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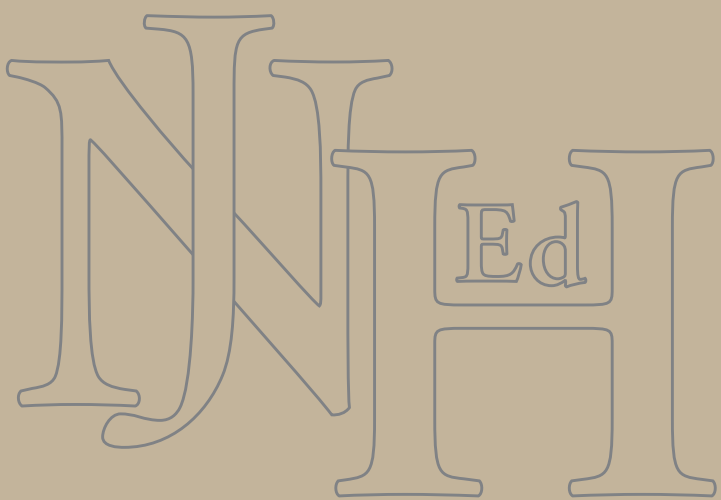

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The *Nordic Journal of Educational History* (NJEdH) is an interdisciplinary international journal dedicated to scholarly excellence in the field of educational history. The journal takes special responsibility for the communication and dissemination of educational history research of particular relevance to the Nordic region (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and political and geographic entities including the Faroe Islands, Greenland, Sápmi and Åland), but welcomes contributions exploring the history of education in all parts of the world. The publishing language is English and the Scandinavian languages. The journal applies a double blind peer review procedure and is accessible to all interested readers (no fees are charged for publication or subscription). The NJEdH publishes articles as soon as they have been through the peer review and copy editing process, adding cumulatively to the content of an open issue each year. Special issues are normally published as the second issue of any given year.

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EDITORIAL

Notes from the Editors

Henrik Åström Elmersjö
Anna Larsson

This is the seventh issue of the *Nordic Journal of Educational History* and it contains three somewhat different articles from the Nordic field of educational history.

The first article presents an analysis of the impact of the school acts of 1814 in Denmark. Written by Christian Larsen, who was one of the authors of the second volume of the very ambitious, five volume series on Danish school-history (*Dansk skolehistorie*, vol. 1–5, 2013–2015), it makes an interesting point outof the fact that five different acts were passed in 1814. The article focuses on how these different acts influenced the local administrations, the establishment and construction of school buildings, and the teacher education needed to realise the intentions of the acts.

In the second article, agricultural historian Karl Bruno discusses the support of higher forestry education in Ethiopia, given by the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences. The article focuses on how the Swedish forestry experts designed progammes and it introduces the concept of "silvi-culture," (a combination of silvicultural and sociocultural aspects) which signifies the tensions given by diverse academic and social cultures. These differences were particularly visible in regards to the Swedish experts' way of seeing the forest as a concrete, physical place, absent from large parts of Ethiopia where the educational programme was to be implemented.

In the third article, historians Björn Furuhagen and Janne Holmén compare the discussions on and implementation of a new teacher education in Finland and Sweden. The authors discuss the similarities and differences regarding the ideals behind the transition to a university based teacher education, the impact of different agents in the discussions, and the outcomes of this transition.

We hope you will enjoy this issue and we wish to remind you of the upcoming seventh Nordic Educational History Conference in Trondheim, Norway, 19–20 September 2018. The theme of the conference will be education and society in change, and it will, apart from a lot of interesting discussions and opportunities to meet other educational historians, result in a special issue of the *Nordic Journal of Educational History*.

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A Diversity of Schools: The Danish School Acts of 1814 and the Emergence of Mass Schooling in Denmark

Christian Larsen

Abstract • During the nineteenth century, national systems of mass schooling were established in western Europe. In Denmark, King Frederik VI passed a set of five schools' laws in 1814: one for the village schools, one for the market town schools, one for Copenhagen, one for the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein and one for Jews, in order to create and regulate a system of mass schooling within his realms. This study aims to analyse the impact of the 1814 School Acts and thereby, the emergence of mass schooling in Denmark in the nineteenth century. Three aspects of the 1814 Acts are analysed in this article: firstly, how a local school administration was established; secondly, how new school buildings were built and thirdly, how a new form of teacher and a new teachers' education was enacted at different stages across the King's realm and countries, and with very different consequences.

Keywords • Mass schooling, school acts, school administration, teacher education, new school buildings

Introduction

In 1780, there were two schools in the parish of Magleby in the southern part of Sealand: one in Magleby and one in Stigsnæs.[1] Combined, the schools had approximately 80 pupils in the 6–15 age-range. Around a quarter of the pupils attended school in Magleby, the rest in Stigsnæs. Søren Pind (1739–1811) was the headmaster at Stigsnæs School. He had no formal teacher training but this was not a requirement. Pind started each day of teaching with a morning hymn from the Lutheran psalmbook and a prayer with the assembled children, who were kneeling during the prayer. At the end of the prayer, he would read a passage from the Bible after which the children would each continue where they had left off in their school books. Not all of the 60 pupils attended every day. During the spring and autumn, in particular, there was much agricultural work to attend to and the children were required to help their farming families. Because of that, many older children rarely attended school, only returning to revise during the winter, before their confirmations.[2]

The article is based on Christian Larsen, Erik Nørr and Pernille Sonne, *Da skolen tog form: 1780–1850* [When Schools Were Shaped: 1780–1850], volume 2 of Ning de Coninck-Smith and Charlotte Appel, eds., "Dansk skolehistorie – hverdag, vilkår og visioner gennem 500 år" [Schools in Denmark: A History of Everyday Life, Conditions, and Visions over 500 Years] (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2013). The project was funded by the Carlsberg Foundation. The author of this article would like to thank his co-authors for permission to use their part of the book for the article, and the peer reviewers for valuable comments on early versions of this article.

1 The following is based on Johs. C. Jessen, *Vester og Øster Flakkebjerg Herreds Skolehistorie* (Copenhagen: ASAs Forlag, 1938), 24–25, 166–70.

2 C. Larsen et al. (2013), 14.

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Returning to southern Sealand 70 years later, an observer of the scholastic conditions of 1780 would have observed great changes. Superficially, there were fine new school buildings. At Stigsnæs, a new school had been built in 1820 after the old building had burnt to the ground. From 1834 to 1871, the teacher at Stignæs was Niels Lerche (1797–1886), who was educated at the teacher training college in Jonstrup. At the school, approximately 80 children were now divided into two classes, the smaller children in the lower class and the older in the upper. The classes had alternating school attendance, as there was only one teacher.[3]

Many of the changes seen at the schools in the Magleby parish can also be observed in the other parts of the Danish realm. In several instances, it is possible to point to specific paragraphs in the Danish School Acts of 1814 as the cause of these similarities. The 1814 school legislation demonstrated a desire to make schools a part of state business for which the government took responsibility; it issued guidelines for nearly all the conditions in a school, from personnel and curricula to buildings and discipline.

Figure 1. The drawing from 1957 is intended to give an impression of the conditions in a rural district school in the beginning of the nineteenth century.
Source: Ejnar Poulsen, Viborg Amts skole- og degnehistorie (Viborg: Ejnar Poulsen, 1957).

Both before and after 1814, however, there were considerable differences between schools attended by children of diverse backgrounds and from different areas. Throughout the period, a fundamental divide between children from the towns and children from the countryside existed. This was the reason that a series of parallel acts were passed, instead of a single school act. Differences included the number of school days and the choice of subjects. Additionally, children of differing social classes seldom attended the same school as the most privileged were educated separately. Gender was the other major separating factor. This was particularly prominent in families who educated their children beyond the elementary level. Boys typically

3 Jessen (1938), 26–27.

attended school for more years than their sisters and were educated in a wider range of subjects at different locations and by different teachers. The future role for girls was marriage; therefore they did not need education beyond an elementary level.

There were also variations between the various realms of the Danish King. The school day was different in the German-speaking and commercially advanced towns of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, as it was on the remote Faroe Islands in the North Atlantic or on the heaths of West Jutland with poor soils. The situation for a teacher at a private school, for the sons of wealthy families in Copenhagen, was quite different from one teaching peasant children on the island of Bornholm or teaching slave children in the Danish West Indies.

In this article, I will highlight and analyse the impact of the 1814 School Acts and thereby the emergence of mass schooling in Denmark in the nineteenth century. Both the general school reforms, as well as the specific implementations during the period 1780–1850, are analysed in order to explain how schools and schooling were shaped.[4] To appreciate these changes and also the relevant contexts in the period 1780–1850, three aspects of the 1814 Acts affecting the daily life of schooling and the emergence of mass schooling are analysed: 1) how a local school administration was built, 2) how new school buildings were built, and 3) how a new form of teacher and a new teachers' education was established. The focus will be on the rural districts, where almost 80 per cent of the population lived.

