “I have declared myself, now I can do whatever I want!” that goes hand-in-hand with a liberal understanding of “individual confessions”. I believe that a good feminist interpretation of Haraway's discussion is to avoid “resting” in places and thoughts that feel comfortable and safe, but rather to regard the impossibility of “ultimate solutions”. In her work *Becoming respectable* sociologist Beverly Skeggs discusses the tendency of trying to fit the material into an already set template, something she experiences herself in her own research. Instead, she suggests the approach where you “...not[e] contradictions and differences...” (Skeggs:1997:32). This approach, to stay in the uncomfortable bits that do not fit, is something that I have applied as a theoretical-methodological framework for my analysis. I develop this from a Deleuzian perspective below.

the viewers' partaking in the process of meaning-making of “the scene”. There is no scene without the viewers' interpretation/understanding of the scene as such.

2.2 A rhizomatic way of working with text- and image analysis

When I approach the material I use “Deleuzian thinking” as a strategy for analysis. I see this as both theoretical and methodological perspectives, or instead of “both” I should probably write theoretical-methodological since a separation between “the two” goes against the entire line of thought. Cultural scientist Claire Colebrook has in many works interpreted and discussed the analyses of Gilles Deleuze and in *Understanding Deleuze* she introduces the thinking through starting with a core in modern thinking: the notion that there is a “real world” and then “re-presentations” or copies of the same. Instead, according to Deleuze, there are no representations of the real: everything is real, including representations. Or as Colebrook puts it:

There would be an actual world (the real), and then its virtual and secondary copy. Deleuze wants to reverse and undermine this hierarchy. Both the actual and the virtual are real, and the virtual is not subordinate to the real. On the contrary, the virtual is the univocal plane of past, present and future; the totality or whole, never fully given or completed (2002:1).

This philosophy introduces opportunities to challenge the modern dualistic idea of separating body and soul, subject and object, active and passive.

When I say that this perspective is how I approach my material theoretically-methodologically I mean that this is part of my way of working; how I try to think of and act with my material. I use Deleuze’s concept *rhizome* when trying to describe my approach to the material. Colebrook explains that:

The rhizome is one of Deleuze’s many figures that describes movement along a single surface...no point elevated above any other, and no foundation or surface upon which movement and activity takes place, just movement and activity itself (2002:77).

Often, thinking is illustrated as the shape of a tree: there are roots at the bottom, working its way up, developing into a tree trunk that extends in branches and twigs. There is a beginning at the base, leading towards the next entity, ending at the tip of the smallest twigs. Using the rhizome on the other hand, also meaning a mass of roots, is a way to try to get away from the thought model of “A leads to B which could lead to C or D”, where linear cause and effect are important understandings. When I imagine the rhizome it is a process, going off in any direction, with no start or end, no logic and as Colebrook puts it: *just movement and activity itself*. I want to use this concept as a tool for thought when taking on my analytic material. To think with the rhizome, I want to try to get away from – or, as far as possible – rational values

such as beginnings, endings, tops, bottoms, A to B. Instead of “this” and “this” there is always “and...and...and...and...” and I find this particularly helpful for me when I explore and elaborate with the concept of *time*.

Analyzing discursive texts and images

In a post-structuralist understanding of meaning-making processes nothing is given and stable. Definitions and concepts that appear as given are instead understood as constantly re-created and reproduced constructions; neither of them are solid, but mobile, shifting and continuously changing units. For example, the concept “a citizen” does not imply a given meaning *just there* in itself, ready to “be understood”. I cannot understand something without understanding it *as* something. So to make meaning out of the concept “citizen” can be seen as depending on constructions of for example “culture”, “race”, “nation” and “gender”. I understand *discourse* in a similar way that Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe (2001) speak of it: that *everything* is discursive – objects, subjects, practices, processes.

In this tradition, the studying of texts is a common method for problematizing how power works through language: what can be understood and in what way: something that sociologist and educational researcher Stephen J. Ball has described as *how the discourse speaks us*, and not the other way around (Ball, 2006:48). Rather than that we speak the discourse, the discourse conditions what can be said, that is: it speaks us.

I use a Deleuzian inspired text- and image analysis in this thesis. In their method book on text analysis Göran Bergström and Kristina Boréus discuss sociologist Stuart Hall’s approach to the meaning of text. They write that:

[He is]...less interested in concrete persons (a Mary Wollstonecraft, a John Stuart Mill...) and more of societal structures and the positions for different kind of actors they create (2005:27).

In the same manner, I am not interested in historical research of “how things were” in the 30’s or 40’s. What I want to discuss is what part temporal fantasies and figures play in the way meaning is created of the right to knowledge in the context of class, gender and education, as well as how these temporal understandings are tied to constructions of certain subject positions and power structures. Like this: to understand, or create meaning, around the question of *who has the right to knowledge*, I believe that *certain ways of understanding time* play an important part. Ways of understanding time could be ideas like; “time passes”, “the present is very different from the past”, “the future is filled with possibilities”, “the future is

filled with impossibilities and hopelessness”, “we can affect tomorrow”. I want to elaborate with *discourses* connected to such understandings of time, explore what temporal fantasies they produce and what this does to understandings of who should study, or in other ways have access to knowledge. When Ball discusses the concept of *discourse* he leans towards an understanding that they:

are about what can be said and thought, but also about who can speak, when, where and with what authority. Discourses embody the meaning and use of prepositions and words (Ball, 2006:48).

I thus understand *discourse* as the practice of how boundaries are set for how and what we can understand. But like Laclau and Mouffe, I do not see this practice as only regarding speech and writing. They write that “...rather that speech and writing are *themselves* but internal components of discursive totalities” (1987:82) [my emphasis].

The *who* is also important here, it relates to what classed and gendered subject positions such discursive understandings produce. Perhaps student, schoolmistress [lärarinna], academic or loan borrower. When I speak of subject positions I mean those specific positions that are *discursively* produced and reproduced: there is never a given subject, never a given subject position *outside of* the discursive understanding. For example, as Laclau & Mouffe write: “The same system that makes that spherical object into a football, makes me a player” (1987:82). So the discourse produces different social positions, which not *anyone* can intake. Continuing with the subject position of *the football player* we could for example discuss what discourses related to sports, masculinity, functionality and nationality might *condition* the understandings of what a football player is. Intaking this position of a football player also provides certain possibilities and limitations for how to act and how to intersect with other matters and other subject positions.

In the analysis I also reflect on who is understood as a *political subject* and who is not. I think of a political subject not as a subject position in *itself*, but more as the idea that certain subjects positions are ascribed certain *capacities* that makes possible political agency. When political scientist Carol Bacchi discusses the meaning of political subjects she uses a Foucaultian perspective and describes it as being capable of agency *through mechanisms of power-knowledge* (Bacchi, 2009:25). In my discussion I especially put emphasis on the aspect of *knowledge* as a part of political agency.

2.3 Gender-classed subjectivities and education

When I type “working class” on Google I get 420 000 000 hits. I get black and white images of men in helmets, overalls and sturdy boots. The first image that pops up is the famous photography *Lunch atop a skyscraper* from 1932, where eleven men sit on a girder eating lunch with the streets of Manhattan 268 meters below them. It feels old. Outdated. But at the same time it is obviously a highly present image: a bestseller hanging in a variety of homes and an easily accessible reference to “working-class” in the contemporary cultural reference bank. They are all white men. This is a familiar story that often gets to symbolize modern class theory. There are the icons from the nineteenth century’s industrial-capitalist society: white men theorizing about other white men’s positions in the process of production. Positioned in the historical materialism, thinkers like Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels are considered to have given birth to the modern theorizing of power, resources, class and stratification as it is known today. The core of this traditional analysis of class is the organization of production of goods and services: who has and who has not, who does what and who can decide what in this process. In this understanding of the class society important concepts are *power* and *conflict* between the bourgeoisie’s and the proletariat’s conflicting interests (Marx, 1997:167). As a critique of only looking at class as a matter of what you materially *have*, much research has been stating that the production of class is not only a process starting and ending with money. In the gender research on class injustices the “doing” of class is also taken in into account, problematizing how class and classed subjectivities are *made*.

A research field such as Gender Studies opens up for a broadening of how class is (re)produced and constructed, not only through economics and production but also through culture and language. In her dissertation about women’s class journeys in Sweden Sohl claims that you cannot understand class as either material or cultural. She writes that:

One definition of the class position is that it is decided by the ownership, and this is important for the employment relations for the own work or others. A wider definition, that I follow in the study, is to view ownership, economy and the position on the labour market as one part of the class position, which for example also contains education capital (part of the cultural capital) (Sohl, 2014: 108).

By expanding the definition of class to wider matters than economy, aspects such as gender- or sexuality constructions can also be regarding in analyses of how class is (re)produced. For example, when Sohl discusses the importance of education as a factor for making possible

upward class mobility in Sweden, she emphasizes the femininely coded subject position of *the good⁴ daughter* as a key (2014:259). This illustrates how specific intersections between class and gender are important in the construction of gendered-classed subjectivities. Also sociologist Ulrika Holgersson argues that class cannot only be reduced to matters of economy. She claims that class is just as much about cultural practices that, just like in the case of gender, is something created and reproduced through our bodies and through language. In her own words "... since class is not a structure outside of ourselves class can be reduced to economy just as little as gender can be reduced to biology..." (Holgersson, 2011:164-165). Such an approach is important when I want to search for how specific gendered-classed subject positions are constructed in the discussion about class and knowledge. In a similar manner to how Gender Studies and feminist research have worked to show how concepts like "men" and "women" are not solid and stable, the concept of "class" can also be analyzed as changing, constructed and unstable. In this analysis, other matters than "economy" must be considered. For example, compare the traditional subject of the working-class movement – the white, male worker – with the situation for migrants without papers, or unemployed. Would "economic situation" be the only aspect taken into account the analysis would be very insufficient, overlooking power mechanisms like racism, gender oppression or norms as well as formal laws based on ideas of nationality – and the inter-relatedness between them.

In the discussion of how class is something that is discursively made and reproduced I want to emphasize the part of this research that focuses on how subjectivities and practices are intersectionally classed, in the context of education. As part of the project *The Teacher in the Transformation of Society 1940-2003*, Ulla Johansson (ed.) published a report with the same name. Here, she examines how discourses about "the good teacher" intersect with discourses about gender and class. She discusses how different and changing discourses have been important for the narratives of "the good teacher", such as the genealogical middle-class masculinity (Johansson, 2007:56), a hybrid masculinity (ibid:77) but also a de-professionalization of the occupation and an re-negotiated middle-class status (ibid:87). This thus shows how constructions of "the good teacher" are created through discursive understandings of class and gender. In a similar way, also recalling the previous discussion of discourses and subject positions I want to explore how discursive constructions are made of such classed and gendered positions.

⁴ The Swedish term "duktig" an another concept that is not easily translated into English language. Sohl explains that she intends a specific femininely constructed version of values like *good, capable* and *efficient* (Sohl, 2014:259).

2.4 What time is it? Challenging aspects on time, temporality and history

Wanting to explore the role of time in constructions of class and gender in the context of education, I will use several theoretical perspectives that in different ways challenge traditional understandings of time and temporality.

The difference between Past and History

A common expression is that “we write history”. For example, you can see in news headlines of sports events or political happenings, expressions like “Team A can write history this Saturday” or “Germany writes history: now quotas are adopted”. This is an interesting way of viewing “history”: that something present is so extraordinary, so spectacular that it automatically becomes part of what will be history. This rests on an understanding that history is “The Way It Was Back Then”, that *history* equals *the past*. I will use gender researcher and historian Sara Edenheims’ explorative understanding of history and its function. In her essay *The Antagonism – against the historical mania* Edenheim separates the concepts “the past”: what actually happened, and “history”: our present creating of cultural, linguistic and symbolic meaning of that past. History it not just “there”; it is something we are creating in present time (Edenheim, 2011:15-16, 60). Why? Edenheim formulates the question like this:

No matter if you turn to history for conservative, fascist, liberal or revolutionary reasons there is one question remaining. A question that we historians do not want or cannot answer no matter ideological dwelling: why is it merely history that is seen as the only alternative to turn to for political recognition? Why is it there we are expected to find answers to our questions? (2011:7).

Inspired by feminist historian Joan Scott, Edenheim uses tools from psychoanalysis and she introduces the concept *fantasies* when trying to understand our modern historicizing. She explains that fantasies are “formations⁵ of desire... that can both weaken and strengthen an order” (Edenheim, GFFP, 2013⁶). Following this logic our historical creations about the past; what we call *history*, is actually present-day fantasies that fulfill present-day desires. What desires? According to Edenheim, it is our longing for escaping the *trauma* that injustices, violence and horror in the past evoke in us. Through inscribing the trauma in history, we can give it meaning, we can understand it in a “larger sense” and we can also fix these matters

⁵ My own translation of the Swedish ”gestaltningar”. To me, the word “formations” does not really capture the word “gestaltning”, which more emphasizes a physical appearance.

⁶ Lecture given by Edenheim at the Gothenburg’s Society for Philosophy and Psychoanalysis (Göteborgs Förening för Filosofi och Psykoanalys) 2013: <https://vimeo.com/80097883>

into a specific time period. That is, *not* in our own time. Thus, we do not have to deal with prevailing power structures here and now (Edenheim, 2011:32-34). Along these lines the narrative goes like this: “things used to be bad, but then they got better and bad things today are just relics from that time. Edenheim is critical to this understanding of time and reality and writes that:

My criticism is directed towards the specifically historical hermeneutics and the chronological fantasy where everything makes sense if you only add the time perspective (2011:14).

Based on this perspective, my aim with this thesis is not to study the past to understand *how it was*, but instead to problematize how ideas about education and class are given meaning through fantasies about time and history. For example, standing at Järntorget I easily picture a linear time-line: the old workers of Majorna, my mother at Komvux, me going to the University. All these figures are *so* temporally coded, and in the act of placing them in a time, they also get a specific historical meaning: the reason for why they should study and their relationship to knowledge varies. I want to explore why and how these relations are linked to each other.

A ghost story about time

Another theorist that blurs the borders between past, present and future is sociologist Avery Gordon. In her book *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* she uses the language of ghost stories to illustrate the message that what affects and decides what we think and do today is, also, matters that in a traditional perception of knowledge belong to the past: things that are dealt with, behind us. Things that are... dead. Gordon calls this *the ghostly aspects of social life* (2008:7). Here, we also elaborate with the space between *then* and *now*, or like Gordon poetically puts it, we should:

...move analytically between that sad and sunken couch that sags in just that place where an unrememberable past and unimaginable future force us to sit day after day (2008:4).

Like Edenheim, Gordon challenges a core understanding of time and history; the linear, rational and spatial-material. She questions “our conventional notions of cause and effect, past and present, conscious and unconscious” (2008:66).

So what is meant by this ‘ghost’? According to The Oxford Dictionaries a ghost is “An apparition of a dead person which is believed to appear or become manifest to the living, typically as a nebulous image” (2015).

But according to Gordon this does not fully capture its meaning. The ghost is:

...not simply a dead or missing person, but a social figure, and investigating it can lead to that dense site where history and subjectivity make social life (2008:8).

But what about the part “appear or become manifest in the living”? For Gordon this is the implication of *haunting*. “To be haunted”, she writes, “is to be tied to historical and social effects” (2008:190). Haunting is about what has been jostled to the margins, or in Gordon’s words:

...it refers us to what’s living and breathing in the place hidden from view: people, places, histories, knowledge, memories, ways of life, ideas (Gordon, 2011:3).

She exemplifies with her own relationship to Marxism, which she says she has been reared and trained in and to which she still feels a connection. Although, she says, many have had to part company with Marxism because of its “...ongoing trivialization of the problem of racism” (Gordon, 2011:1 f). So along these lines, what *haunts* Marxism would be the denied racism it contains, and in the context of workers’ education it could be the sexist, male norms through which the story of “the working class” is told. These are matters that could be viewed as haunted, by what has been jostled to the margins.

Both Edenheim’s and Gordon’s views on history leaves me with challenging and exploring questions: can matter ever be “left behind” just because time passes? Why is our cultural image of the linear time – that we move forward, develop and leave past times behind – so connected to *leaving matters behind*? And what does this cultural understanding do to the way we think, understand, act and live in present time, for example to the way we are political and do politics?

An untimely feminist theorization

In her article in *Tidsskrift för genusvetenskap*; “Out of Joint is the feminist time”, Claudia Lindén explores how the historicizing of feminist theory is impregnated with particular *temporal constructions*. She criticizes how this historicizing goes hand in hand with an understanding of “break-offs/discontinuities and turning-points”; something that she claims is highly problematic. Instead, Lindén argues, “feminist theoretization need to be more untimely

in Nietzsche's view"⁷ (Lindén, 2012:8). Having taken part of Nietzsche's discussions of "historical consciousness" she asks for more questioning of temporal understandings; how feminist theory needs to raise awareness of how it is also connected to development-linear understandings of past-present-future concepts. Lindén focuses on temporal aspects of feminist theory (something that I am not) and she is particularly discussing the "generation feminism" that has been on the agenda in media recently. She is discussing what has been represented as a "generation conflict of feminism", exemplifying with debates between for example Yvonne Hirdman, Ebba Witt-Brattström and Sara Edenheim. Lindén means that a temporality is shown in this debate, in the sense that there is said to have been "a setback of feminism" with the younger generation (ibid:12), an approach that Lindén argues is highly problematic. Instead, she claims, we must adopt another way of viewing "old and new" feminist theories. She suggest that we "...refuse to view them as separated sort-wise and time-wise" (ibid:20-21).

