

nagers, trade unions, politicians (as depicted in other histories of VET, such as Olofsson 2005). Thus, the community was at all times heterogeneous, but heterogeneous in *new* ways in different periods. A closer analysis of this heterogeneity may have shed some more light upon how the figures of thought were configured and re-configured over time.

As to the actors within VET whose roles were affected by changes in pedagogical practices, Broberg has quite a lot to say about teachers, much less about the students. The teacher's role was previously based on strong links to the labour market, local employers and the local community. When the figure of school reorganised education, teachers became functionaries of a school system explicitly detached from production and characterised by the logics of school schedules, by school hierarchies ranking theory before practice, and by norms of systematic learning and evaluation.

School-based VET must nevertheless, Broberg argues, be seen as a kind of hybrid – a unique learning environment and social arena, where intertwinements and decouplings between school and work form a dynamic and contradictory whole. Other studies have shown that actors within the system must re-interpret and even transgress the logic of schooling in order to provide authority and relevance. Thus, teachers combine elements from both work and school settings and engage in various forms of boundary work, e.g. to reconstitute the logic of work in their everyday interaction with students (Berner 1989; 2010).

Finally, how historically and geographically specific is this story? How can these particular thought figures be used – if at all – to understand changes after 1971? Are they valid forever, or do we need other figures to understand what goes on today when apprenticeship is again on the agenda within Swedish VET? These questions point to there being a Swedish bias in the interesting story presented by Broberg. Her approach has given important insights into changing pedagogical practices and priorities within Swedish VET – but can it also be used to understand the historical evolution of other, quite different VET-systems? This is an interesting challenge for future research.

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Nationalism i fredens tjänst: Svenska skolornas fredsförening, fredsföstran och historieundervisning 1919–1939
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Peace is the central issue in this thesis, which Ingela Nilsson defended in the beginning of 2015 at Umeå University. The author examines the peace movement in Sweden in the interwar years, especially the activities of Svenska skolornas fredsförening (Swedish School Peace League, SSF). The utopian aim of this organisation was to create a new type of human being, who could work for a peaceful development in

the world. Ingela Nilsson has examined the attitudes of the peace minded teachers and discusses their relation to nationalism, internationalism, pacifism, history education, and the gender aspect.

The thesis is well structured in 8 chapters: The introductory chapter includes a presentation of the main problem, research questions, theory, important concepts, the source material, methodical aspects and the structure of the book (pp. 11–65), then follows three background chapters: nationalism, peace education and history education 1870–1919 (67–77), SSF's leading persons and their initiatives for a new history education 1919–1939 (81–114), the organisation of SSF activities, members, networking and visions of peace education in a global context (117–74). The following chapter contains an analyses of SSF's views on the relations between nationalism and internationalism (176–221), followed by a chapter on the relationship between nationalism and pacifism (224–82), and finally a chapter on ideology, history education and gender perspectives (285–334). In the last chapter the author brings a summarising and discussing presentation of her findings in relation to the research questions (339–53). As a supplement: an epilogue, a summary in English, sources, literature and two enclosures.

State of the art

The author mentions among others Tomas Englund's research on the development of educational policy (Englund 1986), which at the end of the 19th century up to World War I is characterised as patriarchal with emphasis on national and religious formation. In opposition to this conservative line, liberal and social democratic attitudes became predominant and resulted in a new democratic school law in 1919 with focus on citizenship. The two main orientations challenged each other during the period between the wars, and evidently SSF sympathised with the idea of citizenship-orientation of education in schools.

As history education is one of the key words in the dissertation the author must analyse history education of the interwar years in light of contemporary research on history didactics. The research of Klas-Göran Karlsson, Daniel Lindmark, Carina Rönnqvist, Ulf Zander, Peter Aronsson and

Bengt Schüllerqvist among others is shortly mentioned, and so is the concept 'use of history', with a discussion on its limitations and potentials in relation to the period in question. The formation of a national identity was a vital item for both traditionalists and peace-spokesmen, and therefore history could be conceived as a matter of construction. For example, old war heroes could be supplemented with a description of new moral heroes, who owed their position to peaceful activities.

Henrik Åström Elmersjö's dissertation on the Norden Associations' revision of textbooks (Elmersjö 2013) is shortly mentioned; however his results could have been integrated also in regards to the peace-discussions. The author mentions the Danish governmental committee's examination of schoolbooks at the beginning of the 1930s. The aim of this examination was to detect if the textbooks were peace-friendly and in line with scientific research. It would have been appropriate to refer to the principal arguments in the report, which must have been well known in Swedish school circles. Perhaps there was an intertextual connection to the Swedish strategy for a more peaceful content of schoolbooks? The description of the development of history education in Sweden or elsewhere can only be documented in research of history textbooks. These books are the only sources we have left from the past. One might ask if some teachers were inspired by the peace movement and gave a correction to the textbooks national or even nationalistic orientation. This is a possibility which ought to be discussed; teachers of history might have been just as different as contemporary teachers as demonstrated in Mikael Berg's dissertation (Berg 2014).