Two analytical approaches will be used to show how different types of schools have existed and been shaped by people and their surroundings at different times. The *diversity approach* deals with the changing school landscapes and with all the different people involved in everyday school life. In this article, I highlight variations and exceptions in order to show how schooling was experienced and assessed in widely differing ways, depending on where and for whom schools were organised. The *struggle approach* is applied to show how the school was an arena of negotiations and conflicts, nationally and locally. This influenced on organising the local school administration, on the building of new schools, or how to be a good teacher. For example, building new schools was not only a question of economy; it also depended on local traditions, negotiations over the layout of the school building, and conflicts between the local officials and the taxpayers.

In older historical portrayals of the Danish school, the changes in the period from 1780 to 1850 have often been interpreted in the light of two closely related conditions: first, the impact of new educational trends and secondly, the 1814 school legislation.

To a great extent, the history of Danish schools has been seen as a history of progress. In ancient times, there were few schools and they were in a poor condition. However, the 1780s and 1790s brought new ideals and with them, reforms; this resulted in the School Act of 1814 and the creation of a unified, centrally organised Danish school system. In this context, the 1814 School Act, which among other things ruled that all children should have seven years of schooling, became a land-

4 The study is based on a large amount of printed and unprinted materials, see C. Larsen et al. (2013), 357–401, for a more detailed description. The unprinted material emanated, among others, from archives from the *Danske Kancelli*, school directors, school boards and schools, reverends, teacher training colleges, estates, police and reformatories. Among the printed material are contemporary literature and debates, memories and textbooks, as well as Danish and international literature.

mark and the basis of "the Danish public school" (*den danske folkeskole*). This tale got its classic design in school headmaster Joakim Larsen's books on the history of the Danish public school.[5] The 1784–1818 volume is a broad presentation of Danish school history in this period, which, for Larsen, stood as the most central: A unified Danish school system was finally established, the school thereby becoming "the system of which it essentially retains the present days," and when the educational debates was of "enduring importance."[6] Therefore, 1814 was the significant year, above all others, in the history of the Danish public school.

Many have since repeated this interpretation and 1814 has remained the central anniversary of the public school system. Therefore, in many books and articles, the history of Danish schools has been divided into "before" and "after" 1814. The interest focused on school as an institution, with the Act as the phenomenon that created the framework of schooling. Regarding the local conditions for schooling, focus was primarily on when and to what extent local communities managed to implement the statutory provisions. It also meant that children's education organised in other ways – for example, home schooling or small informal private schools – was seen as "wrong," almost by definition.[7]

The history of Danish schools has largely been written as a national story of how 'the Danish people' received its schools. Moreover, many books and articles have emphasised conditions that were common within the Kingdom's borders and across social boundaries, whilst regional and social differences have been downplayed. Finally, older Danish school history has primarily been written 'from above', that is with a focus on those in power, their motives and deeds, with particular interest for individuals who made a difference. Teachers and children generally constituted those groups that were provided with school legislation and resources by the government and the civil service and parents were rarely mentioned at all.

Another form of school history focused on the development of educational ideas. For the period 1780–1850, researchers have particularly highlighted Jean Jacques Rousseau's book *Emile* as an important source of inspiration for other educational thinkers, including J.H. Basedow and J.H. Pestalozzi. These men further developed Rousseau's thoughts on a more child-friendly pedagogy and experimented with different kinds of schools. The new educational vision was seen as the driving force for those who reformed the Danish school system, including the brothers Ludvig and C.D.F. Reventlow, both noble landowners and central political figures.[8]

5 Joakim Larsen, *Bidrag til den danske Folkeskoles Historie 1784–1818* (Copenhagen: V. Thaning & Appel, 1893 – reprinted 1984).

6 J. Larsen 1893/1984, introduction, page 1 ("fordi Folkeskolen i dette Tidsrum modtog den ydre Ordning, som den i Hovedsagen har bevaret til vore Dage […] en Drøftelse af pædagogiske Spørgsmaal, der rummer meget af blivende Betydning").

7 This applies, for example, to *Den Reventlowske Skole i 150 Aar. Skoleliv ved Brahetrolleborg* (Svendborg: Svendborg Amts historiske Samfund, 1933); Hans Kyrre, *Vor Skole, dens Liv og Love* (Copenhagen: Gjellerup, 1933); Aksel H. Nellemann, *Den danske skoles historie* (København: Gjellerup, 1966); Tage Kampmann et al., *Et folk kom i skole 1814–1989* (Copenhagen: Institut for Dansk Skolehistorie, 1989), and Harry Haue et al., *Skolen i Danmark fra 1500-tallet til i dag* (Aarhus: Systime, 1986). These narratives can be found in general works on the history of Denmark, such as Olaf Olsen, ed., *Gyldendal og Politikens Danmarkshistorie* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal & Politikens Forlag, 1986–1992, 2nd ed. 2002–5), volume 9 (Ole Feldbæk, "Den lange fred 1700–1800") and volume 10 (Claus Bjørn, "Fra reaktion til grundlov 1800–1850").

8 K. Grue-Sørensen, *Opdragelsens historie*, 1–2 (Copenhagen: Gyldendals pædagogiske bibliotek, 1956–59).

To a great extent, the main interest in this field of research has revolved around the ideas and phenomena that pointed "forward," while teaching methods, which emerged but since disappeared, did not receive the same attention. A notable exception is the so-called Bell-Lancaster method, which was predominant from the 1820s and the following two decades. However, it is characteristic that the method has often been seen as inappropriate and doomed to failure, perhaps because historians knew that the method was abandoned – and that it was contrary to their own pedagogical ideals.[9]

More recent research has increasingly linked school history along with social development, especially agricultural reforms and the emergence of a stronger state. Some researchers have focused on the state's role as educator of the children, seeing the school and school reforms as the state's instrument of ideological and social disciplining of the subjects. These researchers have wanted to make a stand with the older and more idealising representations of school as something unequivocally positive.[10] Other researchers have shifted the focus away from the major ideologies and instead, studied the interaction between authorities and the local population in daily school life.[11]

In this article, I built on the present research but my approach differs in several respects from the traditional writing of school history in Denmark (seeing the schools from *above*) and is therefore largely based on new studies. Recent international research trends, in addition to the Danish research tradition, have had an impact through the use of, inter alia, micro-historical approaches to highlight the conditions of everyday life and diversity, seeing the schools from *below*.[12] Micro-historical approaches enable us to see how the emergence of mass schooling in Denmark was not a linear process but consisted of a number of parallel processes, where economical, political, and local conditions played a major role in the process of enacting new school Acts and the emergence of mass schooling.

Schooling in 1850 was in many ways similar to the situation in 1780, as Denmark continued to be a patriarchal society with a large contrast between rich and poor,

9 See, for example, J. Larsen (1898/1984), 14–44.

10 Ingrid Markussen, *Visdommens lænke: Studier i enevældens skolereformer fra Reventlow til skolelov* (Odense: Landbohistorisk Selskab, 1988), and *Til skaberens ære, statens tjeneste og vor egen nytte: Pietistiske og kameralistiske idéer bag fremvæksten af en offentlig skole i landdistrikterne i 1700-tallet* (Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag, 1995). Niels Reeh, *Religion and the state of Denmark – state religious politics in the elementary school system from 1721 to 1975* (Ph.D. diss., Copenhagen University, 2006), and *Secularization Revisited: Teaching Religion and the State of Denmark 1721 to 2006* (New York: Springer, 2016).

11 Erik Nørr, *Præst og administrator: Sognepræstens funktioner i lokalforvaltningen på landet fra 1800 til 1841* (Copenhagen: Rigsarkivet, 1981); cf. Erik Nørr, *Pfarrer und Administrator: Die Funktionen des Gemeindepfarrers in der ländlichen Lokalverwaltung 1800–1841* (Copenhagen: Rigsarkivet, 1984); Erik Nørr, *Skolen, præsten og kommunen: Kampen om skolen på landet 1842–1899* (Copenhagen: Jurist- og Økonomforbundet, 1994).

12 See Steve Mintz, *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004); Nicholas Stargardt, *Witnesses of War: Children's Lives under the Nazis* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2005) as examples of diversity in writing history with regards to schools, as well as children's lives. The present article's emphasis on everyday school life is a continuation of the discussion in *Paedagogica Historica* on the history of the school's everyday life and its source material. See Marc Depaepe and Frank Simon, "Is there any Place for 'Education' in the 'History of Education'? A Plea for the History of Everyday Educational Reality in- and outside Schools," *Paedagogica Historica* 31, no. 1 (1995), 9–16, and Marc Depaepe, "The Ten Commandments of Good Practices in History of Education Research," in Marc Depaepe, *Between Educationalization and Appropriation* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2012), 463–70.

men and women.[13] There were, however, major shifts in the social structures, which influenced the development of Danish schools. Some of the most significant changes were related to the agrarian reforms (*landbrugsreformerne*), which introduced new crops, cultivation methods and farmers' responsibility for their own plots.[14] This meant the emergence of a stronger and more independent farmer class, with new needs and expectations of schooling for their children. Agricultural reforms also led to significant productivity gains and thus, better nutritional status and further population growth.