Like Gordon, Lindén is also experimenting with the concepts of the undead, besides the concept of ghosts, also using the Swedish words "vålnader" and "gengångare" [English: phantom, spectre]. Based on Nina Lykke's critique of "new turns" and turning-points in feminist theorizing⁸ Lindén introduced the concept of *parallelity* "... as a way to understand when something similar, but not identical, shows up again" (ibid:21). As another word for this phenomenon Lindén introduces the concept "hauntology" [hemsökologi], something that she exemplifies with reading literature from another time. "The literature, the text of the predecessor" she writes "is never fully separated from theory, it haunts us... Think of Wollstonecraft or de Beauvoir, what are they if not ghosts, undead?" (ibid:22). But how should

⁷ In the series of writings published between 1873-1876 *Unzeitgemäße Betrachtungen* (Eng: Untimely meditations / Swe: Otidsenliga betraktelser) Friedrich Nietzsche problematizes the "historical consciousness" of the human mind; our creation, reproduction and relation to temporality as understood: "past-present-future". In Untimely meditations part two: *On the Use and Abuse of History for Life* (also referred to as *On the Advantages and Disadvantages of History for Life*) Nietzsche claims that "...we all suffer from a debilitating historical fever [that we] at least should acknowledge that we suffer from" (Nietzsche: 2005:82). He compares this tendency of historicizing to "...the heard that are on pasture in front of you: it does not know what is yesterday or today..." and writes that humans "...on the contrary brace themselves towards the heavy and increasingly heavier weight of the past: it pushes her down or bends her to the side, disturb her walk like an invisible and dusky burden..." (ibid:83). "We want to call them the historical humans; the gaze towards the past drives them towards the future... These historical humans believe that the meaning of life increasingly will uncover in the course of a *process*, they look back only to through observing the hitherto process, learn to understand the present and more fiercely desire the future..." (ibid:88).

⁸ Lykke discusses the problems arising when thinking along the lines of "post" in feminist theorizing, partly since it implies imagining something "before" and "after" a turning-point. She develops this in the article *The timeliness of Post-Constructionism*, and also in an essay in the same issue of *Journal for Gender Studies* as Lindén's article. See reference list for further details.

one relate to this “ghost” then? Lindén calls the ghost an “excellent feminist companion” that lets us understand time and history in another way than through break-offs/discontinuities and turning-points and setbacks” (ibid:22-23). No matter how one sees this ghost; as a figure, as a thinking experiment, as the base for all other thinking, or just as a “reminder”/addition to other theorizing it presents great opportunities for counteracting modernity’s linear, development-focused way of understanding, doing and thinking *time* and all aspects it relates to (read: everything).

So is the history present or the present history?

As the heading suggests the story depends on the perspective. Since I want this thesis to challenge the modern story of a linear, development-focused perspective on time and instead of viewing past and present on a time-line I want to try to see *past* and *present* lives and phenomena as more alike than different. This is not because I do not believe that differences do not exist, but because there is already *so much* cultural, institutionalized support for this perspective. We know this story already, which is why I find it interesting to see what would happen to a story with a different, more challenging perspective. For example we can problematize the modern view of “The ancient Greeks”. Yes, these individuals are dead and the modern, “rational” understanding would therefore place them in the past. They belong to history. But their ideas do not. And in fact, *they* do not either – we talk about them *all the time*. Present living people think, talk and understand *through* them today, and thus you could say that these individuals are highly active, have agency (and is this not the definition of living?) today. Why then, is the *main* understanding that these ancient Greeks are stuck in the past, where they once *did* act and lived, and then time passed and today *we* are the ones with agency *taking about and using* them, as if they are frozen, unchanging objects stuck in a book. What if they are using us, so to speak: that the understandings of these people, what they did and thought in a passed time, affect our understanding of ourselves, our present time and current phenomena? If so, does it matter who is currently living and breathing?

The genealogies offer “both”⁹ theoretical and methodological perspectives when wanting to problematize time, past and present. In *Foucault, power and education* Stephen J. Ball uses Foucaultian concepts to discuss how present educational policies interacts with our understanding of so called “history”. Ball writes that:

⁹ As often within humanities these are not always possible to separate.

Foucault asserts that our own times and lives are not the beginning or end of some “historical” process, but a period like, while at the same time unlike, any other. I want to point to an absence of “turning points”, of “progress” and discontinuities and the non-emergence of new forms of reasoning and highlight instead the continuities of the specifics of division (2013:109).

With such an approach the aim is not to understand *the past* in order to “learn from history”, that is: to avoid repeating what we today identify as previously made mistakes, or for that matter, to re-establish “old values”. Neither is it to comprehend how progress has been made, to be able to continue that progressive development into the future. Instead, this alternative genealogical view can offer insights to dangers that arise today as a result of this “development-progressive” view on time. For example, with an understanding of our present time as being in the front, the farthest forward possible – what does that do to our views of coeval inequalities? And adding the understanding that the development is about to continue to automatically move forward and progress into the future, almost *by time itself*, what does such an approach do to our urge to change matters – for example fight inequalities – today?

I do not aim at answering all these questions, but I will bring them and these challenging takes on time, history, past and present with me throughout the thesis.

The illusion of neutral time

In *In a Queer Time and Place* Jack Halberstam works with challenging perspectives on time and space in relation to different aspects of queerness, challenging norms involving time and temporality. For example, Halberstam speaks of queerness as a *self-description* bringing about “... potential to open up new life narratives and alternative relations to time and space” (Halberstam:2005:1-2). The temporal aspect is explored through what Halberstam names “queer temporalities”, a concept he describes as following:

Queer subcultures produce alternative temporalities by allowing their participants to believe that their futures can be imagined according to logics that lie outside of those paradigmatic markers of life experience – namely, birth, marriage, reproduction, and death (ibid:2).

With this perspective *time* is thus not something which is just “out there”, but it is instead given meaning through institutionalized “meaning-making” processes, illustrated by Halberstam through the gendered markers mentioned above. The fact that these markers are connected to gender is also an aspect important to illuminate for this thesis. Often time is described as a “neutral”, blank phenomenon which is just there, moving us forward with pretty much the same implications for all people. Thinking along the lines of Halberstam’s

reasoning though, opens up for discussing and problematizing how *time* is also a phenomenon that could be analyzed from feminist problem formulations: time, like anything, can be the subject of power analyses – it is understood through cultural-institutionalized meaning-makers, which is among other things gendered-racialized-classed.

Halberstam gives a great example of this way of dealing with temporality and queerness through discussing *the transgender body*. He writes that:

The gender-ambiguous individual today represents a very different set of assumptions about gender than the gender-inverted subject of the early twentieth century; and as a model of gender inversion recedes into anachronism, the transgender body has emerged as futurity itself, a kind of heroic fulfillment of postmodern promises of gender flexibility (ibid:17).

This is an exciting take on temporal concepts such as *present* and *future*, opening up for discussions of how matters and subject – bodies even – can be culturally understood as representing specific temporal phenomena, such as *the future*. This reasoning also invites to discussions of what this says about the understanding of “being located” in the so called present. For example, much research is made on how power structures work through constructing norm-breaking people and groups as The Other. By applying the aspect of temporality one could also analyze how cultural understandings of time are used in this process; as when putting the transgender body in a temporality that is *not* here and now, but in a cultural fantasy-context that is not known – the future.

Time and class and gender?

So far, the matter of on the one hand; power, discourses and subject positions connected to class and gender, and on the other hand, time and temporality have been separately discussed. I want to combine these aspects and problematize what importance temporal understandings have in discursive constructions of gendered-classed subject positions. But how can one open up for relating these to each other?

In her essay *On time, out of joint, out of step* [I tid, ur spår, i otakt] Fanny Ambjörnsson explores the connections between temporality, gender and sexuality as they are captured in the concept “lifeline” (Ambjörnsson, 2013:90). Ambjörnsson focuses on what she calls “the heteronormative timeline” (ibid:94) and she mainly focuses on age as a time-marker, when analyzing how gender- and sexuality power orders are tied to temporality. She concludes that “Lifelines can thus be said to be cultural constructions of time and space” (ibid:105) and, like

norms, they work through force and expectations. This is an example of how temporal understandings play part in how heteronormative power works in people's lives. Like this: "time understandings" also creates "time subjects". With such an approach, where time and temporality are explored as part of how power works together with norms, it is also possible to open up for discussing how *temporal* discourses and subject positions are produced. Like in the example of Halberstam, such analyzing also opens up for seeing how certain subject positions are tied to fantasies of past, present and future, with all it implies of power mechanisms, possibilities and limitations. I am basing my thesis in the analytical meeting-point between the temporal and the gender-class theorizing.

3 | Material

In this section I want to present and account for the material on which I have based my analysis. I want to explain what material is used and how I have thought in the choices I have made in the process of selecting material. I also discuss the matter of what happens when I work with material that is published in the early 20th century Sweden, communicated through a specific language, when I work with the same material in a different context; the 21th century academic English.

3.1 The material

My main thought when searching for material has been that it in some sense should speak of workers' right to *bildning*, knowledge or education. Although, rather soon a pattern started to take shape: in the material where *workers* were the main group there was also a clear male norm. Turning to forums where *women* were in focus the norm was always the middle- or upper class women. Thus, I started to search for gaps in these canonizations to get sight of who was not there at first sight; the working class woman. This became a methodological approach: to search for what was not primarily there.

An important aspect for me when selecting the material has also been that it should reflect an understanding of a *we* or a *them*. This is important in order to capture ways in which subjectivities and figures have been constructed. Another characterizing aspect of the material is that it should have a *political purpose*. Outspokenly, or more vague, it speaks to a particular target group; certain people are interpellated in this process; a process where subject positions and (re)production of figures and understandings are taking place.

The actual material I have been using are magazines specifically for workers, or female workers, books and prints that argue for workers' right to education. An important magazine is the paper *Morgonbris*: the members' magazine for Social Democratic women founded in 1904 and still published. I chose this magazine partly because the group *working-class women* are visible and partly because the question of *bildning*, knowledge and education is a re-occurring topic in the articles. To find this group, I also realized the need for elaborating with traditional understandings of "work", something that I develop later in the analysis, why I have also studied publications aiming at providing the group *housewives* with knowledge. I have studied political posters, organization prints from Landsorganisationen (LO) and The

Social Democrats (S) and material published by Gothenburg University and University West [Högskolan Väst]. The material is published during three time periods: 1930-1949, 1960-1979 and the present time; 2015.

Why have I chosen these time periods? I am thinking about the way I have chosen these times as “formally random”. I do not believe that much things are actually “random”; of course I am governed by the general cultural understandings of “how it was” in for example the 30’s or 70’s. I cannot escape this and I am sure that a personal interest grounded in such ideas plays a role in why I chose certain times and not others. Although, I would like to make a formal point about the random factor in the selection process and that point will be: it does not matter what time periods I chose and why. What I discuss in the thesis is the importance of temporal figures and fantasies; that is, the function of temporality *as such*, and so the certain time periods in which these fantasies take place are of less importance. Instead, it is the fact *that* I have chosen different time periods that I want to highlight. After all, if the time aspect had no importance what so ever I could just as well have chosen times like 1999, 2000 and 2001? But in that case I would not touch upon the core of our discursive understanding or differences, linearity and development. So there is a reason to why I chose time periods that are quite far from each other in actual time, since this also means that they symbolize so different ideas and values that we ascribed them in present time. This is important when I want to illustrate how certain discursive ideas and understandings come back and exercise power, no matter time. Along these lines, there is also a point to be made that chance in this context is okay as a research method; it even fills a crucial point.

3.2 Lost in translation: translating context- and culture specific material

Working with the material: texts and images produced in specific contexts regarding time, place and so called “culture”, my own position and context become visible. In many cases, this material was probably meant for someone in a similar position as the writer; for example the paper *Morgonbris* is a members’ paper and thus meant for members of the social democratic women’s movement of the specific time. This is an aspect that becomes apparent when I sit at the library, carefully turning the withered, yellowing pages photographing them with my iPhone, transcribing the words on my computer. Some of the words are underlined with a green or red line in the Word document, to indicate that it does not go with modern ways of expressing oneself. At the same time, I am amazed that I can totally relate to much of the material, both linguistically and when it comes to content. This process of understanding

and processing the material is still something that I do in my mother tongue, Swedish. Afterwards waits the process of translating this beautiful material using my modern second language English. After only a few lines I see how a very different text is taking shape, not corresponding with the expressions and certain strain of the original text. And I want to do the material justice; I want to avoid turning it into a distorted modern-academic version of itself. However, I will not pretend that I believe it to be possible that I and the context that I reflect will be invisible in the translations¹⁰.

In this process I have searched for guidance in the field of Translation Studies, where I have never been before, for ways to think when dealing with context- and cultural specific material. For example, translation theorist André Lefevere writes that:

Translation is, or course, a rewriting of an original text. All rewritings, whatever their intention, reflect a certain ideology and a poetics and such manipulate literature to function in a given society in a given way. Rewritings is manipulation, undertaken in the service of power, and in its positive aspects can help in the evolution of a literature and a society... But rewriting can also repress innovation, distort and contain... (1992: preface).

Given this, what I have been dealing with is specifically 1) how to make this manipulation visible and not pretend the situation to be otherwise, and 2) how to deal with certain context specific expressions and strain that do not easily translate into other contexts, both regarding language and time. Theorist Rune Ingo writes of *language- and culture internal situational factors* that affect a translation and that suddenly, some factors do not matter anymore, some are added and some change in the process.

The translators assignment is then to decide whether there are... such differences...that bring about the need to adjust (usually supplement, sometimes shorten or in other ways re-work) the translation. This is important for the text to “sit right” in the situation that arises when it in the same or a new purpose is received by a reader in another environment... (Ingo, 2007:126-127).

These are perspectives that I have tried to convert into practice when working with the material.

¹⁰ I attach all of the quotes used in the thesis in original language in Appendix 2.

Swedish “Bildning” and “Folkbildning”

Such a context- and culture specific matter is the Swedish history of *bildning* and *folkbildning*, which plays a large part in this thesis. When I read the words in Swedish, I register so much more than only the semantic meaning of the words, that is; education, cultivation and literacy for people. I also see images in black and white that have been conveyed to me through national-cultural stories throughout my life. The words do not say anything about this, yet I understand it. This is something I have to deal with when explaining and translating my material. The Swedish National Council of Adult Education [Folkbildningsrådet] writes that the Swedish term *Folkbildning*: “...refers to the folk high schools and the study associations, i.e. the organisations that constitute the liberal, non-formal and voluntary educational system in Sweden”. They also explain why they have chosen not to translate the term in their English texts, but instead keeping the Swedish term:

The term ‘folkbildning’ is difficult to translate into English. It is sometimes translated as liberal or popular education. However the specific conceptual foundation of ‘folkbildning’ extends beyond the term ‘adult education’ which is why ‘folkbildning’ is used in this text as-is (Folkbildningsrådet, 2013:2).

As it is for the term *bildning* there is neither here a great equivalent in the English language. The Norwegian research group for Humanities studies in Education compare the German term *bildung* with the English term *education*:

... the word Bildung...we find it in the German enlightenment conception of human beings as self-educating. Self-education presupposes a self and a world. The self strives toward expressing and developing its individuality (Faculty of Educational Sciences, 2011).

This is a concept that contains *more* than the process of gaining knowledge and get “educated” and so I will use the Swedish terms for both concepts throughout the thesis.

4 | Workers' knowledge: a resource for The Future Society

In the researched material I have found that education is partly spoken of as something valuable for the own individual and partly as something valuable for society as a whole. Thus, there are both micro- and macro perspectives in the discussion. Often, but not always, these aspects are brought together in a declaration of the citizen's importance for the societal body – together we build the future society, you are part of that building. In this chapter I will discuss the importance of temporal fantasies of *The Future* in the argumentation for a democratization of knowledge and *bildning*, but also *who* is actually thought to be part of this process. I will discuss how liberal discourses and subject positions are important for constructing understanding of who should partake in knowledge productions and for what purposes, in material produced in different times.

4.1 The dream of a brighter future

One recurring theme in the material is education's importance for a societal, "higher" purpose. The idea is that society profits from getting educated citizens. Exactly *what* is meant by "education" and *what* this "profit" implies differs depending on context. But no matter the details the pattern remains: there is something *larger* behind education as a benefit for the sole individual. In an article from 1935 in the paper *Morgonbris* the working class writer Knut Lånström argues for the importance of a "workers' press":

...the stronger the workers' press is, the better the workers can give voice to their meaning...when this little by little, through our participation, gains readers and spreads, it can also fill its fostering purpose even better...The paper, if it is a good paper...spurs the good within us to development and initiative force...it colours our perception of the past times and our hopes for the future...if you are a modern human, a human who at your place in life struggles and strives to improve today's society and lay the foundation for a better tomorrow's society...then you demand of that paper [that it]...shall show the masses the way to a brighter, culturally richer life...Large and tragic happenings in other countries and among other people have brightly illuminated the importance of, that also the women understand democracy and protect it...in a democratic society we must all act under responsibility and set to work, supplied with the best and most knowledge possible (Morgonbris, 1935: no 1).

Here, the value of gaining knowledge, through the press, is not presented as something mainly concerning the sole individual. The focus is instead set on the *outcome*, the *result* which is the working class' increased societal influence and the keeping of the democratic system. Knowledge for *the class*; the collective of workers as a unit, is not primarily presented as

something for individual growth or well-being *here and now* but as something that will build a society *to come*. The knowledge needed for building a better future is something that *the modern human* should demand of their news paper. The modern human is a subject position constructed totally in symbiosis with these temporal fantasies about past, present and future. What is meant by “modern” cannot exist without ideas of what is “not modern”; there cannot be “a bright future” without “a dark past” or “a dark present”. Knowledge, or *bildning*, as well as the subject positions that partake in the knowledge production, are *the means, the vehicle* towards the final aim: a brighter, future society.