Theory and method

World War I did intensify the peace efforts worldwide, not least in Sweden, who for long had avoided participating in warfare. The Swedish advocates of peace considered their country as having a special obligation to contribute to the development of the peace movement. The author's theoretical considerations are relevant. One of the key-concepts is "nationalism", which is understood in line with Benedict Anderson as "imagined communities". In order to assess the development of nationalism

the author makes use of Antonio Gramsci's hegemony concept, which plays a central role when determining the peace-movement's overarching character as part of a national hegemonic or as a counter-hegemonic force.

In the theoretical field Andersson and Gramsci form a fundamental precondition, however these theoretical observations have to be supplemented by some methodical considerations. Ingela Nilsson has chosen a hermeneutical approach, which is quite appropriate. The main task is to interpret and analyse texts from the interwar period, in order to understand what the main actors' intentions were and perhaps be able to understand them better than they understood themselves. To this end she is inspired by Russian theorist Mikhail Bakhtin's approach to analyzing texts. As she writes in the English summary: "I have supplemented a textual analysis of ideas by performing an analysis of this material which considers each text as a dialogue between presupposed and collaborative receivers; a method which helps access the implicit or implied in SSF's texts" (p. 358). The author does not discuss other possible approaches, than the one she has chosen, and of course the reader is looking forward to see what the implications are in praxis. However it would have been appropriate to discuss if it is an authoritative or an internal persuading dialogue she is implying.

Research questions

The first research question deals with the SSF's intentions to further the development of internationalism and pacifism, however those two concepts would conflict with the deep rooted nationalism of the day. The central question is how the league solved this paradox.

The second research question aims at examining the intended content of history education at all levels in Swedish schools. How could the history lessons be organised in order to further internationalism and pacifism without reducing the core content of the traditional national program in which wars, heroes and masculinity were so well established?

The third research question concerns gender. War and defense of the fatherland was a matter for men to handle, and the girls were often seen as peace loving and ca-

ring persons, although many women were active in different types of unions which supported war. Therefore SSF focused on the socialisation of the boys, who should be persuaded to accept and honor heroes with a peaceful deed. SSF had to balance between the two types of heroes, in order to avoid accusations for a feminisation of the boys. Furthermore it was important to create a consciousness which included the peaceful heroes. How did the representatives of SSF, most of them women, argue for the development of a new ideal for masculinity?

These are three important and relevant questions to consider.

Source materials

SSF and the other peace unions did not establish a coherent archive; consequently much of the source material had to be collected from various other archives and places. The source material can be roughly divided into three main categories: Printed pamphlets edited by SSF, speeches made by leaders of SSF (and other peace organisations) and texts made by representatives of SSF and other organisations. The latter were also material intended to be used in connection with the annual celebration of the peace day, 18th of May.

The different kinds of source material might have required different methods or at least some considerations concerning the different backgrounds and provenances. This differentiation does not seem to be included. For example, the teacher unions' journals, which must be supposed to be read by quite many people, compared to a public speech in a specific context. The first types of text might be more in line with Bakhtin's authoritative approach and the latter would have a more persuading form. This differentiation might have brought the reader to a better understanding of the texts.

The main results

SSF had a substantial dilemma in the interwar years: How to balance between "internationalism and pacifism" on the one hand and the deep rooted traditional nationalistic and martial history teaching on the other? The establishment of The League of Nations after World War I gave the peace organisations some support. The world was still structured on the basis of nations, even if they were now to collaborate on a number

of issues, including history education. SSF could refer to the League in order to question the traditional nationalistic history education and suggest a new more international oriented national attitude. The author discusses the different suggestions to conceptualise this new orientation and proposes “moral internationalism”, which definitely had a Christian connotation. The precondition for the development of this moral internationalism was a modification of the traditional nationalistic and martial attitude. The peace organisations aim was to create a synthesis between “good” nationalism and internationalism. In line with the League of Nations they formulated it as unite and supplement. A united fatherland was the precondition for peace among nations. This vision led to a new question: could the new, “true” nationalism be founded on a pacifist ideology?

This central question is discussed in chapter 6. The fundamental precondition for the development of a pacifist consciousness in general and in history education in particular was the realisation of “moral internationalism”, i.e. that mankind developed a consciousness of being world citizens, yet still maintaining their “true” nationalism. Having examined the source material, the author concludes that “pacifism” in SSF ideology first of all indicated that all conflicts should be solved by mediation within the League of Nations or other supranational organisations. Secondly, in the long view they hoped for the creation of a new peace-loving type of human being. The concept of pacifism did not have a hegemonic status in the rhetoric of SSF because of the generally negative connotations of the concept. Could or would a pacifist defend his country or would he act as a traitor? A pacifist could easily find himself in an duty-conflict. Furthermore the concept “pacifist” was not well defined. Should the boys abstain from military service and the use of weapons or just participate in non-violence campaigns? SSF was not decisive on that point, however, “patriotic pacifism” was the concept used, and instead of being in the sense of Gramsci a counter-hegemonic movement, it became only a corrective to the mainstream hegemonic nationalism. This corrective, which is one of the author’s important findings, she rightly refers to as *intra-hegemonic counterforce*: “SSF’s repre-

sentatives continuously kept within the framework of hegemonic nationalism, if not close to the border, and used its normative language” (p. 363).