Figure 2. One of the most significant changes related to the agrarian reforms was the dissolution of the old village community and the relocation of the farms into the fields. It also meant longer school journeys for the children. Source: Statens Museum for Kunst, Jens Juel, "En sjællandsk bondegård under et optrækkende uvejr. Eigaard ved Ordrup" (ca. 1793), Copenhagen.

The economy was not characterised by sheer growth. The state went bankrupt in 1813, reflecting the large war expenses from the Napoleonic wars, in particular. Shortly after, an agricultural crisis began, with low prices on the farmers' crops. It produced great challenges for the implementation of the newly adopted School Acts of 1814 as the farmers could not pay schools taxes. The economic cycle turned in the 1830s.[15]

From 1780 to 1850, there were major political, religious and cultural changes. The Enlightenment's optimistic belief in human potential and the desire for secure, better education for the population, especially through schools, was challenged by more

13 C. Larsen et al. (2013), 24–26.

14 There is an extensive literature on the Danish agrarian reforms (*Landboreformerne*). The latest study is Birgit Løgstrup, *Bondens frigørelse: De danske landboreformer 1750–1810* (Copenhagen: Gad, 2015).

15 Ole Feldbæk, *Danmarks økonomiske historie 1500–1840* (Herning: Systime, 1989).

conservative forces. The period also includes shifts from a cult of patriotic virtues and fidelity towards the King within the framework of a composite Oldenburg monarchy to an increasing focus on the love of the mother tongue and the motherland, in a more narrow national sense.[16]

These trends were closely linked to the political changes of this period. From 1660 to 1848, the Danish kings were autocratic rulers and this created considerable continuity. However, there were many changes in the autocratic state apparatus, including major changes to the administrative structures, which were gradually necessitated by agricultural reforms. Schooling was one of several areas – beside relief for the poor – where the state increasingly took on overall responsibility, while local administration expanded. Furthermore, groups of citizens and more prosperous peasants took part in the administration of and debate on schools and community during the 1830s and especially the 1840s, in the printed public debate, the advisory assemblies (*rådgivende stænderforsamlinger*) and not least, in local administration.[17]

The School Acts of 1814

In Denmark, it is common to talk of *the* School Act of 1814; in reality, there were five Acts. Three of these were launched on July 29, 1814. They set the standards for schools in different parts of the country.[18] One concerned the rural districts, another market towns and the third the capital – Copenhagen – in the Kingdom of Denmark. Two other Acts concerned the Jews within the Danish Kingdom[19] and the Danish king's Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein.[20]

Several key elements of the 1814 laws had their roots in the reform period of the 1780s and 1790s with its debates, the 1789 Great School Commission and the 1806 Provisional School Act for the islands of Zealand, Lolland-Falster and Funen.[21] The idea was that the public school system should extend knowledge beyond the Christian scriptures, that school should play a more important role in the lives of all children and that the state should take responsibility for the country's public school system. Experiences gained in earlier reforms of private and the gentry's schools became central to the new thoughts concerning schools.

However, the laws of 1814 cannot simply be understood as late or delayed results of the foresaid reform period. Other agendas had emerged over the years. These con-

16 See Tine Damsholt, *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd: Patriotisk diskurs og militære reformer i Danmark i det sene 1700–tal* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum, 2000); Juliane Engelhardt, *Borgerskab og fællesskab: De patriotiske selskaber i den danske helstat 1769–1814* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum, 2010); Rasmus Glenthøj, *Fælles kultur – forskellige nationaliteter: De borgerlige eliters skabelse af en national identitet i Danmark og Norge 1807–30* (PhD diss., University of Southern Denmark, 2010).

17 Tim Knudsen, *Fra enevælde til folkestyre: Dansk demokratihistorie indtil 1973*, 2nd edition (Copenhagen: Akademisk, 2007), 51–116.

18 C. Larsen et al. (2013), 127–47. The drafts and the final Acts are printed in Joakim Larsen, ed., *Skolelovene af 1814 og deres Tilblivelse, aktmæssigt fremstillet, udgivet i Hundredaaret for Anordningernes Udstedelse* (Copenhagen: J.H. Schultz, 1914).

19 Det Jødiske Frihedsbrev, §§ 14-20, http://danmarkshistorien.dk/leksikon-og-kilder/vis/materiale/det-joediske-frihedsbrev-af-29-marts-1814, January 23, 2017.

20 The School Act for the Duchies of Schleswig and Holsten is printed in Ernst Erichsen and Hermann Sellschopp, ed., *Die allgemeine Schulordnung für die Herzogtümer Schleswig und Holstein vom 24. August 1814* (Kiel: Ferdinand Hirt, 1964), 61–91.

21 C. Larsen et al. (2013), 82–89.

cerned the desire for tackling the poor and uneducated children in urban areas and to control the unchecked school reforms, particularly in the capital. The poor laws of 1799 and 1803 had made schooling compulsory for children in the care of the poor-law authorities. A third important factor was the interest of the state in bringing up loyal subjects, willing and able to defend King and Country. In addition to this, a new understanding of citizenship (*borgerdyd*) and nationhood (*fædrelandskærlighed*) resulted in a greater focus on the need to raise children towards patriotism and loyalty to the absolute monarch. Study trips to model schools abroad, during the preceding decades, the dissemination of foreign pedagogic writings and a widespread production of pedagogic literature must also be seen as important parts of the background to the new legislation.[22]

In several respects, the 1814 agenda differed from the optimistic formulae of the 1780s and 1790s. The cultural and high political tendencies in Europe had contributed to these developments. The optimism of the enlightenment had given way to a more conservative current, influenced, amongst other factors, by the developments in France where the revolutionary Republic had been eclipsed by Napoleon's Empire. In 1805, the Danish Ministry of Justice, Church and Education, *Danske Kancelli*, had rejected the introduction of teaching history, geography, natural science, natural history and mechanics as separate subjects with the reasoning that: "it is to be feared that by going too far in these matters one might remove the peasant from his real occupation."[23]

The final Act, concerning *rural districts*, only referred to farmers (*almuen* or *bønder*), that is not children from other social classes, such as the children of clergymen or landowners. The sons and daughters of the clergy, civil servants, wealthy landowners or manufacturers, could not be satisfied with the common standard of education; they were expected to attain a higher level of education. It would also be unthinkable that the two groups of children should share the same school and daily life. There were differences between people and the general opinion was that this should continue. Finally, it was considered perfectly natural that the wealthy should pay for their own children's education and not avail themselves of the free option.[24]

Similar principles governed the school systems in the *market towns*. The market town Act was prepared in parallel with the rural districts Act and they have similarities. There were, however, some differences. In the largest cities, there should be two kinds of schools: a common school (*borger- eller almueskole*), and a *realskole*. The common schools were meant for the city commoners (*byalmuen*) and corresponded to the rural commoners' schools. The *realskole* had a far more advanced education than the common school and was intended for sons of wealthy city inhabitants. Another important difference was that peasant children had to go to school every other day whilst labour schools were to be organised in the market towns so children without paid work could be kept employed outside school hours.

22 C. Larsen et al. (2013), 128.

23 "da det er at befrygte, at man ved at gaae for vidt i denne Henseende kunde drage Bonden fra sin egentlige Bestemmelse," J. Larsen (1914), 340.

24 C. Larsen et al. (2013), 132–33.

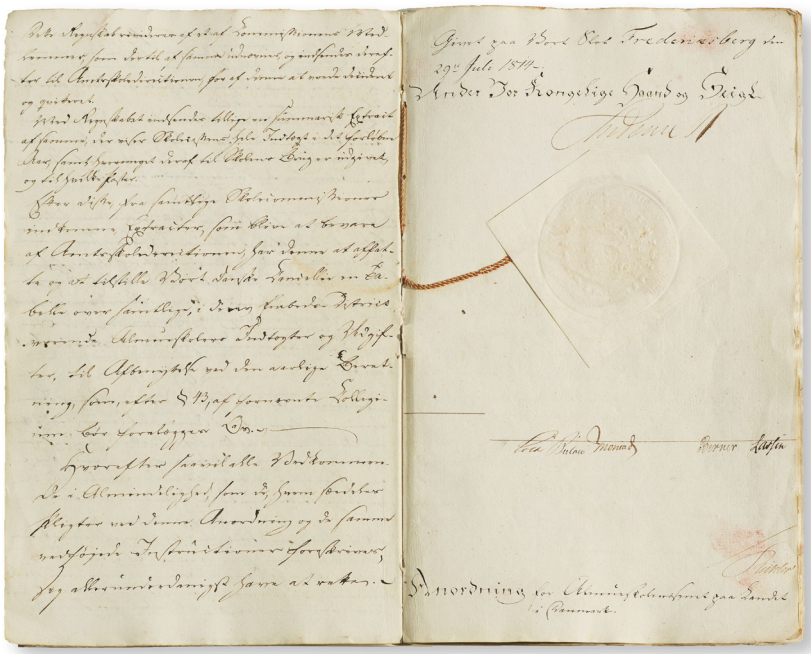

Figure 3. 25 years after the establishment of the Great School Commission, King Frederik could sign the School Acts. Source: Rigsarkivet København, Danske Kancelli, Fællesafdelingen for samtlige departementer, Originale forordninger og plakater etc. 1800–1848, pakke 1814–1821.