Speaking of the subjectivities involved in this process, the modern human is also gendered: the writer says that it is important “that *also the women*” understand democracy. Here, “the women” are not part of the self-description of the working-class as a unit, but these are described as two separate things. There is “the working class” (not gendered) and “the women” (explicitly femininely gendered). The political subject of the movement is thus implicitly gendered as a man. That men as a group already understand democracy is assumed – now the purpose is to include women in the struggle for a better society, particularly *working-class women* since the forum is the Social Democrats’ women’s magazine. What the writer wants for women to do is partly to *understand* democracy, and partly to *protect* it. There is thus a demand for the working class both to *think* (understand, gain knowledge) and to *act* (protect): that is, to be political subjects. The issue is that women should also, like men, *through knowledge* become such political subjects and the implicit question mark behind such a demand must be highlighted. The purpose of such a development is not, I notice, feminist emancipation (possibly put another way if that would be the case) but to prevent further international conflict, and is thus for societal benefit. The aim is for the working-class women to participate in the fight for another society *alongside* the male workers. I thus find that the phenomenon of temporal fantasies, particularly about *a future* is an important part of the classed and gendered construction of *who* is capable of political agency and who is not.

Another contribution to the debate is made by Alva Myrdal, in an interview in Morgonbris 1935. She argues that:

...you need go in for a cheaper education for all. That means, not only that the education in itself is cost-free from primary school all the way to university and beyond. Talented children from all classes should get special study scholarships that give them free livelihood during the study period. This would more than anything work as a equalizing of classes (Morgonbris, 1935: no 1).

Two things are being described as important: 1) that we move towards a classless society, and 2) that *talented* individuals get to study, no matter class background. It is thus not just anyone who should educate themselves, but talents. Thus, there must be other goals involved than only the benefit for the individual – would that be the case the matter of talent would not be important. Myrdal continues to say that:

...the entire breeding process should also get another direction than it has today. The school should foster all children to individually strong collectivists, not like now to a mixture of obedient, non-reflective feudal people and selfish private capitalists suited for a past social order. The school must have a social goal (ibid).

A number of things are being said here. Firstly, school should have a fostering role and play part in shaping the pupils in their values. Actually, to shape the pupil's *values* might not be an accurate description – what is really being said is that school should foster *all children* to become *individually strong collectivists*. I see a difference here between on the one hand “promoting values” and on the other hand *shape someone into an “-ist”*, a term that suggests professing and committing to an “ism”. This leans more to identity formation than lobbying for certain values. Secondly, Myrdal speaks of the coeval fostering process as suited for *a past social order*. The temporal aspects are an important part of the discussion: Myrdal's argument for why the way school fosters children *now*, in present time, is bad, is because it *does not suit the coeval time*. It belongs to *a past time*. Certain values are described as bad through historizing them. The argument thus rests on a linear, development-based understanding of time and temporal fantasies about past and future as the base for understanding the present. It is thus suggested that the school is crucial for what kind of society we want to have: if we want *another social order* we need to foster the children differently in school, what Myrdal refers to as the “breeding process”. To also include working-class children in this process might open up for political transformation of society; away from the past, towards a different future.

In a letter from a reader of Morgonbris with the title *Let us recognize practical capability as well*, the signature L.T writes of their friend's fight for education. The friend, L.T writes, has been struggling as a maid, in the factory and as a nursing assistant. On her weekly evening off she has been visiting lectures and study circles and now when she wants to apply to “a course for the education she is longing for” [a childcare course] she is frequently declined due to lack of “recommendations” and “papers”. L.T regrets that:

...the country had so little use of a person, who could one day have helped making circumstances better and brighter...it has been shown several times that people with slight schooling have made great contributions for the benefit of mankind...let us try and put forward the people who have the greatest qualifications to...inspire and create good citizens, for is it not ultimately on this that the entire society's happiness depend upon (Morgonbris, 1936: no 9).

Alongside the obvious claim that the friend should be able to do what she wants, or “longs for”, the main argument for this working woman’s right to study is for the benefit of society. What is presented as regrettable is that society loses an opportunity to get contribution from an individual. The values sprung from education is “making circumstances better and brighter”, “the benefit for mankind”, “create good citizens” and “society’s happiness” – values that are all benefits for society as a whole. This is also constructed alongside a temporal understanding of a different, brighter future. Worth noticing is that even though the class aspect is put forward as important in the story it is not for the sake of class justice *itself* that this working class woman should get to study. But what is important is what she can contribute with to society. I also note three things related to gender in this text: 1) the friend in question is described as a working-class woman 2) the argument for why she should get to study is that her knowledge can be important for society and its development into a better future, and 3) the main focus of her knowledge production is not that *she as a citizen herself* will be part of a this societal prospering, but that she will help *inspire and create good citizens* for society. She is thus not directly portrayed as the *main* citizen for the future society, but she will help, support and make possible the fostering of *other* people, main citizens, that will be important for “society’s happiness”. She is not the main political subject and I connect this to discursive ideas about gendered characteristics and values such as the feminine “helping” and “supporting” and the masculine “leading” and “deciding” in the power orders and practices that of course temporal fantasies, like anything, are part of.

4.2 Talented but poor

When going through the arguments for workers’ right to education it is clear that *not all* are included in this group; for example I have discussed how female subject positions are not as included in the argumentations as the male equivalent. A constantly re-appearing element in the discussions of who should have access to knowledge is the matter of *talent* [begåvning]. The real problem seems to be that specific talents do not get to fulfill their potential, as a consequence of the class system. Thus, there is a certain group of subjectivities that are constructed; the talented, naturally in contrast with the “non-talented”, and it seems especially

unfair that this talented group get hindered from studying. In *The Workers' movement's Post-war Program*¹¹ from 1944, in the chapter *Democratized schooling* the authors write:

...many who lack study head¹² get an extensive schooling, while other youths with much better qualifications not at all get the opportunity to develop their traits. This also means, that the selection of people, that can be used at leading positions in production and societal life, get substantially less satisfying, than would be necessary (1944:115).

It is the youths with 'study head'; good qualification and traits, who should get the opportunity to develop this through studying. The purpose is expressively to get competent people in leading positions and is thus for society's prospering and benefit. This is emphasized even further by the focus on *youths*; like in Myrdal's discussion the emphasis is on younger generations, a group with many years of working life in front of them and thus with large possibilities to "contribute to society". This can be contrasted with a valuing of knowledge and *bildning* in itself, where factors like time and age would play less or no role.

The authors also write that:

...for the sole individual the economic obstacles for education are all the more serious, since the individual's possibilities to establish their capability now increasingly depends on his theoretical and practical education (ibid:115-116)...the economic obstacles for education should be completely broken up for all youth who have desire and inclination to conduct a continuing education beyond the public elementary school as well (ibid:117).

Here, there is a larger focus on the individual and not only on the society and its values. The individual should get the possibility to "proclaim their capability" and the education should be democratized for anyone who has "desire" *and*, not *or*, "inclination". That is, young people with talent. "Desire" for education is not enough in itself, one must also have "inclination", a tendency and capability, for the being included in the economically hindered group that should get to study. This individual spoken of is also gendered; it is *he* who should proclaim *his* capability through *his* theoretical and practical education. The workers' struggle for education can thus be said to intend that the subjectivity of the male, talented worker get to develop his abilities for participating in the development of society.

¹¹ The program was a political action plan for the Social Democrats and the trade union movement on the social and economic politics after the Second World War. The program was elaborated by the Social Democratic Party, The Swedish Trade Union Confederation (LO), Social Democratic Women in Sweden (now: S-kvinnor) and the Swedish Social Democratic Youth League (SSU) (The National Encyclopedia, Arbetarrörelsens efterkrigsprogram).

¹² In the original text the Swedish specific word "läshuvud" [direct translation: "reading- or study head"] is used, which can be said to be an everyday speech expression aiming at someone with "talent" or "natural inclination" for studying.

This is also the message in a political campaign poster used by the Social Democrats in the parliamentary election in 1948. The poster was created by the Swedish Social Democratic Youth League (SSU) and the slogan is: *Talented but poor – give him equal chance. Choose the Workers' Party*. The poster shows a working boy – possibly an errand boy, since he has a paint stain on his jacket and a wooden chest on his bicycle. From a distance he is watching three laughing, just-graduated students. The three are all dressed in suits, one of the boys wears a student cap and holds a student stick and is riding on the two friends' shoulders. They are laughing. At first sight, the poster gives a clear message: education is a matter of class, this is unfair and the Social Democrats will change that. But a number of other things are also being said. First, and perhaps the most obvious is that the four people in the poster are all white, young, fit, high functional men. They all belong to the same group portrayed as suited for education. The only way in which the errand boy differs from the students is when it comes to class. It is not primarily a matter of who he is, but of what he has, or rather *does not* have: money. The message is not necessarily *only* speaking of groups – yes, the poster is obviously for the “Workers' Party” and so, there is an awareness of class structure and the working class group – but simultaneously there is a clear focus on the individual. This is *one* worker in question, and he is a man, a *talented* man. This can be put in contrast to the three students that show in the background; “the wealthy” *as a group*, but what makes the errand boy appear *alone* in the poster is because of his *talent*. And talent is something that breathes uniqueness, one of a kind, singular, non-group oriented. Again, *this* is what justifies his right to education. Otherwise it could just have said “Wants to study but is poor” and the emphasis would only be on the matter of money and class. I see such a class analysis; split between a structural and an individualized understanding of class as a way to speak about class injustices through a liberal discourse – where the individual and “his backpack” is in focus rather than the structural power mechanisms that cause the individual experiences in the first place. I have also found that an important idea in this liberal, individualized understanding of the class matter in educational context is, again, the idea of today's progress into *the future*. I connect this to the use of the concept of “chance”: a word that leaves open what is to come.

Give him equal chance the poster says. It is the individual, male worker that should be given a chance. To what? One interpretation could be a chance to experience what the three students are obviously experiencing: happiness, joy, celebration – perhaps for their chance to personal development, inner growth – the values of education *in itself*. Although, I question whether this would have been illustrated with the presence of material props such as suits, paint stains,

wooden chest. I read these as symbols for positions on the labour market, or in the production process and the chance would thus be the chance for a more beneficial position in this structure. The chance of a different future: it is like a shadow future is visible in the picture, another life and the temporal fantasy of a future; another time is an important part for the political message in the poster. This must also be connected to the gendered subjects in the poster. Reading them as subjects in relation to labour market positions, the question of how citizenship, the public sphere and societal influence connect to gender must also be considered. Both in the Post-War Program and the SSU-poster a group of young, male, talented individuals are constructed, associated to characteristics such as readiness, capability and brilliance – just waiting to partake in the new life of today and tomorrow. This is a construction of citizenship that rests on certain understandings of gender and class: that working-class men, in capacity of masculinely coded qualities, are an untapped resource for society. Untapped, in the capacity of their class belonging. These arguments for the working-class right to *bildning* thus rests on a specific gendered understanding of class and is also highly connected to the temporal fantasy of a progressive timeline.

When I write this I have been sitting at the social science library. It is easy for the imagination to run free; illusionary ideas about *how it was back then*. Illusions of differences and development. I cannot help but thinking that an expression like “talent” is very dated and that it is no surprise that this is written in the 1940’s. When I take the tram home that day I browse through today’s Metro newspaper and I stop at the column heading: *School bullies talented pupils*. The liberal debater and columnist Johan Norberg claims that in Sweden one is not allowed to say that some children are talented and some are not. He writes that:

Some countries have schools that are adjusted after *particularly talented pupils’ personalities*, but in Sweden this is forbidden as all schools must be *open for all, regardless of talent*...We have been so concerned with *equality* that we have neglected that it crushes those who do not fit in...If everyone has it [talent] it would not be a *gift* in that way. But this you cannot say. Someone might get hurt...first and foremost it was urgent for them [The Swedish National Agency for Education¹³] to establish that everyone are talented. That says everything you need to know about how hard it is to speak about tolerance for *highly talented individuals*. [my emphasis]

Clearly, also in 2015, a distinction is made between children with and without talent. Norberg even speaks of different *personalities* and views talent as “a gift” that certain individual; certain *highly talented* individuals, are blessed with. An interesting remark is that a focus on

¹³ Swedish: Skolverket. Nordberg discusses their interventions (or, in his opinion, lack of interventions) for adjusting education to “particularly talented children”.

so called talents is imagined as the opposite to a value such as *equality*. Through this reasoning, the mere chance that some people have this “gift” and some do not (how one come about this gift, if it is by birth, up-bringing or other circumstances is not elaborated) is a legitimate reason for an, I take it, *unequal* educational system. Such a reasoning do not include considerations of for example; what norms are active in setting the standards for what is to count as “talent” or what groups are normatively and discursively more prone to end up in such categories. The argumentation lacks a structural- and group perspective. Instead a clear liberal discourse can be identified, with the right of the sole individual – here, the talented individual – as a main question. I chose to include this column in the thesis because of its clear illustration of how temporal understandings of matter, here: my own development-based time-coding of the concept of talent (that it is an old concept stuck in the past) inhibits more complex analyses of how time might work. I see this as an expression of a liberal discourse, showing itself differently in two random years: something that challenges ideas of linear development where understandings, discourses are *stuck* in time. Instead, this can be viewed as a *parallelity* using Lindén’s concept. These understandings of individual talent are similar to one another, as a product of an individual discourse *always* present, not “passed on” along a linear generation- or succession order, but alive and well in a more cyclic manner.

Yet another way of viewing this matter is through the concept of haunting. For example: if we view the word and concept *talent* as a ghost, using Gordon’s terminology, could we say that it is haunted by those who have never been included in this notion? Certain groups, certain types of knowledge have not been considered having talent. So, reading about such a concept in present time, I feel that it is haunted – by those groups that would *never* be allowed to appear in the SSU-poster from 1948. That is, perhaps anyone but the white, young, fit male. What I want to emphasis here are the dangers that arise from *automatically* giving things meaning *only* by adding a time perspective. By understanding *talent* as an old, dated concept I also place it on a linear timeline. Although, through using concepts like ghost or haunting, I also open up for understanding matters connected to a more cyclic understanding or time. Like this: instead of seeing specific time periods as symbols or representations of certain values – an idea that risks making us blind for similar injustices in present time – thinking along lines of circular, cyclic time opens up for understanding discourses as returning, perhaps never leaving. Maybe they are changing, mobile as they are, but stapled to decades or years – time might pass *through* discourses, like water passing through a brail, but it does not automatically leave the discourse behind, stuck in past time. I believe that *haunting* might be

the glitch in this understanding, which makes me react to reading a concept like talent in 2015.

4.3 Summary

In the argumentation for worker's rights to knowledge and *bildning* temporal fantasies about the future are important. Knowledge is seen as a vehicle away from the present towards a brighter society. An important factor is also the subjectivities thought to ride this vehicle, which is the male, main important citizen and constructions of these subjectivities are totally intertwined with temporal constructions of past, present and future and a modern, development discourse of progress and linearity. I also identify a strong liberal discourse, with a large focus on the individual *also* in the arguments against class injustices, where the collective group is central. This discourse is particularly visible in the focus on talents which can be viewed as a *parallelity*; discursive understandings re-occurring in different times.

5 | Here and now: who is needed for the future?

Alongside the societal focus of education, there are also perspectives that stress the benefits for the sole individual as something valuable. The way meaning is created around this value differs, but the common factor is still that the individual worker is said to *gain* something through education. However, *what* the individual is supposed to gain is highly related to gendered constructions of the working-class citizen. Here, I have chosen to work with material produced for *housewives* working in and sometimes also outside of the home. I do this in order to problematize what happens with understandings of knowledge, citizenship and time when the matter of *bildning* is dealt with in other contexts than the traditional. I will now discuss discourses and subject positions related to private and public spheres, modernity and political subjectivity. I also discuss how the temporal discursive understanding of *modernity* is an important aspect for creating meaning around the coeval *present* in every time.

5.1 Towards a high and noble human life

Besides the societal perspectives of education there is also discussion of workers' right to knowledge where the main purpose primarily seems to be the growth and development of the individual. In *The Workers' Movements Learning Ideals from 1935* Natanael Beskow writes:

What is strived for must be something else, something on the other side of the economic and political power. That is the possibility to live the highest and best human life... a high and noble human life will not come about, if it is not in the individuals, in the single humans (9-10) ... So far it has been the mere egoistic point of view that has reigned: you want to learn that which can help you to get ahead in the struggle for subsistence. So far it has been from the point of view of the society's or the state's benefit... also this ideal brings on the danger that the fostering of character is put aside, that the question of spiritual deepening and that the harmonious interaction of the spiritual and the bodily forces is not sufficiently regarded (19) If this efficiency aspect dominates, the danger is close, that you educate single-minded and dependent people... the function of the work of *bildning*... must be to help the people to as rich personal development as possible and to put them in position to by their power standards make their contribution to the human collaboration and thereby intake one's place in the human community (20) A person is not cultivated, because he is a professor... It is possible to be exceptionally lettered and yet be a rude and rough person with a primitive emotional life. Then you are not cultivated [Swe:*bildad*] (21).

In the text there is a clear focus on the personal, inner development of the individual. The valuable is something *on the other side* of economic and political power. The *highest, best* and *noble* human life. It is the fostering of character, the spiritual deepening that the workers

will gain through *bildning* and this will trim the edges of the *rude, rough* and *primitive* human. The front page of the text is also illustrated with an oil lamp, such as the one figuring in the folktale *One Thousand and One Nights*, in which a genie shows up and fulfills the main characters highest wishes. I take this as a metaphor for what knowledge, or *bildning*, could do for the working-class individual. The person who will go through this refinement is also gendered. It is the male professor who is not necessarily cultivated just because he is lettered. In this meaning, anyone else but men, for example women are put outside of the subject position who through knowledge will take their place in the human collaboration and community. Thus, the individual growth is not the only purpose of knowledge, but it is also accompanied with strengthened capacity for “collaborating” in the “human community”; that is, partaking in societal life. Such a place speaks of capacities like agency, autonomy and interaction in the public sphere of society and it thus demands a *political subject*. When this argument for workers’ right to education is suddenly gendered the working-class women are automatically not included. So what is the plan for them when it comes to knowledge and *bildning*? This is what I will discuss in the next section.