The second research question concerns history teaching. To what extent did SSF’s international and pacifistic program have any impact on the curriculum and even praxis? The primary school teachers were the most active in SSF compared to the teachers of the upper secondary school. The author does not explain why, however this is of course not easy to clarify. None the less it would have been appropriate to formulate a couple of hypotheses and reflect on the different attitudes to peace unions among the primary and upper secondary teachers.

Just after World War I a reform was implemented in the primary school in Sweden. New political forces – social democrats and liberals – had been able to turn history curriculum in an international, peace-oriented direction. However national history should still be the dominant content, just supplemented by aspects of international history. The author points out that SSF accepted this program, albeit they tried to reduce the descriptions of wars, and accentuate the painful consequences of warfare. The war heroes should not be praised uncritically and new types of peace loving heroes was to be included in the syllabus along with emphasis on cultural history. The thesis does not reveal to what degree those SSF-initiatives were implemented in classes, but indicates their careful rhetoric when speaking about masculinity. Certainly no boy wanted to be called “softy”. She quotes Swedish research in history textbooks in the interwar years and concludes that the results were meagre.

The third research question concerns gender attitudes. To what extent did women’s concepts of war, nationalism, peace, history education and peaceful upbringing influence the policy of SSF? Women did dominate SSF, as founders of the union and its leadership. The author does not systematically compare the attitudes of women to those of the men. The gender part of the thesis is of course very relevant, not only because both sexes were represented in the leadership of the SSF, but also because the messages to youth and teachers were, as the author underline, gender-coded. When analyzing those messages it would be appropriate to include some of the theoretical

statements mentioned on pp. 62–64, in other words to use the potentials of Mikhail Bakhtin, albeit in the theoretical part of the thesis Nilsson clarifies that she “will not carry out a pure or systematic analysis of the SSF-texts in Bakhtin’s sense.” This means that Bakhtin’s theory only intends to be used in a general way, as an inspiration to observe the texts as indirect dialogues between the SSF-authors and the readers of the text, i.e. teachers and the girls and boys in school. This reservation towards the use of theory might restrict the potential answers to the overarching gender research-questions.

To sum up Ingela Nilsson’s thesis is relevant, thorough, and well written. The historiographic references are adequate and well related to the research questions. The theoretical setup is relevant, albeit some aspects could have been utilised more in depth. The empirical basis of the thesis is multifarious and well selected, and the conclusion is convincing. Was the Swedish peace-movement in the interwar years a loser’s case? One of SSF’s main targets was to change the traditional nationalistic history education in schools and replace it with patriotic pacifism; however this does not seem to have been accomplished. In spite of that, Ingela Nilsson argues that Swedish policies that followed World War II, like neutrality and a more democratic concept of citizenship, were rooted in the peace pioneers activities in the interwar years.

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Edited collections and series

Charlotte Appel
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Da læreren holdt skole: Tiden før 1780. Dansk skolehistorie 1: Hverdag, vilkår og visioner gennem 500 år, ed. Charlotte Appel & Ning de Coninck-Smith
Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag
2013, 446 pp.

This first volume of the new five volumes history of education in Denmark covers the period from the Late Middle Ages until about 1780. An abundance of visual illustrations, colour photographs of paintings, etchings, book covers, maps and artefacts of various kinds, make the publication into a book with exceptional aesthetically qualities. It is a book of great beauty. The visuals also carry much information, and much can be learnt from just leafing through the illustrations and reading the explanatory text for each picture. Clearly, the publication is intended for a wide audience of readers, both for scholars in the field and for the general public.

The authors describe the state of the art in Danish historical educational research on this early period - with a few exceptions - as a continuation of Joakim Larsen’s classical account and his narrative of educational development as national progress: from education for a few, to education for the many, organised by the state. In this story line, the 1814 reforms is the significant historical event, and the previous centuries are characterised mainly by the lack of educational provisions. Larsen’s account, and those who have followed his tradition, have primarily focused on educational initiatives from above, generally neglecting initiatives from below, and they talk about “the school”, in the singular, thus downplaying the variety of schools, pupils and teachers that existed at all times.

The ambition of the authors is to rectify this narrative by highlighting educational variety and education initiated from below, from groups of parents and even single families that organised individual tuition in their home. Throughout the period there was a variety of schools catering for different groups. Educational provisions differed