The twin goals of education in the rural districts and in the market towns were to be "the dissemination of true religiosity and the promotion of good citizenship"[25] and were reflected in the curriculum: Christianity, reading, writing and arithmetic. History, geography and other useful skills were still to be integrated with instruction in reading and writing.[26] As an innovation, boys were to learn gymnastics if the teacher was able to instruct them in the subject.[27] Gymnastics was intended to prepare the peasant boys for their time as conscripts, partly through physical training and partly to train them to obey commands and to march.

In *Copenhagen*, the capital of the realm, conditions were different to the market towns. Therefore, a board of directors was given the overall responsibility for all city schools.[28] The public schools were to have three classes in contrast to rural and market town schools with two classes, but the third class was not mandatory and school fees were charged.[29] In the public schools, children were moulded into good, educated and hard-working human beings and citizens.[30] However, education should be segregated and with a different curriculum for boys and girls.

The law of March 29, 1814, concerning *Jews*, differed in several respects to the other laws. This Act was more a general definition of the Jewish community's rights

25 "udbrede sand Religiøsitet og fremkalde borgerlige Dyder,"1814 School Act concerning rural districts, preambel, J. Larsen (1914), 414.

26 J. Larsen (1914), 511–12.

27 J. Larsen (1914), 512.

28 J. Larsen (1914), 551.

29 J. Larsen (1914), 552–557.

30 J. Larsen (1914), 552.

and duties and it did not directly refer to education or schooling. It did, however, contain elements that made an oath of loyalty and religious examination a duty for all Jewish youths. The religious examination was in many ways similar to the ritual of confirmation in the state church and required, in the same way, a preparatory education. Seen in this perspective, the Act regarding Jews is just as much a school Act as the previously mentioned school Acts but it made no demands as to how this education should be organised.[31]

Schleswig and Holstein were duchies of the Danish King but were subject to a different constitution, demography, economy and educational traditions than the Kingdom. Therefore, the same law could not be applied here. The new Act, promulgated in Danish and German, applied to burgher schools in the small towns and market towns (or "hamlets" as they were called) and countryside schools. The school Act asserted that the goal of education in rural districts was not merely the teaching of reading, writing and religion, but was also to include necessary and useful skills, especially those appropriate to the children's future as farmers.[32]

Not all parts of the Danish King's realm received new legislation. With the 1813 Treaty of Kiel, Frederick VI ceded the Kingdom of Norway to the King of Sweden. The new Act therefore had no effect in Norway. The original plan was that the legislation should apply to market towns in both countries. On the other hand, it had never been the plan that the act concerning rural schools should also cover the rural districts where daily life was far removed from that in the Danish countryside.[33]

Reform of public schooling in the farthest reaches of the Danish king's territories was also not broached. Schools in the northern territories (Iceland, the Faroes and Greenland) and those in the tropical colonies (in the West Indies, India and Africa) were a widely different phenomenon to those in the heartlands.[34] Therefore, in the lands beyond Copenhagen, 1814 marked no historic change in scholastic conditions.

A new local school administration

The emergence of mass schooling in Denmark depended on many things. However, the institutionalisation of the school, that is creating an organisation to carry out the King's commands, played a central role in this process as it supported the implementation of the Acts.

One of the essential innovations of the 1814 legislation was that the whole organisation of schooling and schools changed and that the responsibility for this passed partially into new hands.[35] A new administrative structure was introduced with local school boards (*skolekommissioner*) consisting of representatives of (the social superior part of) the rural population in the school district (*skoledistrikt*). The *skoledistrikt* was similar to the Swedish *skoldistrikt*, the German *Schulsozietäten* and the American school districts.[36]

31 Det Jødiske Frihedsbrev, §§ 14-20, http://danmarkshistorien.dk/leksikon-og-kilder/vis/materiale/det-joediske-frihedsbrev-af-29-marts-1814.

32 Erichsen and Sellschopp (1964), 73–76.

33 C. Larsen et al. (2013), 145–47.

34 C. Larsen et al. (2013), 275–89.

35 Nørr (1981), 36–67; Larsen et al. (2013), 291–303.

36 Johannes Westberg, *Att bygga ett skolväsende: Folkskolans förutsättningar och framväxt 1840–1900* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2014), 21.

In all school boards there were to be two "school principals" (*skoleforstandere*) appointed from the parishioners by the county school directors. In the 1780s, some of the most active landowners had tried to involve leading parishioners to make them take responsibility for the local school. This was inspired by the system already in place in Norway from 1741. Here "four of the most knowledgeable and best men"[37] in each parish, as well as the sheriff and parish pastor, were responsible for the parish schools. The involvement of the local population seems to have made a difference for both the development of the local school and its legitimacy and connection to the community. At the same time, membership of the commissions conferred experience in school and local politics to new generations. They were granted limited influence, though this did increase after the introduction of local self-government in 1837 and 1841.[38]

A plan for each parish's public schools (*skoleplan*) was to be established by the parish's school board and approved by the *Danske Kancelli*. The plans were to include information on the school districts' size and the number of schools, the teachers who were to conduct the teaching, their salaries, as well as how the expenses of the schools had to be paid. Planning was compulsory but its form varied.[39]

Therefore, each parish gained its own school plan that contributed to the large regional and local variances. The economic downturn from 1813 meant that approval of school plans fell and it was from around 1830 that the first preparation of plans was revived as the economic trends improved for the country's main business, agriculture.[40] In the mid-1830s, 263 parishes or 16 per cent of all Danish parishes did not have a school plan; that is a school plan not yet in force or no plan at all. This applied particularly to the island of Funen and the western part of Jutland.[41]

One of the key tasks for the newly established school boards was to make sure that the children went to school on a regular basis. The school Acts of 1814 reinforced compulsory education (*undervisningspligt*; i.e. a duty to receive education), introduced in 1739. The developments over the following decades show that these laws were perceived and enacted as compulsory school attendance (*skolepligt*, i.e. a duty to go to a school) for the majority; that is children of peasants and labourers.[42]

Schooling was regularly met with opposition from parents and masters who prioritised children's and domestics' work over frequent schooling. They had to get used to the fact that their children's and domestics' schooling was now governed by the Acts, in principle, and that others – teachers, pastors and school boards – had the right and duty to intervene.[43] School absences were a nationwide problem through-

37 "4re af de kyndigste og beste Mænd," 1741 Norwegian school Act, § 2. See Charlotte Appel and Morten Fink-Jensen, *Da læreren holdt skole: Tiden før 1780* (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2013), 214.

38 Nørr (1994); Niels Clemmensen, *Konflikt og konsensus: Det landkommunale selvstyre i Danmark i det 19. århundrede* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanums Forlag, 2011).

39 Larsen et al. (2013), 149–53.

40 Larsen (1898), 45–46.

41 "Most humble report on the state of the schools in Denmark, except Copenhagen," October 20, 1837, The Danish Chancellery, 1 Department. H54-2, Various school reports. Various reports concerning public schools, 1805–37. The Danish National Archives, Copenhagen. C. Larsen et al. (2013), 155–56.

42 C. Larsen et al. (2013), 132–35.

43 C. Larsen et al. (2013), 294–98; Pernille Sonne, "Kampen om børnenes tid : hensynet til arbejdslivet i Almueskoleloven af 1814," *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger* (2015).

out the nineteenth century. If children missed school without a legitimate reason, the school board had to impose a fine (*mulkt*) on the parents or masters. However, within the boards, where parents and employers were represented, there was no clear support to enforce the school Acts' requirement of regular schooling. Several boards did not impose fines or adhered to the lowest fine tariffs, or they ignored children not going regularly to school. As Denmark was struck by an agricultural crisis, the number of fines increased considerably, as the parents needed the children's labour. When the crisis slowly ebbed and there was more wealth, the picture scarcely changed and there were very few fines imposed, compared to the extent of missed school days.[44]

Figure 4. School absences were a nationwide problem in the nineteenth century as work played a major role for most children. In the picture, a boy is on his way across the field with a basket, presumably filled with food to the harvest workers. Source: Statens Museum for Kunst, Lorenz Frølich, "Landskab fra Holmstrup" (1845), Copenhagen.