First, I want to connect this discussion of refinement and personal change through *bildning* to the content of this years’ catalogue from Gothenburg University (GU). Beside the picture of a girl riding a bicycle, smiling with the wind blowing in her hair, the text says “Take the chance to become you...Here it is allowed to become you...Welcome to the new you”. Yes, this image shows a girl and the political subject of knowledge production is not only a man, like the professor or the male worker from Beskow’s text, but the prominent idea that a change is going to take place is definitely present in both materials. The subject entering the world of knowledge is in both contexts created through a discourse of *individual change*. In Beskow’s text the subject position available for worker’s *prior* to the process of *bildning* is that of a rude, rough, primitive person. In the GU-catalogue there is no explicit description of the subject prior the education process, but that there is one personality *before* and one *after* the education at the Gothenburg University is obvious. The interpellation “Become you” and the phrase “Welcome to the new you” clearly imply that there has been something before; *another you* and this *new you* is only attainable through education. Through choosing two examples of material with eighty years in between I want to illustrate how discursive understandings and the power they invoke, can be seen as working in different ways than through a progressive, linear time-line. The understanding of progressive development suggests that material from the 1930’s also rests on ideas from that coeval time. As time

passes, we would “naturally” have left such ideas behind and material from 2015 would reflect totally different values. I am not saying that things are always the same, never changing. But I believe that viewing such changes *linearly* creates illusions of turning-points, differences and binary “either-or truths”. Thinking along lines of parallelities and re-occurrence, can instead open up for understanding discourses as something that *cyclically* change. Like in this example where the discourse of individual personality change is active in different times, on different conditions.

5.2 The working-class girl and her future

In a piece in Morgonbris from 1935, the social democrat and pioneer in *folkbildning* Hulda Flood interviews the principal of the Female Citizens’ School at Fogelstad, Horine Hermelin, on account of the school’s tenth anniversary. Flood writes that Hermelin highlights:

...the importance of the mixture of people with and without higher education, and emphasizes how this obviously gives the latter larger courage. Namely it often becomes apparent during the studies, that when it comes to judging current time circumstances, the maturity and discernment of the practically working women is not behind the ones having higher degrees. And that those with less schooling get the opportunity to ascertain this, must naturally strengthen their self esteem, and give them courage to step forward (Morgonbris, 1935: no 1).

The focus here is, in contrast to the reasoning of education’s societal benefits, on the self-worth and personal development of the sole individual, and particularly the working class woman. It is her own emotions; the recognition of the self-worth, that will enable her to *take action*, to *step forward*. However, no matter how much emphases is put on the individual’s inner journey, there must still be a reason to why the academic or occupational positions of the women are mentioned. Would the class analysis play no role in the discussion, there would be no mentioning of ‘practically working women’ or ‘higher degree’. Then it would just be a matter of *any* individual’s personal growth. What is stressed here is the importance of the *working class woman’s* individual growth and thus it must be concluded that bildning is also valued as a key to societal change for evening out class hierarchies and uneven preconditions. The meta-perspective goes: societal change through individual change.

In an organization story in Morgonbris from 1935 the signature I.F.C writes about the Eskilstuna club’s book circle. They explain that:

...Private book purchases to any larger extent are not a possibility for the worker's wife. And still it is so valuable also for her to win membership to the world of books... Problems, that the lone housewife has dwelled on in her brain perhaps to weariness, become in the world of books illuminated and possibly straightened out, at least put under debate (Morgonbris, 1935: no 8).

The goal is here for the worker's wife to gain access to another world. That is, a world that is not her own, not the world that she currently lives in. This world is to provide intellectual stimulation and problem-solving; something that she desires but do not acquire in her current world. The value becomes the gain for the individual worker's wife of not having to "dwell on problems alone without answers". Here, knowledge seems to be, if not for the sole sake of learning, to learn something for the sake of the own satisfaction. Interesting to notice is that when the focus is set on the individual, their inner journey and/or their emotions it is like time freezes. There is often little or no talk of the future, development or progress. These values seem to be separated. *Especially so* for the subject position of the female worker. Knowledge, is something that the worker's wife can have for herself *here and now*, not even for affecting society here and now, neither for affecting her career here and now and definitely not for affecting the societal future – as so often described in the portraits of knowledge for the male subjectivities, for example *the poor talent*. I find this as illustrating how temporality is not a neutral or given phenomena, just there, but created and highly gendered-classed. In this example, it is part of a masculine-capitalist construction of linear development of society's progress and prosperity. It is a development discourse in which the subjectivity of the worker's wife is not part.

5.3 Fostering housewives for their future

Thinking of *bildning* and *folkbilning* the thoughts immediately go to study circles, folk high schools or other forms of public organizing. When these areas are represented in *history* there is often a large focus on working class men¹⁴. Another aspect is the subjects often associated with the process of self-education: humanities, philosophy, culture, literary studies. *Who* engages in such studies depends partly on who has time and access to a sphere outside of the private and partly on what norms and power structures that affects who should be active within what field. Since the research on *bildning* has largely been focused on these public, traditional organizations, other practices of *bildning* have been excluded from the research

¹⁴ See for example several historical descriptions of Swedish folkbildning, such as *The cultivated worker* by Thomas Ginner, *For the people and through the people* by Inge Johansson or *People's breeding, People's enlightenment and Folkbildning: the Swedish People's history of bildning* by Gösta Vestlund.

field. Trying to find material by and for working women has been a difficult task. I find that these subjectivities are neither visible in the forums for workers' education, where the male norm rules, nor in the forums for women's education, where the middle- and upper class norm rules. Therefore I found that I would have to challenge the term "working", elaborating with different forums. Through incorporating the work of housewives I thought to expand traditional views and definitions of work, as well as borders between public and private spheres.

Unusually knowing housewives

In a story in Morgonbris from 1935; "Housewives of the future – the practical work's renaissance within the school" the author investigates the new *Household technical middle school of the city of Stockholm*; a girls' school that combines practical and theoretical knowledge. The reporter asks:

What chances do Karin and Greta have to hold their own?...An exam paper that shows a higher knowledge measurement is an important document in the competition on the large labour market (Morgonbris, 1935: no 4).

The value connected to education is in this sense the opportunity for the individual to participate in the run for a job; but not just any job but a position where "a higher knowledge measurement" is requested. The individual thus invests in competitive value. However, in the same piece the reporter asks the principal Gertie Söderberg about the school's aim and way of working. She answers that the school tries to put the theoretical subjects; chemistry, physics, biology into practice that "will work in the home... and the base for a more cultivated taste that is hereby laid, will surely mark the future homes, when the girls get married". Regarding the future prospects for the students the principal says that many continue on to get a practical occupation:

Through the education the girls get a good portion of independence and confidence (...) it could be that they become maids, but in that case they become highly qualified, that in many ways differs from the maid force in general. They get more independent and understand to demand respect for themselves and their occupation. They want ordered work times and ordered work conditions and can on the whole take charge of their interests in an efficient way (...) but a large part of the girls do get married sooner or later. That they then become unusually knowing housewives, is just natural (ibid).

The reporter also asks what other wishes the principal has for the school and she is quoted:

I cannot help, that I find it cruel that a child's future and possibilities for education is so inexorably tied to the parents' economic position. How often has it for example not been that a girl starts here, but after a while has come with tears in her eyes and announced that she has to quit, for the father has been put out of work...she must then set off to be an errand-girl or something similar, while the fortunate mates remain, take their exam and probably face a very different future (ibid).

In this piece, what is brought forward as valuable with education is very differing and in some sense contradictory. On the one hand, the primary reason for education seems to be to get ahead at the labour market: to get a good job. I deliberately write *good* job, since the quote about the economic injustices clearly states that working as an errand-girl or "something similar" is not a desirable future. On the other hand, the discussion about the girls' future prospects ends with the statement that most of the girls get married sooner or later and then become "unusually knowing housewives", insinuating that they will not continue working on the labour market. That said, marriage is not outspokenly presented as the goal of the education, nor as something that regrettably puts an end to a career. It is just there, an observation without judgment. Again, the future is an important temporal aspect in the discussion: the primary context seems to be the personal future for the women in question and their family. This can be compared to the writings of the workers' movement in general, where the male-normative subjects are highly linked to the future of society. It is interesting to notice that even though the girls will not use their knowledge and education for a future on the labour market, education is described as something very important for the girls' future. Why?

An interesting judgment is made in the small passage about how the theoretical subjects are adjusted to suit the home. Education is hereby said to provide "a more cultivated taste" that "will surely mark the future homes". A hierarchy is here presented: there cannot be a *more* cultivated taste without a *lesser* version. There cannot be homes marked by this taste without homes that are marked by a different, lesser taste. Here, an explicit gendered "making" of class is made: a better, higher level of "taste" is put forward, being part of a self-description, forming a specific "us" and in the same sentence also critically judging a "them". The middle class practice of creating distance to "the others" through the concept of *taste* as a class indicator is something that Skeggs names the middleclass' "classing gaze" (Skeggs, 2000:14f). Education is therefore connected to status value; style and taste that you would not get otherwise and it thus becomes an important function in the (re)production of class. An interesting aspect is the gendered context of this; the women bear a crucial role of bringing

this classed taste *into the private sphere of the home* – so the interconnectedness of class and gender is therefore an essential factor in the distinguishing and ordering of classes.

As education is pictured as a crucial class-marker for the girls' future lives and homes, the text also visualizes an alternative shadow future, as a result of not getting an education. The future life of the girl who has to drop out of school and start working is pictured as a situation of hopelessness and despair. She is crying, not necessarily because she enjoys education in itself, but because of the different future she will face. The future of the educated girl, who will not work, but who will use her knowledge for marking the home with a upper class taste is ascribed much more value than that of the un-educated girl that will work. A specific *female* working-class subject position is thus constructed, here her usage of knowledge is tightly tied to her gender and class belonging. Implicitly, education can here also be said to contain (hetero)sexual middle- or upper class values, since it is thought to lead to a future where the family can survive on only one income and thus presuming a certain economic standard and perhaps amount of children.

The sentence “through the education the girls get a good portion of independence and confidence” could also be said to be a matter for the individual, a value in itself, no matter if the girls go on to the labour market or stop working when they get married. It is not described as something bad that they might stop working; this confidence is not primarily connected to the labour market. And the independence must involve a sort of criticalness, since it cannot be about economic independence. Although the gendered subjectivity must be taken into account here: I cannot imagine the situation where the same conditions would be legitimate for a male subjectivity – that knowledge is important no matter going on to the labour market or not.

5.4 “We can perfectly well compare our kitchens with small laboratories, where the chemist-housewife reigns”

Media scientist Karin Nordberg has studied the relationship between *folkbildning* and the Housewives' Education that was broadcasted on the radio during the late 40's and early 50's. Something that Nordberg emphasizes in her research is that there might be need for different definitions of the term *folkbildning* to be able to view the housewives' education as a movement for *bildning* and knowledge (Nordberg, 2001: 65).

As Nordberg explains the need for challenging definitions of *folkbildning*, I elaborate with the concept of *work* when I search for working class women. This, because I have found that the template for “working class” is mainly based on standards for male life. I have studied a publication on the subject of housewife-knowledge called *Reasonable Housework* [Vettigt Hemarbete] which was published by Radiotjänst¹⁵ in conjunction with a series of radio programs called *The Housewife School* [Husmorsskolan], with start in 1949.

The handbook *Reasonable Housework* is an instructive book, where several experts contribute with rules and advices on how housewives can “improve and facilitate their house work and stimulate the interest for new discoveries and experiences...” (1950:10). There is also a large section where housewives have sent in their stories and testimonies from their daily lives. The main focus is on women who work in the home, but in this section some women testify that they also work on the labour market. In studying of the material, there are four main themes that I want to focus on in relation to *bildning*: 1) the “scientification” of the housework, 2) the housewife’s role as a citizen, 3) *bildning* for the housewife’s own sake, and 4) “the past” and “the future” as an important aspect for knowledge.

Scientification of housework

The book title itself sets the tone of the content: “reasonable” [vettigt] is a word into which I read values such as sense, logic, rationality, science, order, rules and standardization. Although it is pointed out that the occupation of the housewife differs from other professional work, it is still clear that the housework is seen as a profession. For example one section in the chapter “The housewife herself” states that:

The external conditions for the work, the sort and amount of tasks, the length of work time, the character of the work place – all such things are within the separate working groups exactly fixed... This is not the case for the domestic work... The housewife profession uptake in many respects an exceptional position. The recruitment for this work does not have its equivalent in any other way. The educational circumstances are unclear... (1950:11-12).

Terms such as “recruitment” and “profession” compares the house work with a formal occupation on the labour market – something that is, throughout the book, tied to the importance of “reasonable” knowledge and competence among the housewives. This form of *bildning* is thus seen as a kind of professional competence, necessary for doing a good job.

¹⁵ Radiotjänst is part of Swedish public service.

The text is very theoretically dense and there is a problematization and a methodical approach that can often be associated with traditional “scientific education”. Throughout the chapters, that cover the housewife herself, the household’s food, working devices and chemical aid and sewing, there are measurements, arithmetic examples, chemical knowledge and formulas, machinery knowledge, illustrative images and manuals, up-to-date research findings, economic cost estimates calculating for example annual cost and operating expenses for kitchen aids. After each chapter there are also discussion questions to problematize the relation between the housewife, the family, the topic of the chapter and society. In the chapter *Chemical aid in the home* Iwan Bolin writes that: “We can perfectly well compare our kitchens with small laboratories, where the chemist-housewife reigns” (ibid:71).

In the back there is also a literature list attached: “Suggestions for specialist literature¹⁶ for housewives” including titles such as “Society and the children”, “Swedish legislation for protection and support for children”, “A Swedish citizen’s safety from scarcity”, “How to handle your economy”, “Nutrition- and dietics teaching”, “Sickness- and accidental care in the home”, “Children and money” and “Diet, the individual and society” (ibid:189-191).

The term “specialist literature” suggests a specific field competence and a professional identity. The housewife needs specific knowledge to be able to work within the field. This could be viewed as an effort to try to strengthen and uplift the status of the housewife and her work. It could also reflect an effort to try and fit the function of the housewife into an already existing template or model of professional work and thus fill it with labour market value without the housewife actually getting in contact with the labour market. That is, without having to change the gendered private-public division of labour. One reading can also be that, no matter intention, this: rationalization, “scientification”, rationality and progress is *one* coeval example of a modernist discourse that exist now as well and that might take different shapes in different contexts.

Wife, mother, citizen

“Scientificationized” and professionalized as it is, there is still an important difference between the housewife’s knowledge and subject for learning and the equivalent of the traditional *bildning* organization. The knowledge, and the housewife, spoken of in this text are meant to stay in the home and thus not thought to participate in the public sphere. However,

¹⁶ The Swedish translation is “facklitteratur”, where the term “fack” (meaning box, case or drawer) indicated that this literature belongs to a certain scientific area or discipline.

this does not mean that the function of the housewife and her knowledge is not important for society – on the contrary it is presented as crucial for societal stability.

The housewives are self-employed and contribute through their work to the family's breadwinning. Their social position and the formation of their work task and work environment are however fully tied to the man's economic and social position in society (1950:12).

The housewife's knowledge and competence in her profession is thus crucial for making a good job and fill an important function in society, however, the ideal citizenship for women is oriented around the private rather than the public sphere. This also shows through the fact that although some of the women in the text have other occupations as well, and thus work both in another profession and runs their households, it is only the latter that is premiered and presented as the important field for developing knowledge. That such testimonies are shoved away also illustrates the classed aspect of the ideal citizenship for women; only higher class positions allow you to work unpaid in the home – that, which is put forward as the most important.

The material also reflects an image where the private and the public are divided by a clear-cut line. But paradoxically, in parts it also opens up for a problematization and a blurring of those lines. Several times, the women write of the radio, for example the Housewife School series, as a time where they broaden their context and partake in a larger/other space than that of the own home. One listener writes that:

I am not ashamed to read a chapter in a good book while Björn naps after dinner, not every day, but rather often. Moreover, I want to read the daily news paper quite closely and generally keep up with politics and in the cultural pages. Something I usually appreciate a lot, and particularly this year, is the radio feuilleton. Then I darn socks while I listen and enjoy (1950:185-186).

When Nordberg discussed the radio as a medium for *folkbildning* she connects the public sphere/the publicity to the notion of *the modern*. She writes that:

Because the modern has so persistently been tied to the places and the streets, to the public premises and institutions, the home has come to appear as the opposite of the public life (Nordberg, 2001:75).

Here, the radio, or the newspaper, written of by the women as providing *something else*, something beyond that of the home, could be seen as a bridge of a passage *blurring* the borders between private and public life. This could be said no matter if the knowledge, or *bildning*, taking place in these forums primarily touches on matters of house work or on subjects such as politics or culture. But if we are to focus on the house work-knowledge of the

Housewife School, this knowledge is exchanged, discussed and communicated in the semi-public sphere of the radio. Besides the practical expert advices given, the handbook and the radio program is also a meeting point and a place to exchange knowledge and experiences. In other words, it is a knowledge organization, which is the entire foundation of the work of *bildning*.

Her own present, her own future

Even though the knowledge is mainly about house work, there are many stories in the book where housewives seethe of a desire for other knowledge as well. In the piece *Mother of three runs two households* a listener writes down her daily work schedule. It is a hectic work day that starts at 5.30 a.m. and includes caring for the own home and the children, bringing the two youngest children (the youngest being six weeks old) to her employer; another family, presumably from a higher class, where she also takes care of their home and children. The day ends after 8 p.m. when she has taken care of “possible cleaning and washing” of her own. She writes:

Is there a good radio program it is darning of socks or other mending to the last daily news. So, mama gets to relax to a cup of coffee, a real hot footbath and a good book (combined). I borrow books at the public library and seldom read colored weekly press. (Spiritless). Am also very interested in stenography and have learned on my own two years ago (1950:132-133).

Another listener writes that:

I do not want to lose the knowledge that I once have had, but I try to keep some of it alive, simultaneously as I gain new ones in capacity of housewife. Right now e.g. I study English once a week during the autumn and spring (1950:180).

Yet a third one writes that:

Every afternoon when I have done the dishes, I make myself a cup of coffee and read the daily newspaper... I try to keep up my language knowledge and I also willingly read history and fiction. Such things must also have their time... (1950:182-184).

Knowledge outside of the housework is here presented as *something else*; something that does not serve in their current work, but it is something for the sake of their own situation solely. Even though for example the comment about learning stenography could be read as planning for of hoping of a different future life, there is no remarks that there would be a connection between the housewife’s education and a future outside the home, or to society. Instead it is

only described as a value for the situation *here and now*, either for the housewife's satisfaction or for making the housework situation easier in some sense. One listener describes engaging in literature studies as something that keeps her going in her daily work. She writes that:

Eventually we [her and the children] started to read the same books. If every mother knew how fun it is to read children's books and then discuss them with the children! The years passed, and as the children grew older we started reading different authors. It was a lovely relaxation from the work day, the children had sort of unconsciously brought me into the world of literature... those still moments that a housewife during the day indulge in to nurture the soul [is sort of] the oil to all bodily work (1950:116).

It is interesting to note that the temporal aspects change when the knowledge is not set in the traditional, male working class context. Often it is like time has stood still, the housewife and her knowledge is here and now. When there is a future visible the time regards the lives of herself and her family, rather than the progress of society.

But it is not only the future that shows as a temporal figure. In the chapter *Right food in an easy way* Greta Bergström writes of a past heritage that should be passed on to future generations:

The housewife of our time has in fact so much essential to do both within and outside of the home, that she is forced to rationalize also in the area of cooking. Because of this one could wish that also the household education got more modernly oriented... At any rate one longs for an interesting and for all parts worthwhile discussion between housewives, scientists and educators at this point, for the benefit of the housewives of the future who might have even less time on their hands at the kitchen stove... we must with all power try to maintain that food culture we inherited of past generations, a food culture that to a large extent is about to disappear...here we must through housewifely professional knowledge through a positive critique and a declining buyer's attitude speak up, that this does not fit us (1950:25-26).

A clear genealogical narrative takes shape here; it is *us housewives*, a group identification that stretches from the past to the future. This raises interesting questions about *in what ways* and *on what terms* education is viewed as a societal value, as well as what kind of future different groups are associated with. There is the very prominent understanding of a *now*, a present time, placed in between a *known* past (they had a good food culture) and an *unknown* future that one can picture vaguely and most importantly – *affect* through present time action. I find that this can also be seen as a practice of agency. The idea that these women must take action in a certain way for the benefit of tomorrow's housewives and generations ascribes them with a certain political value of being capable of judgment, decision and action. Paradoxical, since

one might say that the knowledge in this context is highly femininely gendered – something that is seldom thought to be for politics, society or public life. Unlike in the rest of the material, where femininely gendered knowledge production (be it the topic or the mere fact that the people involved are women) is something presented in a still time, her own present now, but here genealogical timeline hits with full force: the present time housewife's knowledge matters for the future development. However, the context is still mainly private regarding the housewives themselves and their families. I would like to claim though, that *no matter* context the mere act of imagining oneself as a critical-thinking, reflecting individual or group capable of action and agency is a crucial step for also being able to act as one. You could say that this is expressed through a discourse of political change over time, but in the genealogical context of “us housewives”, where the change stays in the private sphere of the family.

Another interesting understanding of time is illuminated when a listener discusses how to divide the housework in the family, something that affects the spare time and what you can engage in when having time off. She writes that:

The modern man is to be sure no conservative individual but a realistic present time human, who do not reason so, that because the woman has stood by the stove for generations she shall stand there still – even if she cannot cook (1950:172).

In this last passage interesting things are said about time and temporality. The *modern* man is no conservative individual but a realistic *present time human* [nutidsmänniska]. Sitting in present time, reading these lines written in 1949-1950 really illuminates how people in every time period think of their own time as the most up-dated, the most developed where the highest and best values have been reached so far. The development-based and progress-oriented values of modernity are highly visible in the text. Recalling Edenheim's discussion about *making history*, this passage can be viewed as a *fantasy*, or in Edenheim's words “formations of desire” (Edenheim, GFFP, 2013). No matter time period, such fantasies can be viewed as creations to fulfill present-day desires. Intertwined with the modernity story of temporality, as a linear time-line that breathes progress, such fantasies also contribute to making meaning out of the current present time. That is, creating fantasies about past time and future and comparing the present to such temporal fantasies and the values ascribed to each. For example, in the text the listener is imagining a past time man who is conservative and thinks that women should do all the housework and thus not gets the opportunity to engage in other things, such as reading and learning. Through this imaginative figure, that things used to

be worse, a comparison can be made of the present time, and in this case: a present time man with totally different values. Inspired by Edenheim's analysis such a comparison could be said to be a way of dealing with and ease the *trauma* of coeval injustices.

5.5 Summary

I have found that there are also ideas about knowledge and *bildning* as something primarily for the sole individual, one's own inner growth and personal satisfactory, something that I identify as a liberal discourse of individual personality change. I found that this discourse is visible in different times and contexts, challenging the temporal understanding of linear development, turning-points and progress. However, this focus on the individual is almost always accompanied with a focus on societal benefit as well. Here, the future concept plays an important part. Again, not *all* are counted as important in this progress through knowledge into the future. Not all subjectivities are part of this modernist discourse. This is illustrated in writings that deal with housewives and knowledge, where the time perspective is usually either set on the present here and now, or at the very furthest at the individual future of themselves or their families. The housewives are thus not constructed as political subjects for the future of society, although there are interesting takes on the agency of this position when the context is set in the private sphere of the household. I see this as an important illustration of how temporal fantasies are un-ignorable parts or how gendered and classed constructions are made of who has the right to knowledge.

6 | The life competition: “Papers you got to have”

In this chapter I primarily focus on the constructions of the *individual lifeline* in relation to education and the labour market. Here, education comes in as an important factor related to *when* in life one can study and what this knowledge will lead to. I particularly focus on *adult education* for discussing how discursive understandings of competition and future produce gendered working-class subjectivities. I use examples from different times when discussing how a *discourse of competitiveness* is visible in the argument for why certain groups should get to educate themselves. I also discuss how ideas about a *past time* are important for creating “truths” about coeval values.

6.1 Competitiveness on equal terms

In countless articles *competitiveness* is described as the central value of education. Different societal groups that are described as subjected to unjust structural conditions on the labour market; workers, women, female workers, people discriminated because of function, and older generations are primarily described as groups with *low competitive value*. Interestingly there is no direct questioning of structural or institutional reasons for this symptom, but the solution presented is instead that these groups need to increase this value. Thus, they will gain work-related benefits such as higher status, salary and comfort and the key is said to be education.

In the article *Seize the chance when you have it*, in Morgonbris from 1969, administrative officer of the National Labour Market Board¹⁷, Ingeborg Jönsson, encourages women wanting a position on the labour market not to:

...get paralyzed by the insight of the difficulties to get a job and maybe start thinking that when there are so few job openings, those few will go to the men...one should not be so negative but positively strive for making use of the opportunities that are there. Build on and get competitive, when the chances come along! (Morgonbris, 1969: no 1).

The message here is to “seize the chance”. The chance to *compete*. Or rather, to invest in your competitive value and thus improve your odds in the competition that you are expected to participate in. In the context of this article the competition is between men and women as groups on the labor market, competing for work.

¹⁷ Translation of the Sweden specific authority *Arbetsmarknadsstyrelsen*, which was the central authority for labour market issues between 1948 and 2007 (Riksarkivet).

This perspective is stressed in several other articles. In *What about the ones without vocational training?* the signature Eva Olsson writes that:

...there are youths with seven- and eight-year Folkskola, with 9-year elementary school, with vocational school, Upper secondary school, occupational training and folk high school education. There are the older generation with six-year elementary school but with long practical experience of the labour market... and there are the disabled who was not until recently acknowledges and given chances... There are the group women... who after some decades of homework revisit the labour market... education is one of the best means of competition both within and outside our country. For those who have not been given the opportunity to education however, *the competition is not on equal terms* [my emphasis] (Morgonbris, 1967 no 12).

The injustice is described as not getting a fair chance in the competition; the competition is not *on equal terms*. That is, to have the equal amount of what is primarily asked for on the labour market: education. The groups spoken of as the competitors here are primarily younger and older generations, and women working in the home.

The signature *Ingrid* also elucidates the importance of formal education for getting a job. From a critical perspective she writes, in the article *Students may in school bench sit*:

In the current wage debate it is gladly spoken of e.g. teachers' or architectures' indisputable right to charge more – because think of the long education they have gone through! – but then what do the female factory worker have, who since her teenage has acquired more and more skills and become much more usable...is this not education as well?...you try, 40-year old, to compete with a 20-year old, just examined from a childcare-course! Moreover, it does not help you much that you have – by interest – read the same books that she has read...it highlights the already all too deeply rooted approach that, papers, you got to have (Morgonbris, 1969 no 3).

What you get out of education – *its value* – is here presented as *papers*. Papers that will give you advantage in the competition on the labour market. One word I react on is *usable*: the “female factory worker” is described as having become more usable through the skills she has gained through years of working at the factory. The argument is that this person *actually is* usable *despite* the lack of education and since this has to be pointed out, education is assumed to automatically carry usability *in itself*. That is its value. To become usable: able to use. Usable to whom? The text speaks to you as an individual: it is your future. But it is simultaneously the societal arena that is in focus – so for who's benefit and future this actually is might be discussed. In the example of childcare in the article, by the employer, perhaps the municipality or a private family, that looks to buy your work force. Since the example of work experience is also brought up in the text, I also play with the thought of

seeing it the other way around: you stand there with your papers, getting nowhere, because you are stuck in the hopeless circle of “work experience, you got to have”. I note that this argument is written in 1969 and compare this view with the poster from University West from 2015 that profiles their education as “Academic exam & working life experience – at the same time. Get stronger in practice” implying that the knowledge you gain gives you the right papers as well as the right experience for the labour market.

The competition talk is not only present in the readers’ inputs to the debate, or in the articles by the editorial staff. It is also a publically promoted argument presented from the political sphere. To the question *What should we put efforts on politically 1968 and why?* the desk officer Anita Gradin answers:

...the adult education is an important element here if you want to help the “older” work force to compete with the younger also for the well-paid and stimulating jobs...we have 1,5 million people in our country who work full time without ever reaching an annual income at 14.000 kronor¹⁸, that is without any chance of ever reaching the initial salary of the recently graduated academic” (Morgonbris, 1968: no 1).

Here, a distinction is made between different kinds of jobs, understood to be either “well-paid and stimulating jobs” or, I must assume, the opposite; low-paid and un-stimulating jobs. Since it is, in this case, the adult education that will help the “older work force” to compete for those desirable jobs, it is also said that in the current situation this group *can* compete for the less-desirable jobs, whether or not they have education. An interesting remark is also the last sentence, where the injustice is described as not getting the same wage increase through work experience as through an academic education. However, the political claim *is not* to upgrade the value of the work experience no matter academic education, but to *give* the non-educated work force access to what the academics have: an education. The difference in annual income, or the difference in quality of jobs between people with and without academic education is not *in itself* described as unjust. The changes takes place *within* a system that is itself kept intact.

I want to connect this talk of competitiveness for the future with our present time. It is often spoken of that individuality, competitiveness, employability and “marketization” are strong discourses *today* and something that distinctly marks *our* time. This is contrasted with an imagined past, where values such as collectivity and the welfare state are said to dominate. Here however, I find such discursive understandings of competitiveness highly prominent in

¹⁸ At present, 14 000 in the Swedish currency kronor equals approximately 1500 euro. According to *Statistics Sweden* (Statistiska Centralbyrån) the equivalent value today would be approximately 116 650 kronor.

the material from all time periods studied. Expressions, concepts and ideas are so similar: “Give him equal chance” from SSU 1948, “Seize the chance when you have it” from Morgonbris 1969 and “Take this chance” and “Do you want to increase your competitiveness?” from GU 2015: these texts do all speak a discourse of competitiveness. And with another view on time than the linear, chronological one that imagines ‘turning points’ in history and difference and change per definition, this could more easily be understood as ideas that do not necessarily go “out of time” but that rather take different shapes in different contexts. Returning to Nina Lykke’s concept of *parallelities* it is easier to picture time as for example cyclic or re-emerging. With such a view, concepts of past, present and future must get totally different meaning and functions, which could open up for different ways of understanding matters like power, injustices and political change. My point with comparing these two texts from 1969 and 2015 is that I could just as easily have mixed up the different dates of when they were published and would probably have understood them differently. Or they could have been ‘non-time coded’ and I would have no temporal context to place them in. The interesting thing here is not when these arguments were written, but how they use the same way of speaking about education as something filled with opportunities for the future. This also opens up for discussing what such temporal fantasies *do* to the way we can understand certain matters today; for example choice patterns within Upper Secondary School or University. Giving things meaning *only through adding a time date*, like “ah, now I understand! It is written in the 50’s!” closes the door to a widened analysis of how ideas of linearity, progress and development are connected to ideas about why certain subjectivities should have access to knowledge.

6.2 Both means and ends

Alongside the competition value I also find discussions that speak of education as a value for the development of the sole individual. In the contribution *Against reactionary solidification* the signature *Ingrid Levin* argues for an education system without pre-decided programs. She writes that:

Yet you surely hope, that the sheet of our Swedish history, that will tell of the social democracy’s transformation of society in the area of education and schooling, will get pondered in the future society, where it is given that you have a self-determined occupation and where you can just help yourself to the cultural values...Schooling, in a wider sense, should give that richness in nuances to life that must be so that we do not become only knowing people but living individuals (Morgonbris, 1968 no 9).

In this text there is an imagination of a “transformation” from the present situation to another imaginary future society, where the democratization of education has led to a society where anyone could work with what they wish and where “cultural values” are like a free buffet open to all. True, this is said from a structural perspective where an equalization of societal hierarchies is a goal. However, the core value seems to be the benefits for the individual: to be able to do what you like (self-choice) and not get hindered by structures. This is particularly visible in the last sentence about schooling as something more than gaining know-how, but also for becoming a “living individual”. Education is here tied to values such as personal prosperity, a growth taking place *inside* of the individual, making that person *more living*. To gain meaning this must naturally stand in contrast to a person without education, presumably then a *less living* person, not growing inside or gaining personal development. Thus, education is presented both as means and ends: it is a way to the occupation you want, but it is also valuable in itself, giving you the satisfaction to prosper and develop. Be *living*. Regarding gaining access to cultural value, this can be seen from both the perspective of being valuable in itself – implying personal development and stimulation. But it must also be seen from the perspective of *value*. Since value is relational it gains meaning first in relation to something else; it needs matter, a context. I can only gain more cultural value in relation to a lesser counterpart, *without* this value, and thus we are back in the competition argument where education plays the role of means. Of getting me somewhere, ahead of someone else. I read this discussion as a highly liberal discourse: the right to knowledge and education is viewed as something that *the individual* has the right to in capacity of individual, for one’s own sake, rather than something that is part of a collective solution of structural injustices. I also react to how this imagines society; a situation where cultural values and occupations are not class-based is placed in the future. Is this, like in Halberstam’s analysis of the transgender body (the transgender body symbolizing futurity itself) something that is pictured as too un-relatable? Discursive, normative understandings make sense of the phenomena through placing it in another, un-reachable context that is not here and now.

In the article *A new way out in life* in Morgonbris from 1968 the reporter interviews three women who have been re-educated for office occupations. They are all over forty and come from previous work; two from other professions, one from housework. The two from professional work describes the re-education as a positive change, since their earlier work within the industry and as a waitress were too heavy. The third woman says that she is grateful for the re-education that gave her a fun and varied work. The story is illustrated with

a picture of a woman sitting in a chair in her home, doing some kind of needlework or embroidery, gazing down at her work. In all three stories education plays the role of a vehicle to another, more desirable situation than the present. The picture is explained through the text line “Linnea Eriksson sometimes undertakes some work from her old occupation to keep herself busy with in the evenings”. The needlework clearly gets to symbolize a past life, something that she has left behind but now and then take on her spare-time. Education has brought her into another situation, implying a different personal future. There is no explicit mentioning of competition, or getting ahead, neither for a specific group in society or for the mentioned individuals. Yet, without education there would be no leaving of the present situation, meaning that there is already someone in those attractive positions [here: an office occupation] *with* education background. Otherwise also these three women would be able to apply for such a position without going through re-education. The article thus describes some form of competitive reality, even though the main focus of the article is the well-being and benefits for three specific individuals.

6.3 Society’s next investment: the adult worker

In 1969 The Swedish Trade Union Confederation (Landsorganisationen, LO) published a separate print in their journal *The Trade Union movement* (Fackföreningsrörelsen), on account of their series of reports on adult education that the working group LOVUX¹⁹ focused on at this point. The print, named *Also a question of Equality* focuses on LO:s views on the matter of Swedish adult education as a political question. A matter that is dealt with in the text is in what way the adult education is a matter of justice. It is clear that the large focus is to eliminate economic, social and geographical hindrances for adult workers to educate themselves. But *why* these workers should be able to do this seems to be part of something else, something bigger than the sole reason of the individual’s practical possibilities. Both explicitly and implicitly, the life-course of the group in question, the adult workers, are presented as tightly tied to the overall progress and building of society. Under the heading *The adult education will be our next large equality reform* it says that:

The adult education reform will by all accounts be our next large equality reform (LO, 1969:4-5) ... The adult education is, LOVUX sums up, a question of equality simultaneously as it is essential for a continued progression for society (ibid:5)... [Much] speaks for a strong societal investment in adult

¹⁹ LO:s working group for adult education at the time. In Swedish: *LO:s arbetsgrupp för vuxenutbildning*.

studies. The society changes rapidly and our knowledge acquired in youth's school are quickly outdated. We can never gain knowledge that lasts a lifetime... Therefore in a longer perspective...the adult education gets as meaningful for our education standard as the youth's education and the key focus must shift so that the youth- and adult education become two comparable goods (ibid:6).