The institutionalisation laid a good foundation for the local implementation of the school acts in a period where the state only could play a minor role. Placed in Copenhagen – far from the everyday life in the small towns and villages – the state needed the help and support of the local communities. However, local conditions and opposition meant that implementation varied from district to district.

New schools rise over the country – building schoolhouses

Another key element in the emergence of mass schooling – and a major change in everyday school life – was the construction of permanent schoolhouses. Schoolhouses were seen as a precondition for the implementation of the school acts and for securing better conditions for the education of children.

One of the main tasks for the newly established school boards was providing the

44 Det Statistiske Bureau, *Om Almueskolevæsenet paa Landet i Danmark i 1857*, Statistiske Meddelelser 1, række, 5. bind, 3. hæfte (Copenhagen: Det Statistiske Bureau, 1859), 101–2.

parish with one or more schoolhouses. According to the rural district school Act, the classroom should be roomy and there should be at least 2.5 meters from the floor to the beams. Roof, doors and windows should be tight and the windows should be able to be opened. The floor should consist of boards or bricks. The school building should provide the teacher with a "decent room for themselves and family as well as sufficient space for two cows and six sheep, to retain his feed and wood and the procreation from the school's soils."[45] If circumstances permitted it, there should be a small garden for the school teacher, where he could grow vegetables and fruits. The cost of school buildings was to be paid by the parishioners.

In many places in the countryside, there had been adequate school buildings for several generations. These were especially common where the local landowner, or his representative, had seen it as their duty to secure a roof over the heads of teachers and pupils. During the 1720s and particularly in the east of Denmark, a considerable number of schools were constructed; amongst others, King Frederick IV's schools on crown estate (*rytterskoler*). Schools were also constructed in the wake of the school law of 1739.[46] In the 1780s and 1790s, there was another wave of school construction, often in conjunction with school reform on private estates. Other areas had proceeded differently. Here, for example, schools were constructed as an extension of the parish dean's manse, in an old barn or in a vacant building of variable quality. In market towns and in Copenhagen, the buildings occupied by schools also differed widely.[47]

Permanent schoolhouses were prioritised, even in the difficult economic times following state bankruptcy in 1813, and during the 70 years from 1780 to 1850 the vast majority of schools were established in their own buildings. It was a growing expectation that a school was a solid physical place. A survey made by the *Danske Kancelli* in 1836 showed that 605 new rural schools had been built since 1814, along with 305 new classrooms and 857 expansions to existing schools (Table 1). As a result, a quarter of schools were newly-built but the vast majority still stemmed from the 1700s. The construction costs amounted to a total cost of 859,000 *Rigsbankdaler* (rbd) or what corresponded to nearly two years of elementary school expenses. On average, 375 rbd had been used per school; however, this ranged from 657 rbd on the island of Funen with good and rich soils to 199 rbd in the meagre heathlands of West Jutland.[48]

45 "[…] anstændigt Huusrum for sig og Familie samt den fornødne Leilighed til 2 Køer og 6 Faar, saa og til at bevare sit Foder og Brændsel samt den ham tillagte Jords Avling," 1814 school Act concerning rural districts, § 52, J. Larsen (1914), 428.

46 Appel and Fink-Jensen (2013), 177–78, 196–97.

47 C. Larsen et al. (2013), 165–75.

48 "Most humble report on the state of the schools in Denmark, except Copenhagen," October 20, 1837. The Danish Chancellery, 1 Department. H54-2, Various school reports, Various reports concerning public schools, 1805–37, The Danish National Archives, Copenhagen.

Table 1. Rural school buildings, 1836

Diocese of	Number of schools	Newly-built schoolhouses	Newly-built school rooms	Extension to or repair of existing schools	Total construction costs in Rigsbankdaler	Construction cost in Rigsbankdaler per school
Zealand	c. 590	179 (30 %)	35	235	228,047	386
Lolland and Falster	132	38 (28 %)	10	58	57	431
Funen	228	90 (39 %)	52	83	149,993	657
Aalborg (northern part of Jutland)	279	83 (29 %)	48	83	107,173	384
Viborg (central part of Jutland	c. 250	60 (24 %)	29	89	51,255	205
Aarhus (eastern part of Jutland)	c. 430	109 (25 %)	54	189	169,094	393
Ribe (western part of Jutland)	481	50 (10 %)	77	120	96,449	199
	2,290	**609**	**305**	**857**	**859,011**	**375**

Source: "Most humble report on the state of the schools in Denmark, except Copenhagen," October 20, 1837, The Danish Chancellery, 1 Department. H54-2, Various school reports, Various reports concerning public schools, 1805–1837. The Danish National Archives, Copenhagen. The number of rural schools in dioceses of Zealand, Viborg and Aarhus is an estimated number.

The *Danske Kancelli* issued guidelines concerning how to construct a good school building and school boards were responsible for implementing the guidelines. However, the demands met resistance in many places and school boards succeeded in delaying building projects for several years. The Acts of 1814 were instrumental in the emerging uniformity of schoolhouses, followed by architects' sketches of so-called model schools (*modeltegning for mønsterskole*) that were sent out all over the country by the government during the 1820s. The government's so-called model school for the Kingdom was an extension of the school reform in the County of Sorø, in the early 1800s. This was, in turn, based on school reforms on the Crown estates in North Zealand in the 1780s and 1790s, which was an extension of the school reforms of the 1720s. Tradition played a prominent role in the design of the new schools.[49]

49 Architects' sketches of a model school, July 1829, The Danish Chancellery, 1 Department. Case no 1829/1864, The Danish National Archives Copenhagen. C. Larsen et al. (2013), 169–70.

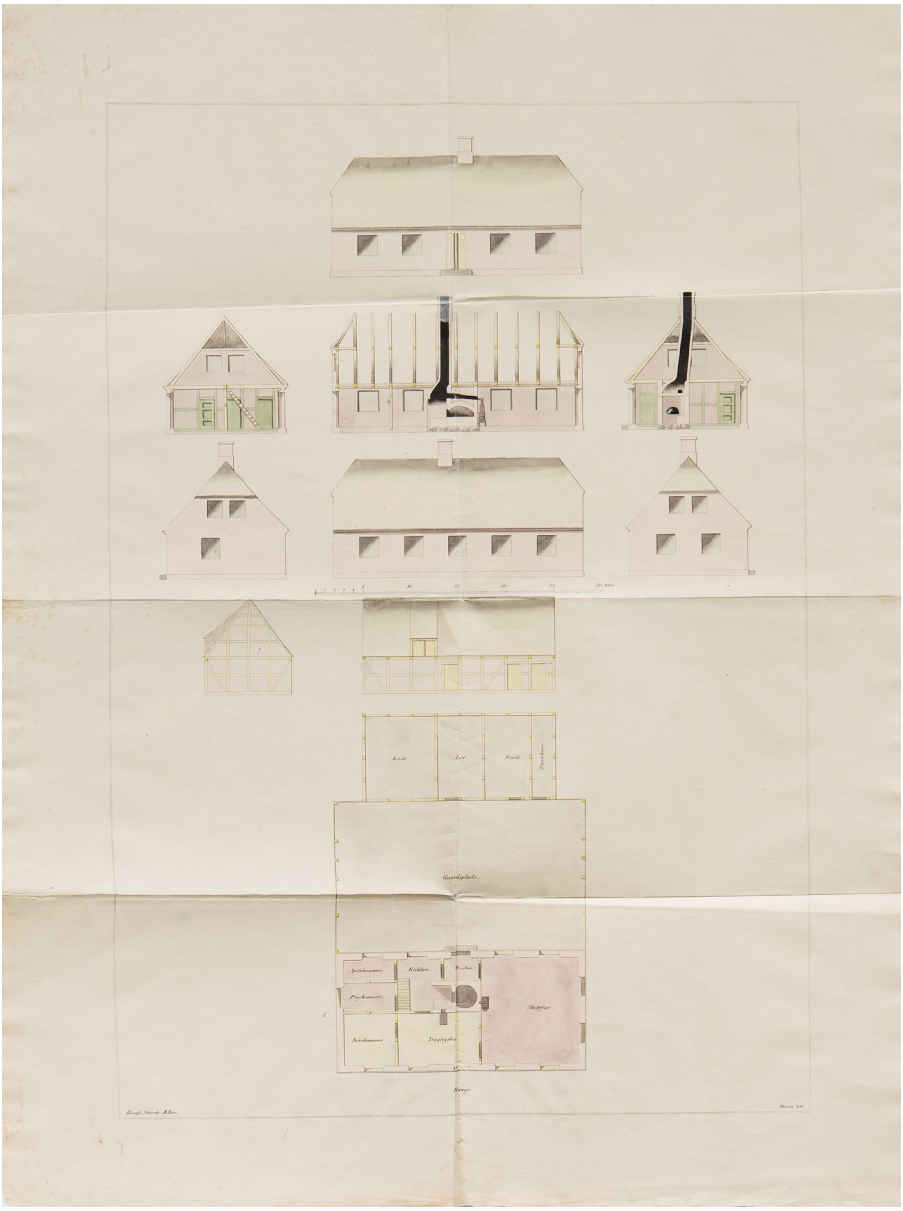

Figure 5. Architects' sketches of so-called model schools were sent out by the government in 1829 in order to secure uniformity of schoolhouses and to minimize building costs. Source: Rigsarkivet København, Danske Kancelli, 1. Departement, Brevsag 1829/1864.