Here, a clear linear, progress-oriented, development-based time line is drawn up, both outspokenly and more subtle. Expressions such as our *next* large reform, *a continued progression* for society and *a longer perspective* speaks of a time that is not here and now, but the perspective is set on the future society. Educational equality for workers *now* means increased societal values for the future. The matter of class equality in education is often presented as an either-or situation in the material: worker's right to education is either a value for the single worker or for society as a whole. When this future-perspective is added the texts also often lean toward the latter. With a focus set on the progress towards a future society, the "here and now" for the single worker is not the main matter of interest.

That *society changes rapidly*, knowledge is *quickly outdated* and can never *last a lifetime* even further emphasizes the feeling that time passes and what we do now is intended for the future. The text also explains, under the heading *An overall view on adult education* that the purpose of the expanding investments in adult education has been to:

...bridge the education-gap, to give them who for different reasons got an inadequate elementary schooling, possibilities to catch up that head start that today's young and educationally privileged generation got (ibid:11).

Such individual, liberal ideas are apparent in the text: it speaks of *individuals* rather than collectives, groups, classes or structures. The solution is to "give them...possibilities" in retrospect, sort of when "the damage is already made". At the same time, this is written in a left, "red" forum: it is an LO print and there is thus an awareness of workers' conditions – so, is this how one, even the left, can speak of "justice" and "equality" through a liberal discourse?

...and the women

In the general mentioning of "the adult worker" there is no gendering of the subject. Although, there are a lot of other ways in with the groups aimed for adult education are made through formations of class-gender. With the exception of the sentence "If the adult got a 7-year schooling he should be entitled to 50 months study grant" there is never an explicit

gendering of the subject “adult worker”. That is, *until there is*. Until the special, the exceptional has to be pointed out – which illuminated the up-to-then invisible norm.

For example, the LOVUX working group expresses worries that special measurements has to be taken to make sure that the adult education really reaches those in need for it. The authors write that:

Those that now primarily take advantage of the possibilities to further educate themselves are people, who already have a relatively good basic education, while it is harder to get hold of those, that only got a few years schooling behind them... they have no study experience, perhaps they have low self-confidence, they other live ill from a study aspect, they have low income. It takes special attempts to reach these groups as is the case for the handicapped and the women, the LO-report points at (LO, 1969:11).

The entire article, and the whole text for that matter, speaks of the *adult worker* and after a long section of arguing, there is suddenly a short mentioning of “the handicapped and the women”. From this you have to conclude that it was in fact the *male* adult worker that was intended up till then, although this was never explicitly expressed. The Others, those that are not male, are not the primary citizens.

This is also visible in a section of hindrances that stands in the way for adult workers and education. Again, *the adult worker* is mentioned in many ways; *the LO-member, people with short basic schooling, those with low income, those who live on the countryside, the most deprived groups* are some examples. After this it is mentioned that LOVUX “*besides this*” (my emphasis) “...discusses two groups with special need for adult studies, namely handicapped and women”. Here, it becomes clear that those groups; people with functional variations and women, are not seen as adult workers, or the other terms used to describe this group – which is after all, the main target group of the entire reform.

Also in the images that are used in the text reveals important differences in the presentation and creation of people and groups. Throughout the entire text there are images of male decision-makers in suit and tie that are in different ways important for the political process. There is Olof Palme, at the time Minister of Education, lector Torsten Eliasson, LO ombudsman Tore Karlsson. In the images they are absorbed in discussions, smoking a cigarette, sitting in front of a microphone. There is also one image of a woman in the text. It is a large image of a woman sitting in a sofa, barefoot, with the legs drawn up underneath her.

She has a rather sad expression on her face. The heading says “Ingrid Gunnarsson – it is her the adult education reform is about”. The immediate introduction starts with:

The garment worker Ingrid Gunnarsson, 32 years old and mother of two children, got a 7 year-schooling in her youth. It is her...that the adult education reform shall help to better knowledge, either meant for the work life or for a richer future or both (ibid:3).

She is presented both as a garment worker and also a “mother of two”. Thus, in this workers’ forum, equally important as the fact that she is a worker is the aspect of motherhood. In the representation of the female worker that is, since it is not mentioned whether the men in the texts are fathers. This is a further indicator of the male norm; of “the worker” and in the text in general, since remarking on her motherhood further emphasizes her “otherness”, her divergence from that which is not said elsewhere.

Another interesting aspect in this article is the temporal perspective. Or rather, the lack of it. There is no “longer perspective”, “future society” or “progression” or knowledge that needs to be updated to “last a lifetime”. They do however, mention that Gunnarsson could use the “better knowledge” in her work life – but there is no talk of competition, progress, advancement or even development of her job sector. Time seems to stand still, both from an individual perspective (her career) and from a societal (progress, development and the linear time line). There is no clear connection between Gunnarsson’s further education and society. However, there seems to be *other* reasons for why Gunnarsson should get to engage in further education, as suggested in the text she could use it for “a richer spare time”, which has to be interpreted as something for her own satisfaction, her own personal development. The reasons for the groups that are explicitly mentioned, that is; not the norm groups (in this text perhaps the male, high-functional norms) are *also* presented as reasons for justice, but they are *other* reasons than the ones presented for “the adult worker” (male, high-functional). When those are spoken of, the reasons contracted alongside a future-progress temporal, societal-focused context. The non-norm groups are not, and thus the reasons for justice are built on *other* grounds than the partaking of construction and development of society. Rather than this, the reasons are about justice and well-being of the individual.

6.4 Summary

In this chapter education is presented as something important *in the competition on the labour market* and knowledge is said to give you increased competitive value. I find that there is a clear competition discourse in the material from all times. Two things are worth noticing: 1) It is especially *certain* groups that should gain increased value; that is the groups that are not automatically part of the definition of *workers* – working-class women and “handicaps”. 2) Knowledge *itself* cannot give you this competitive value, but you will need *papers* for getting ahead. This is also quite paradoxical, since “papers for the future” later turns out to mainly regard male, highly functional workers. Here, I also focus on fantasies about *the past* as important for creating “truths” about the own present, for political purposes in coeval time.

71 Conclusions

Sitting at the library it is like I am not alone at the table. The figures that have gradually taken shape in the material are all seated around the table. Wrapped up in the terminology of ghosts and haunting I see them as blurry, translucent-like, black-and-white figures: the male worker who, supplied with knowledge, will partake in the democratic society. The poor, male talent who will be an asset to society and its future. The poorly schooled working-class woman who through courses at the Fogelstad school gains strengthened self-esteem. The unusually knowing housewife who gains confidence as well, but also invests in a ticket to a higher classed personal future. The housewife creating knowledge and science out of her housework and who blurs the boundaries between the private and the public spheres. The adult working woman investing in her competitive value on the labour market. Ingrid Gunnarsson, who “the adult education reform is about” and who might get a richer spare time through education. They are all there. As are the full-color figures of today: the girl in the GU-catalogue, riding in full speed towards The New Her, becoming herself through entering University. The boy uncovering a suit behind his freshman overall, gaining a ticket to a career where a suit is needed through his education. The bullied talent, not getting the attention they deserve *in capacity of* being a talent. These are all subjectivities that are constructed in the argumentation regarding democratized education and who has the right to knowledge.

They are not only constructions intertwined with layers of power relations regarding gender and class. But they are also constructed through specific temporal fantasies and through different ways of doing time: they have different futures and different relations to the future society. Time is never neutral, never just there. On the contrary, it is created. Constructed through an intricate relationship with the mentioned constructions of for example gender, class and nationality. Such constructions are a crucial part of which groups are put forward as important citizens and thus worth investing in for society’s future. This story rests on the idea of development on a linear time line: that time periods succeed each other where *the present* and *the future* represent the highest, most improved values “so far”. I also want to make a point out of the “intertwined-ness” of the temporal and the “group-based” power dynamics. To say that these matters are “mixed” also rests on the idea that they are separable and can exist apart from each other. At least in the context that I have researched, the right to education and knowledge, I do not believe that there is the one without the other. The temporal aspects and particularly modernity’s idea of moving quickly away from the past,

towards the future should be regarded to be as important as any other discursive factor if one wishes to understand the gendered and classed power mechanisms of who should partake in knowledge production.

The general pattern I find throughout the material is that whenever norm- and power subjectivities are the main characters of democratized knowledge, there is a focus on the future and societal progress. When other groups are, there are *different* arguments for why this should be realized. The reason vary from questions like the right to nurturing the soul, to the sake of equal treatment or for a enriched spare time. The common factor seems to be that for those subjectivities the reference to time is always either a present here-and-now, or for the own future, reachable within your own lifetime, as opposed to the larger and longer *societal future*.

Another prominent aspect is that when working with the material it becomes clear that the topic of *bildning*, education and knowledge is tightly tied to understandings about the relationship between *individual* and *society* with reference to *citizen and citizenship*. These understandings are not solid concepts, with ready definitions, just there – but they are constructed in intricate symbioses with different ideas about time. These understandings about time are part of the way we think, part of the way *who has the right to knowledge* can be understood. It is part of the liberal, modern, development discourses through which meaning is created around this issue. And these understandings also create certain *temporal subject positions* that are highly gendered and classed – which create different possibilities for people's movement in and around these positions.

The poor talent, the knowing housewife, the resource weak adult-student. We place them all in the past, they are not alive and it seems like the understanding is that the class-related injustices died with them? Does this haunting, together with the legacy of the welfare state; the ghost that constantly reminds us that *everyone can study*, affect the way we view class and education today? Could this be a present time formation of history, designed for present day desires about how we wish to view our own time? Does this also affect the way we can speak of present injustices? If we can staple class injustices within education to a past time we do not have to face them fully here and now. “Differences” can be put on an individual level, put in an individual backpack even, and dealt with through the more apolitical ‘diversity’ aiming at ‘a mix of people’ and ignoring matter like conflict and power. I believe that working with concepts of ghosts and “hauntology” – or whatever one wants to call it, opens up for *refusing*

to give matters meaning only after placing them on a chronological time-line. Of refusing to view matters from different time as *belonging* to that time, being *stuck* in that time and stop existing just because that “time has passed”. It opens up for an understanding of time that counteracts ideas about differences and turning-points: and that ideas from different times are *particularly* different. This is why I wanted to work with material from different times without that difference in time being the main focus of the thesis.

Instead, we need to start thinking more along lines that counteract the modern timeline of development. Through a more cyclic understanding of time we can also view discourses as mobile over time. Like this: yes, historical perspective do play an important part in Gender Studies – but I think that the tools and possibilities that Gender Studies offer, for example the way *special* analytical tools are often used, provides great conditions for also understanding the power dynamics of time. For example, we talk a lot about spaces, rooms or zones: matters that are important for great analyses of how power is mobile processes, shaped through rhizomes and assemblages. I believe that understandings of time and temporality must be part of this thinking. Like this: I have found that the ways in which we understand time; certain discourses about time, for example a development discourse, a liberal discourse, a modernity discourse are tightly tied to understandings of who has the right to knowledge. Through such discourses several subject positions are also produced, regarding who is important for different times, such as *talent*, *housewife* or *adult worker*. Such subject positions are highly gendered and classed, and they play different parts in *temporal fantasies* of past, present and future. Their role as citizens tie them to different temporal understandings, like; who is important for society, both here and now and for the future? Thus discourses about time are an important part of analyzing how power works.

It is like with the engraving on the statue at Järntorget, which I see again through the tram window going home from the library:

In memory of those who fought for bread, justice and freedom. What they won we inherited. The legacy obliges.

Maybe the legacy is to understand that there is no legacy. Because maybe they are not dead. Maybe they are ghosts, like all the other figures from the past time material. Figures, that allow us to think of time in different ways – ways that can open up for other ways of understanding why some have and some do not have attainable access to knowledge.

For me, this thesis started with a genealogical desire to discuss the intricate relationship between class and education. Involving temporality in the analysis of how power works has provided new, challenging understandings that I wish more feminist research will explore. I guess time will tell.

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Issues from 1936: no 9.

Issues from 1967: no 12.

Issues from 1968: no 1, no 2, no 9.

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Labour Movement Archives and Library**

The Workers' movement's Post-war Program (1944). Stockholm: Victor Petterssons
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Election poster from SSU 1948. *Begåvad men fattig*.

Organization publication by LO, 1969. *Också en jämlikhetsfråga – vuxenutbildningen*.

Appendix 1:

Material

The magazine *Morgonbris*

Issues from 1935

No 1

I cannot read by Knut Lånström

No 4

Housewives of the future – the practical work's renaissance within the school, no signature

Issues from 1968

No 2

A new way out in life – no signature

Issues from 1969

No 1

Seize the chance when you have it – no signature

Material published by political parties and organizations

Talented but poor. Election poster from SSU, 1948.

Also a question of equality – the adult education. Organization publication by LO, 1969.

Other material

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Reasonable housework. Handbook published in connection to *The Housewife School in radio* 1950.

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Poster of University West (Högskolan Väst), 2015

Become you. Catalogue of courses and programs for the Gothenburg University 2015-2016..

"JAG KAN EJ LÄSA"

(YTTRANDE- OCH TRYCKFRIHET! PARTIPROGRAM PUNKT 1.)

Dessa ord avsluta en av de mest allvarliga dikter, som skrivits med samhällsproblemen och det sociala dramat som bakgrund. Dikten, till vilken dessa slutord höra, bär titeln: "Vems är skulden?"

Scenen är en domstol, där en tillfångatagen kommunard från Pariskommunen 1871 står tilltalad. Han är anklagad för att ha bränt ett bibliotek. Han har bekänt. Domaren, som själv har omfattande boklig bildning, fasar inför brottet och han vill nu för den anklagade klargöra hela vidden av mordbranden. Domaren talar om, att den anklagade där innebränt sin egen själ, att han skövlut sin egen egendom, sitt eget arv, att han ödelagt skatterna från skilda tidevarv. I lågorna har förnuffet, människoanden sjunkit hop till aska.

"Har icke boken stått beständigt på din sida
de ringes vän, hon gått mot härskarna att strida,
hon talat ljungande, de undanskjutnes tolk,
ett rättens vittnesbörd, bebådande de folk,
som trampa tunga fjät i nattomhöljda öknen,
att morgonrodnaden skall bräcka genom töcknen."

Domaren fortsätter att räkna upp alla de oförlikneliga skatter, den anklagade kommunarden ödelagt med anläggandet av biblioteksbranden. Diktarens ord torna upp sig till en mäktig skildring av människoandens väldiga erövringar för att sammanfattas i en förkrossande slutsats: "Och detta allt har du förstört."

På denna fruktansvärda anklagelse svarar den fängne endast några få ord. Men de orden vända anklagelsen från honom och mot andra.

Det är orden: "Jag kan ej läsa."

De orden förvandla domstolsscenen från ett förhör med en brottsling till ett väldigt socialt drama. "Jag kan ej läsa." Den anklagade kunde inte förstå, vad han gjort. För honom var boken förseglad. Han visste inte, att inom dess pärmar levde mänsklighetens största tankar och drömmar. Han visste inte, att boken var ett vapen i striden mot förtrycket, mot nöden, fattigdomen och orättvisorna, allt detta, mot vilken han själv, kommunarden, rest sig. Han förstod inte, att böckerna voro brandfacklor, mera effektiva i striden mot ett olidligt samhällstillstånd, än vad det bloss var, som han själv slungade in i biblioteket. Bokens värld var en oförstådd, en död värld för honom. Han kunde inte läsa.

I våra dagar och i vårt land skulle inte samma svar kunna ges. Partena i våra sociala strider kunna inte förklara begångna misstag med orden: "Jag kan ej läsa." Läskonsten



EN TYPISK GATUBILD FRÅN STOCKHOLM.
HAN passar alltid på att ivrigt studera tidningsaffischerna under väntan på spårvagnen, men
HON vänder likgiltigt ryggen till och låter tankarna löpa karusell.

är en tillgång för varje medborgare hos oss. Därmed har också var och en nyckeln till den andliga kulturens skattkammare.

Men förstå vi alla att rätt använda denna värdefulla rättighet?

Frågan kan och bör ställas, inte bara med tanke på boken, utan kanske i ännu högre grad med tanke på tidningen. Tidningen är, kan man säga, vår vardagskost. Tidningsläsare äro vi alla. Vi äro väl också som regel dagliga tidningsläsare. Tidningen förmedlar det mesta av vår kunskap om världen och händelserna omkring oss. Tidningen ger oss en lämplig portion nyheter om, vad som tilldragit sig i världen under det senaste dygnet. Den berättar om nya uppfinningar, om tekniska framgångar, om industriella nydaningar. Den talar om sociala strävanden och politiska planer. Öppet eller försätligt berättar den oss om striden mellan framstegets krafter och stillaständets intressen, om härgången mellan är och bör. Den talar om olyckor och brott, om glada händelser och familjeskvaler. Tidningen, om den är en god tidning,



»Man höll tydligen på med den egna sommarutstyrelsen.»