Schoolhouses all over the country began to resemble each other but still with local variations. There were, for example, brick built *rytterskoler* with roof tiles from the 1720s and the new spatial schools from the 1790s on reformers' estates. There were also the older school buildings with a small extension, or newly-constructed schools with clay walls and thatched roofs which looked like the other village smallholdings.

In market towns, the magistrate had to provide school facilities to the town's many children, which was a challenge in the economically hard times after 1813. In some towns, two schools were placed in the same building, or an older, abandoned school building was used again. In other places, the city magistrate had to rent rooms in private buildings. In the western part of Zealand, the school in Slagelse for children of more prosperous parents (*borgerskole* or *betalingsskole*) had its own spacious building whilst the school for the lower classes (*friskole*) was located in rented rooms. In Holbæk, the school occupied a part of a former monastery and in Kalundborg, the school had bought a house of its own.

School buildings were not only a question of economy, but also dependent on the number of pupils and the local building traditions. Disagreement about the scope and method of construction was also common. Was it, for example, really necessary to build a new-fangled gymnastic facility? Negotiations over the layout of a school building, both exterior and interior, is central to the understanding of how schools were understood by the main players, both centrally and in the local communities and also if one wishes to examine tensions between innovation and tradition.

In the middle of the 1850s, there were 2520 rural schools in Denmark. Schools on the islands of Zealand, Lolland-Falster and Funen with a higher degree of population density had (naturally) more pupils than schools in Jutland where the villages and farms could be far apart. On average, there were 80 children per school on the islands but only 53 children per school in Jutland. Also school buildings were larger on the islands in order to accommodate more children. The 1856 School Amendment Act provided 90 cubic feet of air per child. On the islands, 7 per cent of the schools had less than 50 cubic feet compared to 13 per cent of all schools in Jutland.[50]

The construction of permanent schoolhouses was a key element in implementing the King's commands as they gave room for the children's education as well as the teacher's private apartment. At the same time, the structure of a school's permanent physical form had a great effect on its pupils even though there were variations in this form. For nearly all children, school attendance became more regular and lasted for a longer period of their childhood than had been the norm for previous generations. When one spoke of "going to school" in 1850, one referred to attendance at a particular building recognised as such by the whole local community.

Educating new teachers

Finally and not least, the implementation of the school acts depended on well-trained and skilled persons who were able to teach by the ideals set out by the acts. For the supporters of school reforms during the entire period, the education of primary level teachers was paramount if schools were to change and the School Acts were to be implemented throughout all parts of Denmark.

Previously, there had been no specialised education for teachers, even though there had been informal training undertaken by an enthusiastic dean or pastor. According to the school Act of 1739, priests were obliged to not merely supervise the local teachers' teaching but also to instruct the teachers how to teach. Teachers were from widely varying backgrounds. Some were no more than boys who had just left school after confirmation; some were old ladies who oversaw the education of the smaller children. Some were theologians, including many deans who filled the role

50 Det Statistiske Bureau (1859), 86–89.

of teachers in their parishes. Others were clerks, artisans or even former soldiers. In some places, the teacher's pay was so poor that it was difficult to attract and retain good teachers, whilst in other areas the economic conditions were much better.[51]

When the clergy or gentry expressed a wish to reform the school system, focus lay on the teacher from the very beginning, precisely because the majority of schools were dependent on one single teacher and his teaching. The teacher *was* the school. To secure better teachers was therefore seen as the key to changing children's education. The establishment of a formal teacher training from the 1780s onwards changed the role of teachers. In the German-speaking parts of Europe, in the early 1700s, state and church had created a new type of specialised teacher training: teacher training colleges or seminaries (*lærerseminarier*). The idea came to Holstein, a duchy in the Danish realms, and the notion of a special education was formulated in legislation from 1747. The plans were long in preparation, but in 1781, the vice chancellor of the University of Kiel in Holstein, J. A. Cramer, could open a state seminary, inspired by the school thoughts of German philanthropist, F. E. von Rochow.[52] In Copenhagen, Blaagaard State College opened in 1791.[53] The Danish State had thus been given a new type of institution.

In the beginning of the 1800s, two types of colleges had arisen in the Danish realms: the *kiel-blaagaardske* state seminaries and the rectory seminaries (*præstegårdsseminarier*). The colleges in Kiel, on Blaagaard and on Brahetrolleborg in Funen, offered a little longer and somewhat more theoretical training, influenced by Philanthropism and Rationalism. The eight rectory seminaries were set up by enterprising priests in the years 1802–16 and located in the countryside, as there could be quite a distance from the rural villages to a state college. The teachers' training at the rectory colleges was generally shorter and cheaper and took place under close supervision from the priest but there were great similarities, too. In both kinds of seminaries, the teachers were inspired by the new educational trends and focused on giving the future teachers knowledge and specific teaching methods enabling them to teach in Christianity and the basic skills, as well as new and useful skills.[54]

In 1816, a commission was set up consisting of the three oldest principals. There was a great difference in the statutes of the teacher training colleges as they had been formulated for over two decades. The government therefore wanted common rules for the colleges, resulting in the 1818 teacher training college statute (*seminariereglementet*). The colleges should train a religious, modest, practical and thrifty teacher. The future teacher should become accustomed to simplicity in everyday life, so his lifestyle suits the conditions of a teacher in a rural school amongst (other) peasants. The three-year general education should make the teacher able to teach, of course,

51 C. Larsen et al. (2013), 91–93.

52 Karl Knoop, *Zur Geschichte der Lehrerbildung in Schleswig-Holstein: 200 Jahre Lehrerbildung vom Seminar bis zur Pädagogischen Hochschule, 1781–1981* (Husum: Husum Druck- und Verlagsgesellschaft, 1984); Franklin Kopitzsch, "Anfänge der Lehrerausbildung im Zeitalter der Aufklärung in Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg und Lübeck," *IZEBF: Information zur Erziehungs- und Bildungshistorischen Forschung* (1983), 43–64.

53 J. Boisen Schmidt, *Til duelige skoleholderes dannelse: Jonstrup Statsseminarium 1790–1990* (Lyngby: Jonstrups Venner, 1992); Ingrid Markussen, "Læreruddannelsens første tid – 1791 til ca. 1830," in Karen Braad et al., *- for at blive en god lærer: Seminarier i to århundreder* (Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag, 2005), 17–130.

54 C. Larsen et al. (2013), 101–7.

Figure 6. In addition to teaching, the teacher assisted the local community with applications and letters as seen in this picture by Moritz Unna: "A schoolmaster reads to a old couple a letter from their son abroad." Source: Statens Museum for Kunst, Moritz Unna, "En skolemester forelæser et par gamle folk et brev fra deres søn i udlandet" (1835), Copenhagen.

but also to act as a people's teacher (*folkelærer*) by communicating his knowledge for the benefit of the residents of the school district.[55]

In the beginning, the seminary educated teachers (*seminarister*) were the objects of criticism. The clergy worried that the new teachers were not sufficiently humble and that they would be truculent and self-important towards their superior, the pastor. In addition, the new teachers and their more theoretical and pedagogic backgrounds became a target for those who feared that too much education would lead to dissatisfaction and social unrest.[56]

Seminaries not only equipped young men with new knowledge and pedagogic methodology. They also gave them a shared identity, education and formed friendships and social networks. There were, however, still great differences within the teaching profession, regarding pay,[57] social status and culture between rural schools,

55 Christian Larsen, "Nedlæggelser og stilstand. Læreruddannelsen ca. 1820 til 1860," in Karen Braad et al., *- for at blive en god lærer: Seminarier i to århundreder* (Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag, 2005), 133–36.

56 C. Larsen et al. (2013), 99–101.

57 J. Larsen (1898), 81; Nørr (1981), 98–106, for rural teachers' salaries; for teachers' salaries in the Duchies see Claus-Hinrich Offen, "Zur wirtschaftlichen Situation der schleswig-holsteinischen Volksschullehrer in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts," in Franklin Kopitzsch (hersg.), *Erziehungs- und Bildungsgeschichte Schleswig-Holsteins von der Aufklärung bis zum Kaiserreich* (Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1981), 115–47.

those in market towns and the schools and private schools in the cities. There was also a legion of teachers' wives, mothers and female teachers, not covered by the laws, but who made up a large part of the collective teaching profession.