FRAMTIDENS HUSMÖDRAR DET PRAKTISKA ARBETETS RENÄSSANS INOM SKOLAN

För de flesta flickor i folkskolan står det väl som ett lockande mål att få fortsätta läsa och "ta realen". Man käxar på far och mor, tills de ger med sig, trots att ett sådant medgivande innebär den största uppoffring från deras sida samt fortsatt slit och släp under ännu många år, just när de som bäst skulle behövt barnens bidrag till försörjningen. Men de förstår å andra sidan så väl, vilket viktigt steg uppåt

En hel del mammor ha vänt sig till Morgonbris och frågat hur de skulle ordna för sina döttrar, vilka utbildningsmöjligheter det finns för dessa. Detta har föranlett Morgonbris att göra en inventering på skolområdet. Men vi presentera här Stockholms Stads Hushållstekniska Mellanskola även som ett led i vår propaganda för yrkesutbildning åt hemmens kvinnor, mödrarna och husmödrarna.

i samhället en högre skolbildning utgör, och så har då Karin eller Greta fått ta sin realskolexamen och fått sätta den grå sammetsmössan, denna bildningens åtrådda symbol, på sitt ljuslockiga huvud för att med stora förhoppningar gå ut i världen. En "fin" plats på kontor har i allmänhet hägrat för dem, ty ett praktiskt arbete har de ej ansett stå i nivå med den högre bildningsgraden. Men tusen-

En ny väg ut i livet

Omskolningen har blivit hoppet för dem som blivit utan arbete. De som permitteras och fått genomgå omskolning får i regel tryggare och bättre anställning än den de hade förut. Av dem som slutade arbetsmarknadsutbildning under våren 1967 var det endast 6,4 procent som kvarstod som arbetssökande i oktober. De flesta har alltså fått jobb. Vi har en stor trygghet. I den nya budgeten börjar man förverkliga det näringspolitiska program, som antogs vid extra partikongressen. Där anges bl. a. en fördubbling av omskolningskurserna. Antalet elevplatser som 1966/67 var 58.000 skall ökas till 80.000. För övrigt föreslås en halv miljard kronor i ökad satsning på arbetsmarknadspolitiken. Den ökningen gäller främst den handikappade arbetskraftens sysselsättningsmöjligheter, omskolningen och stödet åt äldre arbetskraft. Det är alltså mycket stora ting som regeringen kommer med detta år.

Hur uppfattar de omskolade sin situation? Vi har talat med tre kvinnor, som omskolats till kontorsyrket och låter dem själva berätta:

Gerd Schynning har varit servitris i 17 år. Men det arbetet är tungt, hon är 54 år och orkade inte längre. Då fick hon gå en omskolningskurs och fick därefter en kontorsplats. — Jag trivs bra, säger hon och är glad åt det här.

Linnea Eriksson är 48 år och arbetade på Salenco som presserska, när företaget flyttade från Stockholm. Hon har inte tidigare haft kontorsarbete alltså. — Jag gick 39-veckorskursen, berättar hon och har nu fått ett jobb på Gatukontoret som kanslibiträde. Jag trivs mycket bra. Det är inte så tungt arbete här som det var i konfektion. Det är spännande därför att det är nytt. När jag sökte plats frågade man väl om åldern, men jag fick i alla fall arbete snabbt. Var bara ledig 11 dagar efter kursens slut. Litet knalt var det väl under kurstiden. Jag hade 450 i omskolningsbidrag och så hyresbidrag och 25 kronor i resebidrag. Jag har mindre betalt här än vad jag hade i industrin, 1.256 kronor i månaden, men jag hoppas väl att jag skall få mer så småningom. I industrin hade jag 1.800 kronor.

Fru Berit Jacobsson var hemmafru i 13 år men så tyckte hon, att hon ville ut och arbeta. Flickan hade hunnit bli rätt stor. — Det fanns inte tillräckligt att göra för mig hemma. Jag trivs mycket bra med att arbeta. Det var skojigt att kom-

Linnea Eriksson ätar sig ibland lite jobb i sitt förra yrke att syssla med på kvällarna.



Grip chansen när du har den



Ingeborg Jönsson

Grip chansen medan Du har den! Det är byrådirektör Ingeborg Jönssons i arbetsmarknadsstyrelsen råd till alla kvinnor, som vill ut på arbetsmarknaden nu eller senare. Och chansen i det arbetsmarknadsläge vi har idag, och som kännetecknas av en viss åtstramning, är att förbereda sig för konjunkturuppgången i slutet på året. Man förutser att vi snart kommer tillbaka i den situation som rått mellan 1960—1965 med överfull arbetsmarknad. Under 1960—1965 kom 125.000 kvinnor ut i förvärvsarbete. Med åtstramningen har kvinnorna kommit i kläm. Man kan hysa farhågor för att de blir en arbetskraftsreserv om de ej ser upp. Denna fara ökar!

Den redovisade arbetslösheten är inte så stor i siffror, det rör sig om i september 7.900 kvinnor och den 16 oktober om 8.900. I och för sig är dessa tal inte så höga, men det större problemet är den dolda arbetslösheten. Det har kommit fram i vissa undersökningar att i augusti 139.300 gifta kvinnor ville ha arbete om de kunde fått lämpligt arbete på bostadsorten. För gifta och ogifta sammanslagna var summan 204.000. Man har också gjort undersökningar av, hur det gått med arbetskraften vid strukturrationalisering. Efter två nedlagda textilföretag fanns ett år efter nedläggningen fortfarande 3 procent arbetslösa män men hela 14 procent arbetslösa kvinnor. En arbetsgrupp undersökte Boråsområdet två år efter nedläggning där. Då hade 20 procent av de friställda ännu ej fått arbete. Här har vi påtagliga svårigheter för den äldre arbetskraften och kvinnorna. Varför visar kvinnorna högre procenttal kvarstående arbetslösa? Det är väl så att den kvinnliga arbetskraften inte är så rörlig. Det är också så att den ofta har sämre yrkesutbildning. En rad faktorer medverkar.

Fortsättning på sidan 34

Material published by political parties and organizations

Talented but poor. Election poster from SSU 1948.



(Available at the Labour Movement Archives and Library. For copyright reasons this is the version I publish. The version I analyze in the thesis contains a paint stain on the jacket of the boy in the front and is published online by *Regionarkivet*. See reference list for details.)

Also a question of equality. Organization publication by LO 1969.

Christina Högmark
**Ingrid Gunnarsson - det är
henne vuxenutbildningsrefor-
men gäller**



Arbetsarrörelsens Arkiv
och Bibliotek
Stockholm

Foto: Christina Högmark

Textilarbetaren Ingrid Gunnarsson, 32 år och mor till två barn, fick i sin ungdom en tvåårig skolutbildning. Det är henne och tiotusentals andra vuxna med lika bristfällig utbildning som vuxenutbildningsreformen skall hjälpa till bättre kunskaper, antingen avsedda för yrkeslivet eller för en rikare fritid eller båda delarna.
Skulle Ingrid Gunnarsson idag kunna börja vuxenstudera? Nej, knappast, alltför många hinder ligger i vägen. Men om de förslag som LO:s vuxenutbildningsgrupp lagt fram vinner stämokamraternas önska då kan vuxna, här representerade av Ingrid Gunnarsson, få bättre chanser till vuxenstudier. För innehållet i LO-förslaget redovisar vi på nästa uppslag. Här intervjuas Ingrid Gunnarsson av redaktör Christina Högmark.

□□□ Hon heter Ingrid Gunnarsson, är 32 år och tyglagerska på Wallbergs textillfabrik i Halmstad, tjänar ca 8:00 i timmen, är lackligt och politiskt verksam, bl. a. ställningsansvarig i Textils avd. 33 och sekreterare i Halmstads ABF. Ni såg henne i TV:s storforum om jämlikheten. Det var hon som

— Jag själv har bara sjuårig folkskola. Det vore ett rättviskrav mot alla människor i samhället vilka inte har mer än sex- eller sjuårig skolgång att de fick möjlighet att ta tjänstledigt utan några som helst represaller från arbetsgivare eller vad det var för månader för att kompensera sin dåliga skolgång.

Utänför utbildningssamhället

En av de mer framtänkande konservativa debattörerna skrek då åt henne:
— Men det skulle ju inte gå. Då skulle ju miljontals människor klappa på skolportarna och kräva utbildning.

Ingrid Gunnarsson är vid 32 års ålder, med 35 år kvar i produktivt arbete och mor åt två pojkar, alltså en av de som står utanför utbildningssamhället. Kan hon använda sig av dagens vuxenutbildning?

— Jag orkar inte, svarar hon. Jag är så upptagen av föreningsengagemang att det helt enkelt inte går.

Det får bli ett val. Men jag skulle väldigt gärna vilja studera t. ex. socialpolitik. Jag skulle inte tveka om jag fick chansen att studera på dagtid.

Ingrid orkar och hinner alltså inte. Men hennes arbetskamrater i fabriken då — är de tillräckligt informerade om vuxenutbildningen?

Över huvudet

— Nej, säger Ingrid. Och det värsta är att de, som varit med om att föra fram och betala vår utbildningsreform — en av de bästa och finaste reformer som gjorts — dem går vuxenutbildningen i dag över huvudet på. Större delen av den vuxenutbildning som ges gratis nu ligger ju på en sådan nivå att man måste ha grundskola för att kunna tillgodogöra sig den. Hur många 30- och 40-åringar är det som har mer än sex- eller sjuårig folkskola? De drar sig för att gå till den vanliga skolan och så blir grupperna på grundskolenivå så små att det inte blir någon undervisning. Däremot tror jag att de skulle gå till studieförbunden, som har studier anpassade på ett sätt som passar vuxna. Men studieförbunden får inte samma ersättning av staten för vuxenstudier som den kommunala skolan, och på så sätt får vi som är lågavknäda betala för att nå upp till den kunskapsnivå, där samhället ger vuxenutbildning. Den luckan måste fyllas igen.

Resultatet blir, att de som är vana att läsa tillgodogör sig vuxenutbildningen och inte de människor som det ur jämlikhetsynpunkt är angelägnast att nå, säger Ingrid.

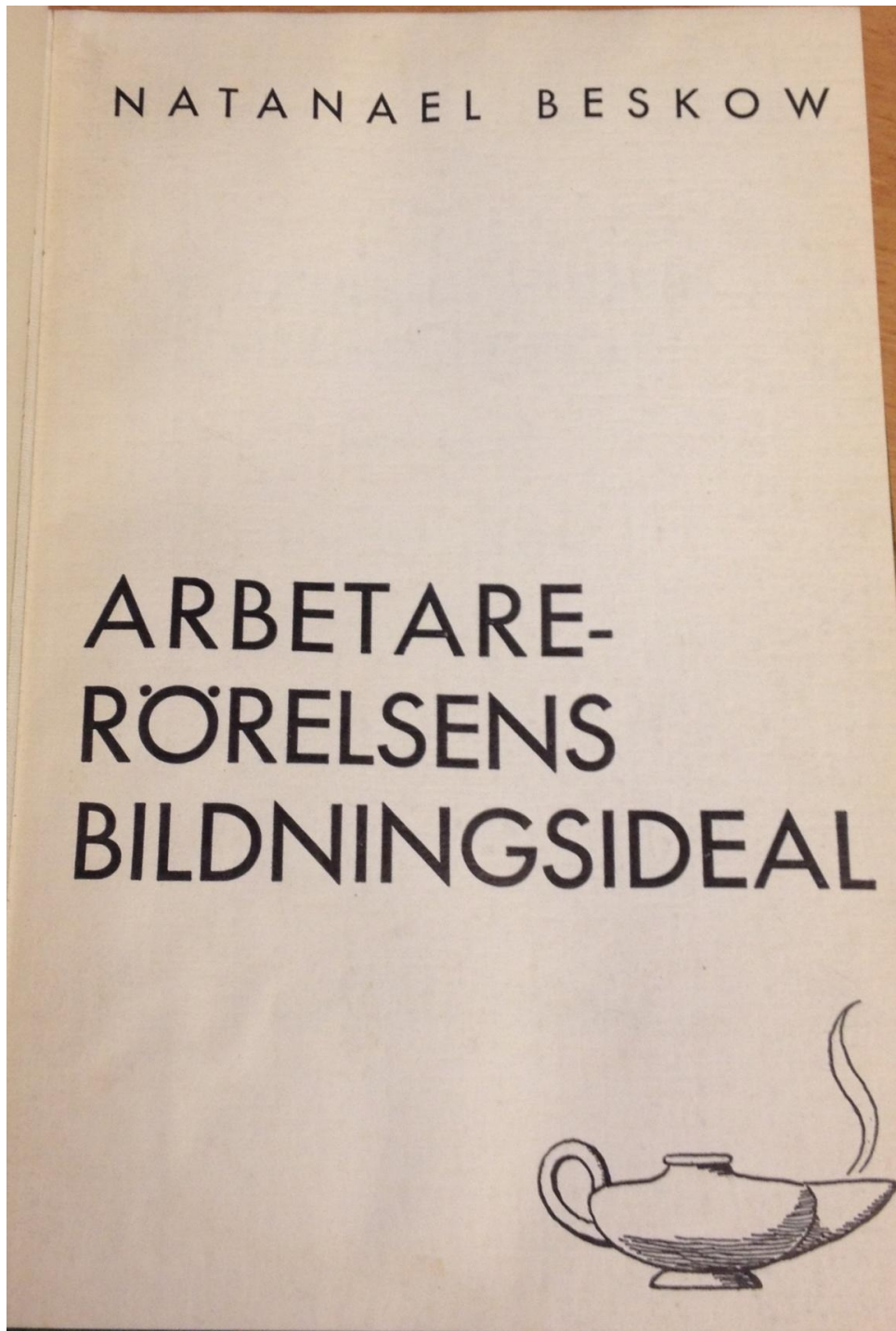
Arbetare utestängs

Ingrid Gunnarsson kan med all rätt fråga sig: Ska vi ordna en vuxenutbildning så att även hon och hennes arbetskamrater kan orka och få en möjlighet att tillgodogöra sig den? Eller ska vi fortsätta att lägga den på en nivå som förutsätter grundskola och därmed utesluter så gott som alla som är över 30 år och som vi kallar arbetare?

• Det är ett rättviskrav mot alla människor i samhället som inte får mer än sex- eller sjuårig folkskola för en chans till vuxenstudier för att kompensera sin dåliga skolgång, säger Ingrid Gunnarsson, textilarbetare i Halmstad.

Other material

The Workers' Movements Learning Ideals 1935



Reasonable housework.. Handbook published in connection to The Housewife School in radio 1950



Förslag till facklitteratur för husmödrar

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Hemkunskap. K. F. 1948. 6 kr., inb. 8 kr.

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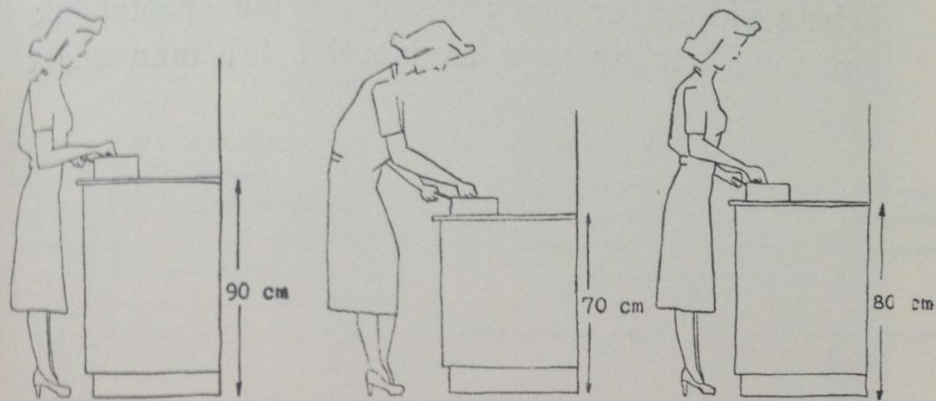
Klarin, Edith, & Abramson, Ernst, Mat som är värd sitt pris. 1948. 1 kr.

TVÄTT:

Kemisk tvätt i hemmet. Aktiv hushållning 1948. 30 öre.

Nordlund, Greta, Ekonomisk hemtvätt. 75 öre.

det är inte alltid särskilt praktiskt. Om man satt och diskade skulle det bli besvärligt att nå allting

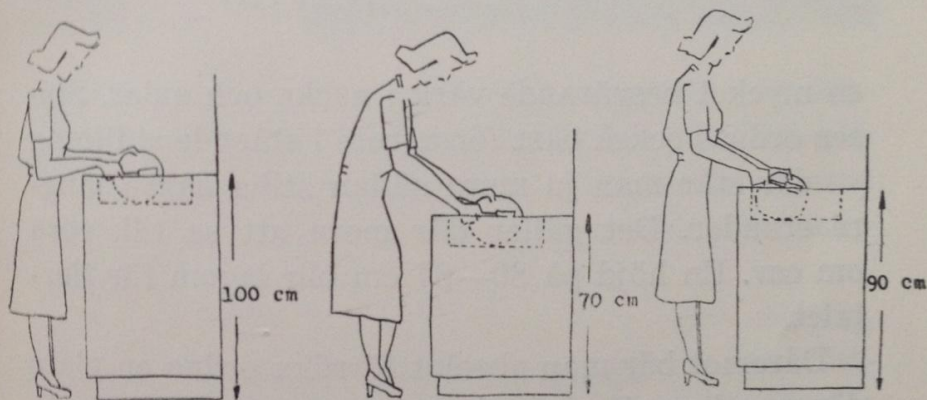


För högt.

För lågt.

Lagom.

Bild 1. Spisens höjd bör vara 80—85 cm. Det är lika oönskvärdt om den är för låg som om den är för hög.



För högt.

För lågt.

Lagom.

Bild 2. Vid diskning i nedsänkta disklådor, som är ca 16 cm djupa, har 90 cm visat sig vara en lämplig höjd för de flesta husmödrar.

utan att sträcka sig — smutsig disk, disk- och sköljbalja, torkställ och stjälpitor — och det är bättre att ordna för stående ställning. Bild 1 och 2 visar vilken ställning som är lämplig och vil-

visserligen inte är någon maskin men ändå får komma med i detta sammanhang.

Assistenten blandar, knådar, mosar, rör, vispar, tvättar potatis, mal, passerar, stoppar korv och river. Den är försedd med olika delar som monterats på för olika arbetsmoment.