Table 2. Teachers at rural and market towns schools, 1836

Diocese of	Number of rural teachers positions	Newly created rural teacher positions	Teachers educated at a teacher training college	Number of teachers in market towns	Teachers in market towns with no formal education
Zealand	587	83	80 %	58	14 %
Lolland and Falster	244	32	87 %	37	14 %
Funen	133	16	92 %	15	7 %
Aalborg (northern part of Jutland)	275	41	43 %	18	28 %
Viborg (central part of Jutland	250	47	40 %	6	17 %
Aarhus (eastern part of Jutland)	423	73	61 %	30	20 %
Ribe (western part of Jutland)	438	53	43 %	26	8 %
	2,350	**345**	**62 %**	**190**	**15 %**

Source: "Most humble report on the state of the schools in Denmark, except Copenhagen," October 20, 1837, The Danish Chancellery, 1 Department. H54-2, Various school reports, Various reports concerning public schools, 1805–37, The Danish National Archives, Copenhagen.

Since 1790, the old parish clerk offices had been replaced with college-educated teachers. However, these offices could only be abolished as the local clerks passed away. Almost three decades passed before the last of them died. In the aftermath of the state bankruptcy of 1813, it was somewhat difficult to attract college-educated teachers for poorly paid offices in Jutland, for example. Many of the new teachers would rather be tutors in private homes in market towns or at an estate where the pay was better and where the teacher did not have to live among peasants.[58] A report from 1836 showed that 40 per cent of all teachers did not have a formal education; it was especially the case in great parts of Jutland (Table 2).[59] In 1850, 20 per cent of rural teachers were still lacking a formal education.[60]

58 C. Larsen et al. (2013), 312–13.

59 "Most humble report on the state of the schools in Denmark, except Copenhagen," October 20, 1837, The Danish Chancellery, 1 Department. H54-2, Various school reports, Various reports concerning public schools, 1805–37, The Danish National Archives, Copenhagen.

60 "Overview of schools and teachers in the countryside and in the market towns in 1850, extracted from school reports," The Danish Chancellery, 1 Department, H54-3, Various school reports, Teacher training colleges and school statistics, 1789–1857, The Danish National Archives, Copenhagen.

Many new teachers made their mark on local society. Often, they were the only members of the community with a literary education, alongside the pastor. It had been a vision of the reformers that the teacher, in conjunction with the pastor, should be an educator of the population and an edifying force, a "people's teacher" (*folkelærer*) as mentioned above. Many teachers were active in local culture and the local church and many early local libraries were housed in the teacher's home.[61] Their higher level of education, in comparison to other parishioners, and the contact they maintained through mutual societies and journals prompted some teachers to demand better conditions.

In most schools, the education depended on one single teacher. Therefore, the establishment of a formal teacher training and many new teachers, in conjunction with permanent schoolhouses, played a significant role in educating children in the rural districts, and towns of Denmark. However, the formal teacher training did not create a teacher profession, and great differences still existed

Conclusion: The Emergence of Mass Schooling in Denmark

In the eighteenth and nineteenth century, schools for the European masses were established: "almueskoler" in Denmark, "folkskoler" in Sweden, "Volksschulen" in the German speaking countries and common schools in the English speaking countries. The majority of school systems had their origin in the seventeenth and eighteenth century with home education, locally founded schools and church schools. During the nineteenth century, one sees the emergence of mass education within a national school system. Prussia had already passed its famous School Act in 1763, Denmark in 1814 and Norway in 1827 but it was especially in the period 1840–1880 that national school systems emerged; for example Sweden and Belgium 1842, Spain 1857, Finland 1866, the Habsburg Empire 1868–69, Britain 1870 and France 1882.[62]

In this article, I have presented the different prerequisites behind the 1814 School Acts and analysed the implementation of the acts. Three aspects are analysed in order to explain the origin of the emergence of Danish mass education in the nineteenth century and to portray the Danish elementary school system; 1) how a local school administration was built, 2) how new school buildings were built, and 3) how a new form of teacher and a new teachers' education was established.

The whole organisation of schooling and schools passed partially into the hands of a fresh administrative structure with local school boards consisting of representatives of (the social superior part of) the rural population in the school district as in Sweden. The involvement of the local population seems to have made a difference for both the development of the local school and its legitimacy and connection to the community. One of the key tasks for newly established school boards was the making of a plan for each parish's public schools. Planning was compulsory but its form varied. This resulted in each parish gaining its own school plan and thus contributing to the large regional and local variances. Another key task for the school boards was making sure that children went to school on a regular basis. However, regular

61 Helge Nielsen, *Folkebibliotekernes forgængere: Oplysning, almue- og borgerbiblioteker fra 1770erne til 1834* (Copenhagen: Dansk Bibliografisk Kontor, 1960), 210–22.

62 Christelle Garrouste, *100 Years of Educational Reforms in Europe: A contextual database* (Luxembourg: EU, 2010), 4; Westberg (2014), 20.

schooling was met with opposition from parents and masters prioritising children's and domestics' work more than frequent schooling. School absences remained a nationwide problem throughout the nineteenth century.

Another main task for the school boards was providing the parish or market town with one or more schoolhouses. Even in the difficult economic times following state bankruptcy in 1813, the government prioritised permanent schoolhouses, and in the following decades the vast majority of schools were established in their own buildings. The government issued guidelines on how to construct a good school building and as a result, schoolhouses all over the country began to resemble each other. However, there were still a variety of local variations; school buildings were not only a question of economy but also dependent on local building traditions, the lord of the local estate and the number of pupils. The negotiations over the layout of a school building, exterior as well as interior, is central to the understanding of how the phenomenon of schools was understood by the main players, both centrally and in the local communities.

Figure 7. In the years following 1814, many schools were built throughout the Danish realms. Most of them were bricks buildings with thatch like the 1831 school in Hodde in the western part of Jutland. Having gone to the thatched school was a term that lasted until the mid-twentieth century. Source: Photo by Erik Nørr 2010.

The establishment of teachers' training was seen as paramount if schools were to change and the School Acts were to be implemented in all parts of the Danish kingdom, with the majority of schools dependent on one single teacher and his teaching. The establishment of formal training, from the 1780s onwards, changed the role of teachers. Professional pedagogues taught a new generation of teachers how to teach children according to the regulations in the School Acts and to pedagogic meth-

odology. They were given a shared identity as members of a group with the task of educating enlightened children and future citizens. However, great differences still existed between teachers in market towns and those in rural and private schools. Therefore, the reformers envisioned that the teacher, in conjunction with the pastor, would be an educator of the population. However, this was not enacted in every place, even though many teachers were active in local culture and the local church, and many early local libraries were housed in the teacher's home.

Scholars have put forward different theories on the emergence of mass schooling in the Western world.[63] Some have argued that schooling was a way of controlling and disciplining the new working class in a period of great change.[64] Others have stressed the need of the industrialised society for individuals with knowledge and skills, or have placed the school as a central feature of the emerging nation-state.[65] Margaret S. Archer sees the emergence of new educational systems as a fight between those who own and thereby control the educational system ("domination"), and those who challenge the domination group ("assertion").[66] Andy Green stresses that the development of public education can only be understood in relation to the new nation-state's creation of ideologies and collective beliefs; a national identity, a common language and a single culture.[67] In the past decades, scholars' attentions have been directed to the local community as the primary force in the emergence of mass schooling. In Peter Lindert's theses on decentralisation it was not the state but the local communities who determined the development of the school; the communities raised taxes for schools, and locally elected and appointed official ran the schools. One could speak of a decentralised school system.[68]

In Denmark, the emergence of mass education took place in a pre-industrial era as in Sweden, Prussia and Norway.[69] The school system was not intended to discipline a growing working class as the Danish industrialisation took place after 1850, or to give the industrialised states' inhabitants new skills. From 1780 to 1850, the majority of Danes lived in the countryside and attended the local public school. This meant the vast majority of the male pupils became farmers or day labourers, whilst the girls became wives or servants. In this period, Denmark was not a nation-state but consisted of different realms and colonies. Therefore, five Acts were required in 1814 to cover the Danish king's kingdom and duchies with their varied populations.

63 For an introduction see Nancy Beadie, "Education, social capital and state formation in comparative historical perspective: preliminary investigations," *Paedagogica Historica* 46, nos. 1–2 (2010), 15–32 and Westberg (2014), 23–28, 290–292.

64 E.P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," *Past & Present* 38 (Dec., 1967), 56–97; Bengt Sandin, *Hemmet, gatan, fabriken eller skolan: Folkundervisning och barnuppfostran i svenska städer 1600–1850* (Lund: Arkiv förlag, 1986), 262–265.