En Assistent kostar nu (1949) kontant 340 kr. minus 2 % kassarabatt = 333:20. På avbetalning kostar den 380 kr., varav 30 kr. betalas vid leveransen och sedan 30 kr. per månad. Livstiden för en Assistent beräknas till 15 år om maskinens arbetstid är 2 timmar per vecka. Två års garanti lämnas. Assistent har en effekt av 250 watt.

Årskostnad för Assistent:

1. Avskrivning (340:15) inkl. ränteförlust på nedlagt kapital ca 26:—
 2. Driftkostnader:
El. ström för 2 arbetstimmar per vecka à 1,5 öre per timme (efter ett strömpris av 6 öre per kWh) ca 1:50
- Summa kronor 27:50

Dessutom tillkommer vissa underhållskostnader, ersättning av förslitna delar, kolborstar till motorn, smörjning m.m. Sedan maskinen använts fyra, fem år bör den skickas till fabriken för allmän översyn.

Nya delar som konstruerats förbättrar maskinen och ökar dess användbarhet. Det finns t.ex. nu en ny och mera effektiv rivinsats som man kan anskaffa separat till ett pris av ca 15 kr. till

The Future starts at School, 2015



Link to video: <https://youtu.be/3McG1AiHWEM>



From the GU-course catalogue, 2015-2016.



**HÄR ÄR DET
TILLÅTET ATT
BLI DU.**

På Göteborgs universitet finns det 1600 kurser och 170 program att välja mellan. Här hittar du en studiemiljö som är så öppen och mångsidig att det finns plats för hela dig. Men framför allt finns det en kultur som låter dig utforska, kombinera och hitta nya vägar.

Välkommen till ditt nya jag.

Appendix 2:

Quotes in original language

Dialogue from Fucking Åmål

ELIN

Jag ska bli psykolog, fast ... tror jag i alla fall.

Jessica ger sig in i diskussionen.

JESSICA

Psykolog?

ELIN

Fast jag vet inte vilket program man ska gå då.

JESSICA

(tvivlande)

Ska du bli psykolog?

ELIN

Ja.

JESSICA

Det har du aldrig sagt.

ELIN

Jag behöver väl inte säga allting till dig heller.

JESSICA

Varför vill du bli det då?

ELIN

För att jag vill det.

MARKUS

Ingen chans du kommer in på det. Fattar du vilka betyg man ska ha eller?

ELIN

Och vad fan vet du om det? Är du psykolog eller? Eller hur vet du det annars?

MARKUS

Jag bara vet det. Eller hur Johan?

JOHAN

(osäkert)

Ja, det ... Jag vet inte ... Det är det nog. Det är nog väldigt höga betyg ...

Elin tar bort sin hand från Johans axel.

MARKUS

Inte en chans du kommer in på det.

ELIN

(surt)

Nähä. Då får jag väl bli bilmekaniker i stället då. Det behöver man ju jättehöga betyg för.

MARKUS

Nåt som passar dig. 5,12 ska du ha.

ELIN

Du är ju pinsam.

MARKUS

Vadå pinsam?

Ingen säger något mer. Ett gammalt löv flyger förbi i sandlådan framför dem.

(PP. 115-119)

Quotes from the magazine Morgonbris

Jag kan ej läsa

Din tidning ska visa massorna vägen till ett ljusare, kulturellt rikare liv... Din tidning kan vara fattig, den kanske inte ha möjlighet att följa med det allra sista i tidningarnas tekniska utveckling. Men den måste ha viljan att fostra, uppmuntra, inspirera... ju starkare arbetarpressen är, ju bättre kan också arbetarrörelsen ge uttryck åt sin mening... när denna undan för undan, genom vår medverkan, vinner läsare och spridning, kan den också ännu bättre fylla sin fostrande uppgift... Stora och tragiska händelser i andra länder och hos andra folk ha bjärt belyst vikten av, att också kvinnorna förstå demokratin och skydda den... i ett demokratiskt samhälle måste vi alla handla under ansvar och gå till våra gärningar, utrustade med bästa och mesta möjliga kunskap.

Knut Lånström, 1935 nr 1

Intervju med Alva Myrdal

Man måste gå in för en förbilligad utbildning för alla. Det innebär inte bara att själva undervisningen blir kostnadsfri från småskolan och hela vägen upp till universiteten och därutöver. Begåvade barn ur alla klasser borde få särskilda studiestipendier, som ger dem fritt uppehälle under studietiden. Detta skulle mer än något annat verka som ett klassutjämnande medel... Hela uppfostringsprocessen borde också få en annan inriktning än vad den har nu. Skolan borde fostra barnen till individuella starka kollektivist, ej som nu till en blandning av lydiga, oreflekterande feodalmänniskor och själviska privatkapitalister passande ett förgånget samhällsskick. Skolan måste ha ett socialt mål.

Alva Myrdal citerad, 1935 nr 1

Fogelstadskolan 10 år

... betydelsen av sammanblandningen av människor med och utan högre skolutbildning, och framhåller hur detta påtagligen ger de senare större kurage. Det visar sig nämligen många gånger under studiernas gång, att när det gäller bedömandet av aktuella förhållanden i tiden, så stå inte det praktiska arbetets kvinnor i mogenhets och omdömesförmåga efter dem som ha höga examina. Och att de som ha den mindre skolundervisningen få tillfälle att konstatera detta, måste helt naturligt stärka deras självkänsla, och ge dem mod att framträda.

Hulda Flod intervjuar Horine Hermelin, 1935 nr 1

I bokcirkeln

... privata bokinköp i någon större utsträckning är ju något, som ej kommer ifråga för arbetarhustrun. Och dock är det så värdefullt även för henne att vinna medlemskap i böckernas värld... Problem, som den ensamma husmodern ältat i sin hjärna kanske till leda, bli i böckernas värld belysta och kanhända utredda, åtminstone ställda under debatt...

Signaturen "L.F.C", 1935 nr 8

Framtidens husmödrar

Vilken chans har Greta att göra sig gällande?... Ett examenspapper som visar på högre kunskapsmätt ett viktigt dokument att komma med i konkurrensen på den stora arbetsbörseren... Genom utbildningen får flickorna en god portion självständighet och självförtroende... Det kan ju också hända att de går till hemmen och blir husföreståndarinnor eller hembiträden, men i så fall blir de högt kvalificerade sådana, som nog i mycket skiljer sig från hembiträdeskåren i övrigt. De blir självständigare och förstår att kräva respekt för sig själva och sitt yrke. De vill ha ordnad arbetstid och ordnade arbetsförhållanden och kan över huvud taget tillvarata sina intressen på ett effektivare sätt... Men en stor del av flickorna gifter dig ju förr eller senare. Att de gå blir ovanligt kunniga husmödrar, faller av sig själv... Jag kan ej hjälpa, att jag anser det grymt att ett barns framtid och bildningsmöjligheter så obönhörligt skall vara knutna till föräldrarnas ekonomiska ställning. Hur ofta har det t.ex. inte hänt att en flicka börjat här, men så har hon efter en tid med tårar i ögonen kommit och anmält att hon måste sluta, ty fadern har blivit arbetslös... Hon måste då ge sig ut som springflicka eller något liknande, medan de lyckligare lottade kamraterna får gå kvar, ta sin examen och antagligen gå en helt annan framtid till mötes.

1935 nr 4

Låt oss erkänna även praktisk duglighet

När jag vid avskedet kramade hennes hand, tyckte jag det var sorgligt att landet hade så litet användning för en människa, som kanske en gång hade kunnat hjälpa till med att göra förhållandena bättre och ljusare... Det har ju visat sig åtskilliga gånger att personer med ringa skolunderbyggnad gjort storartade insatser till mänsklighetens nytta... Låt oss försöka få fram de människor vilka har de största förutsättningarna att kunna hjälpa sina medmänniskor, som kunna inspirera och skapa goda medborgare, ty det är väl ytterst på detta som hela samhällets lycka beror.

Signaturen "L.T", 1936 nr 8

Grip chansen när du har den

I en sådan situation är det viktigt, att kvinnorna ej blir förlamade av insikten om svårigheterna att få jobb och kanske också slår in på tankegången, att när det finns så litet arbetstillfällen, skall de som finns gå till männen... Man skall inte vara så negativ utan positivt sträva efter att ta vara på de möjligheter som finns. Bygg på och bli konkurrenskraftig, när chanserna kommer!

Ingeborg Jönsson, 1968 nr 1

Hur går det för dem utan yrkesutbildning?

Det är ungdomar med sju- och åttaårig folkskola, med nioårig grundskola, med fackskola, gymnasium, yrkesutbildning och folkhögskoleutbildning. Där är den äldre generationen med sexårig folkskola men lång praktiskt erfarenhet av arbetsmarknaden, kanske inom både ett och två yrkesområden och där är handikappade som först under senare år uppmärksammas och givits chanser, mer eller mindre, till utbildning och arbete. Där är gruppen kvinnor... som efter några tiotal år av hemarbete åter söker sig ut på arbetsmarknaden ... utbildningen är ett av de bästa konkurrensmedlen både inom och utom vårt land. För dem som inte givits möjlighet till utbildning sker emellertid inte konkurrens på *lika villkor*.

Eva Olsson, 1967 nr 12

Studerande må i skolbänk sitta

I den aktuella lönedebatten talas det gärna om, t.ex. lärares och arkitekters obestridliga rätt till mera betalt – för tänk vilken lång utbildning de har bakom sig! – Men vad har då fabriksarbeterskan, som sedan tonåren förvärvat mer och mer skicklighet och blivit allt mera användbar... är inte detta också utbildning?... Försök du, 40-åring, att konkurrera med en 20-åring, just examinerad från en barnavårdskurs! Det hjälper dig inte mycket att du dessutom har – av intresse – läst samma böcker i barnavård som hon har läst... fördelningen av anslagsmiljonerna innebär en favorisering av skolklasserna och det formella kunskapsinhämtandet. Det understryker den redan alltför hårt rotade inställningen att paper måste man ha...

Ingrid, 1969 nr 3

Vad ska vi satsa på politiskt 1968 och varför

Arbetsmarknadspolitiken måste anpassas och göras så flexibel att den underlättar för de grupper som drabbas speciellt hårt av omställning att de endera får ett nytt arbete genom omskolning eller ges skydd genom trygghetspolitiken. Vuxenutbildningen blir här ett betydande inslag om man vill hjälpa den ”äldre” arbetskraften att konkurrera med de yngre även om de välbetalda och stimulerande jobben... vi har 1,5 miljoner människor i vårt land som arbetar på heltid utan att komma upp till en årsinkomst på 14.000 kr, alltså utan chans att någonsin nå till den nytexaminerade akademikers begynnelselön.

Anita Gradin, 1968 nr 1

Mot reaktionärt stelrande

Ändå hoppas man nog, att det blad i vår svenska historia, som ska berätta om socialdemokratins omvandling av samhället på utbildningens och bildningens område, ska komma att begrundas ibland i det framtida samhället, där det är självklart att man har ett självvalt yrke och där det bara är att ta för sig av de kulturella värdena... Bildningen, i vidare bemärkelse, bör få ge den nyansrikedom åt livet som måste till för att vi inte ska bli enbart kunniga människor utan levande individer.

Ingrid Levin, 1968 nr 9

Quotes from the handbook *Vettigt hemarbete, 1950*

From the chapter *Husmor själv*

De yttre förutsättningarna för arbetet, uppgifternas art och mängd, arbetstidens längd, arbetsplatsens beskaffenhet – alla sådana saker är inom de skilda yrkesgrupperna ganska exakt fastställda... Husmorsyrket intar i många avseenden en särställning. Rekryteringen till detta arbete har inte sin motsvarighet på något annat håll. Utbildningsförhållandena är oklara

Carin Boalt, s. 11-12

Husmödrarna är egna företagare och bidrar genom sitt arbete till familjens försörjning. Deras sociala ställning och utformningen av deras arbetsuppgift och arbetsmiljö hänger dock helt samman men mannens ekonomiska och sociala ställning i samhället

Carin Boalt, s. 12

From the chapter *Rätt mat på lätt sätt*

Vår tids husmor har trots allt så mycket väsentligt att göra både inom och utom hemmet, att hon tvingas rationalisera även på matlagningens område. Därför skulle man önska att även hushållsundervisningen bleve mer modernt inriktad... I varje fall längtar man efter en intressant och för alla parter givande diskussion mellan husmödrar, forskare och undervisare på den punkten, till fromma för framtidens husmödrar, som kanske kommer att ha ännu mindre tid på sig vid köksspisen... vi måste med all makt försöka bevara den matkultur vi ärvt från gångna generationer, en matkultur, som i stor utsträckning håller på att försvinna... Här måste vi med husmoderlig fackkunskap genom en positiv kritik och en avböjande köparattityd säga ifrån, att detta inte passar oss.

Greta Bergström, s. 25-26

From the chapter *Så har vi det*

Jag skäms inte för att läsa något kapitel i en bra bok medan Björn sover middag, inte varje dag, men ganska ofta. Dessutom vill jag läsa dagstidningen ganska väl och följa med i stora drag i politiken och på kultursidorna. Något som jag uppskattar mycket i vanliga fall, och i år i synnerhet är radioföljetongen. Då stoppar jag strumpor medan jag lyssnar och njuter (185-86).

*

Är det bra radioprogram blir det strumpstoppling eller annan lagning till sista dagsnyheterna. Så får mamma koppla av vid en kopp kaffe, ett jättevarmt fotbad och en bra bok (kombinerat). Lånar böcker på folkbiblioteket och läser sällan kolorerad veckopress. (Andefattigt). Är även mycket intresserad av stenografi och har lärt mig på egen hand för två år sedan (132-33).

*

Jag vill inte förlora de kunskaper som jag en gång haft, utan försöka hålla en del av dem vid liv, samtidigt som jag inhämtar nya i min egenskap av husmor. Just nu läser jag t.ex. engelska en gång i veckan under hösten och våren (180).

*

Varje eftermiddag när jag diskat, kokar jag mig en kopp kaffe och läser dagens tidning... Jag försöker uppehålla mina språkkunskaper och läser också gärna historia och skönlitteratur. Sådana här saker måste också ha sin tid... (182-84).

*

Så småningom började vi [hon och barnen]läsa samma böcker. Om varje mor visste hur roligt det är att läsa barnböcker och sedan diskutera dem med barnen! Åren gick, och allteftersom barnen växte började vi läsa olika författare. Det var en härlig avkoppling från vardagen, barnen hade omedvetet fört mig in i litteraturens värld... de stilla stunder en husmor under dagen unnar sig för att ge själen näring [blir liksom] oljan till allt kroppsligt arbete (116)

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Den moderne mannen är ju ingen konservativ individ utan en realistisk nutidsmänniska, som inte resonerar så, att därför att kvinnan stått vid spisen i generationer så skall hon stå där fortfarande – även om hon inte kan laga mat (172).

Quotes from the publication *Arbetarrörelsens efterkrigsprogram*

Det betyder, att många som saknar läshuvud får en omfattande skolutbildning, medan andra ungdomar med vida bättre förutsättningar inte alls blir i tillfälle att utveckla sina anlag. Det betyder också, att urvalet av personer, som kan användas på ledande poster i produktion och samhällsliv, blir väsentligt mindre tillfredsställande, än vad som skulle vara nödvändigt (s. 115).

För den enskilde är de ekonomiska utbildningshindren desto mer allvarliga, som individens möjligheter att göra sin duglighet gällande numer i allt högre grad beror av hans teoretiska och praktiska utbildning (s. 115-16). De ekonomiska utbildningshindren skall fullständigt brytas upp för all ungdom som har lust och fallenhet att väl tillgodogöra sig en vidareutbildning utöver den allmänna enhetsskolan (s. 117).

[See footnote 11] 1944

Quotes from the collection of essays *Arbetarrörelsens bildningsideal*

Är inte kampen för den ekonomiska makten betydelsefullare än kampen för bildningen? Och kampen för den politiska makten?... Det som eftersträvas måste vara något annat, något på andra sidan om den ekonomiska och politiska makten. Det är möjligheten att leva det högsta och bästa människoliv... Ett högt och ädelt människoliv kommer icke till stånd, om det icke finnes i individerna, i de enskilda människorna (s. 9-10)... Än har det varit den rent egoistiska synpunkten som har härskat: man vill lära sig det som kan hjälpa en att slå sig fram i kampen för tillvaron. Än har det varit samhällsnyttan eller statsnyttans synpunkt: staten behöver ett visst antal ingenjörer, ett visst antal militärer o.s.v.... Även detta ideal medför faran av att karaktärsfostran skjutes åt sidan, att frågan om själslivets fördjupning och själsoch kroppskrafternas harmoniska samspel icke tillräckligt beaktas (s. 19)... Om denna nyttsynpunkt dominerar, är faran nära, att man utbildar ensidiga och osjälvständiga människor... Bildningsarbetets uppgift... måste vara att förhjälpa människorna till en så rik personlig utveckling som möjligt samt att sätta dem i stånd att efter måttet av sina krafter göra sin insats i det mänskliga samarbetet och därigenom intaga sin plats i människogemenskapen (s. 20)... En person är inte bildad, därför att han är professor... Det är möjligt att vara utomordentligt lärd och ändå vara en ohyfsad och rå människa med ett primitivt känsloliv. Då är man inte bildad (s. 21).

Natanael Beskow, 1935

From the daily paper *Metro*

Vissa länder har skolor som är anpassade efter särskilt begåvade elevers personlighet, men i Sverige är det förbjudet då alla skolor måste vara öppna för alla, oavsett begåvning... Vi har månat så mycket om jämlikheten att vi har struntat i att den krossar dem som inte passar in... Begreppet "begåvning" brukar syfta på att man har en särskild kunskap eller färdighet. Om alla har det är det inte en gåva på det sättet. Men så får man inte uttrycka sig. Då kanske någon blir ledsen... först och främst var det angeläget för dem [Skolverket] att slå fast att alla är begåvade. Det säger allt man behöver veta om hur svårt det är att tala om tolerans för högt begåvade individer

Johan Norberg, *Metro* Kolumn 2015-04-30