65 John Boli, *New Citizens For A New Society: The Institutional Origins of Mass Schooling in Sweden* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1989), 220–248. John W. Meyer, Francisco O. Ramirez, Yasemin Nuhoglu Soysal, "World Expansion of Mass Education, 1870–1980," *Sociology of Education* 62 (1992), 128–149.

66 Margaret Archer, *The Social Origins of Educational Systems* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1979), 90–126.

67 Andy Green, *Education and State Formation: The Rise of Educational Systems in England, France and the USA* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1990), 77–80.

68 Peter H. Lindert, *Growing Public: Volume 1, The Story* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 25. See also Beadie (2010), 30.

69 Westberg (2014), 295–296.

Mass education in Denmark emerged under the influence of diversity and struggle. It was not a linear process pointing towards the school system known by those historians who, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, portrayed the birth of a singular Danish school system. Nor was it a project implemented by a strong, centralistic government with the authority and powers to ensure the fulfilment of every detail of the Acts. In contrast, the emergence was a project formulated by the government but executed at local level by local authorities during a long period. On one hand, the Danish government tried to take overall responsibility for the school by enacting the same regulations for all rural district schools, whether located in villages with large farms or in small fishing villages. Every child had to go to school, and according to the Acts children were supposed to learn the same things in order to be good Christians and loyal subjects, the same being the case for children attending market town schools. Thereby, the government promoted uniformity in the educational field to ensure both the implementation of the Acts and the uniformity within the state.

On the other hand, the government had to accept a diversity of schools. Since the Poor Act of 1708 allowed free education for the children of poor parents, the responsibility for schools had been in local hands. The state issued regulations on a national level, the local community implementing these and financing the schools. Although a stronger state emerged in this period, it could not control everyday life in the many schools outside the capital of Copenhagen. Prior to 1814 there were many local schools organised by the parishioners, the landowner or the church. The government knew that this had led to a variety of school systems due to their origins and the local conditions. As the local conditions were quite different, five Acts were required to fulfil the government's wish to regulate this variety and create a sort of uniformity in the educational field. These differences reflected "variations in the normative condition and practice of schooling *prior* to state intervention,"[70] as noticed by Nancy Beadie on the early period of US schooling. Governments chose different kinds of strategies "more likely to work or be accepted" in a local context.[71] In Denmark, the government chose five sets of Acts that worked in a local context to secure regular school attendance for the vast majority of children.

In conclusion, the Acts of 1814 and their inherent regulations were imposed from *above* and from the centre: the absolutist government formed and promulgated the laws, whilst implemented by the central administration. Simultaneously, the schools were run and financed from *below*: the people and minor officials in individual provostries, parishes and counties had to find the funding themselves for the running of local schools, to find suitable teachers and buildings, as well as books. Much was controlled from the centre and there was not always a free choice in the matter. Sometimes decisions taken locally gave too much flexibility and therefore necessitated a change of rules from the centre. Therefore, schools received a framework from the government that had to be filled locally in a decentralised school system. It was not least here that many and varied parties left their mark from the provost and pastor to the parish clerk, teacher and parents at each school. In this way, the overall picture of schools in the country was a colourful tapestry. In reality, with the local school plans, there were nearly as many School Acts as there were schools.

70 Beadie (2010), 19.

71 Beadie (2010), 19.

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Silvi-kulturella möten: Sveriges lantbruksuniversitet och högre skoglig utbildning i Etiopien 1986–2009

Karl Bruno

Abstract • **Silvi-Cultural Encounters: The Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences and Higher Forestry Education in Ethiopia, 1986–2009** • The article discusses the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences' support to higher forestry education in Ethiopia, which took place between 1986 and 2009 in the context of Swedish-Ethiopian development cooperation. Against a growing historical interest in transnational encounters within the field of education, it analyses how Swedish forestry experts designed educational programs and taught in new environments. The concept of "silvi-culture" is introduced to signify that the tensions that arose within this aid effort related both to the technicalities of forestry education and to diverging academic and social cultures. The article is structured around three kinds of "silvi-cultural encounters" that describe the development of the project both chronologically and thematically. These encounters are used to demonstrate how the forest as a concrete, physical place was of central importance to the Swedish experts, as well as to show how they were guided by preconceptions developed within the framework of a Swedish silvi-culture that was only partially compatible with the conditions in Ethiopia.

Keywords • development aid [utvecklingsbistånd], forestry education [skogsutbildning], Ethiopia [Etiopien], SLU

Inledning

I september 1994 fick Wondo Genet College of Forestry i Etiopien prominenta gäster från Sveriges lantbruksuniversitet (SLU). Bland besökarna fanns Per-Ove Bäckström, dekanus för universitetets skogsvetenskapliga fakultet, Görel Oscarsson, universitetets förvaltningschef, och Ann-Cathrin Haglund, dess styrelseordförande. De var där för att övervara invigningen av ett nytt utbildningsprogram, tänkt att leda fram till en skoglig masterexamen för ett utvalt antal etiopiska studenter.[1] Programmet finansierades med hjälp av svenska biståndsmedel och var en del av ett större samarbete mellan Sveriges biståndsmyndighet SIDA och Etiopien på den skogliga utbildningens område, inom vilket SLU fungerade som konsult. När masterutbildningen invigdes 1994 ansågs den allmänt vara det första egentliga framsteget utvecklingssamarbetet hade gjort sedan det återupptogs efter det etiopiska inbördeskrigets slut 1991. Detta var säkerligen också anledningen till den celebra gästlistan.

Artikeln är baserad på forskningsresultat som tidigare har framlagts i min engelskspråkiga doktorsavhandling: Karl Bruno, *Exporting Agrarian Expertise: Development Aid at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences and Its Predecessors, 1950–2009* (Uppsala, 2016), kap. 6. Här presenterar jag dem på svenska och i en form som mer tar fasta på det utbildningshistoriska innehållet.

1 Sven-Gunnar Larsson, "Öppnande av Lantbruksuniversitetets utbildningsprogram – Master of Science in Forestry," 18 augusti 1994, SIDA:s biståndskontors i Etiopien arkiv, F72: 28, Riksarkivet (nedan SIDA-ETI).

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Den festliga stämningen fick emellertid ett tvärt slut när de nyantagna studenterna revolterade. Studentgruppen skickade ett skarpt formulerat protestbrev till Etiopiens utbildningsminister Genet Zewdie, där de framhöll sin besvikelse både över levnadsförhållandena vid Wondo Genet och över kursplanen och lärarnas erfarenhet.[2] Studenternas huvudsakliga invändning förefaller ha varit pekuniär: de var missnöjda med den ekonomiska ersättning de skulle få under utbildningstiden. Men deras anspelningar på kursplanen och lärarnas bakgrund låter också förstå att de ansåg att det fanns problem med utbildningskvalitén. Efter kontakter mellan svenska ambassaden, SLU, den etiopiska regeringen, och, så småningom, studenterna, kunde situationen dock lösas, åtminstone så till vida att utbildningen kunde fortsätta som planerat.[3]

Denna episod i spänningsfältet mellan utbildning, bistånd och politik i Etiopien under åren efter inbördeskriget är tänkvärd i sin egen rätt. Här lyfter jag den dock av en annan anledning. Den friktion som uppstod i mötet mellan de etiopiska studenterna och det svenskplanerade utbildningsprogram de var antagna till faller nämligen in i ett större mönster som är utbildningshistoriskt intressant. De ansvariga vid SLU förklarade i efterhand att konflikten var en konsekvens av tidsbrist under kursplaneringen.[4] Som jag kommer visa låg det emellertid även andra och mer djupgående spänningar bakom den, spänningar som formade de flesta av de aktiviteter som ägde rum under de tjugotre år som det svenska universitetet var engagerat i etiopisk skogsutbildning. Dessa spänningar handlade om hur sådan utbildning bör se ut och gå till, men de var samtidigt mer allmänt kopplade till divergerande akademiska och sociala kulturer. För att illustrera att detta var spänningar som på samma gång handlade om skog och om bredare sociokulturella frågor har jag valt att använda begreppet *silvi-kulturella* för att beskriva dem, där *silvi* är det latinska ordet för skog samtidigt som sammansättningen ska leda tankarna till sociokultur (*silviculture* är dessutom det engelska begreppet för skogsskötsel). I föreliggande artikel kommer jag att beskriva och analysera en uppsättning silvi-kulturella möten som – likt det ovan beskrivna – ägde rum under SLU:s engagemang i etiopisk skogsutbildning. Genom detta vill jag uppmärksamma en lärorik del av senare tids gränsöverskridande utbildningshistoria, mellan skoglig utbildning och utvecklingsbistånd.

Perspektiv, forskningsläge och problem

Idag uppmärksammas allt mer hur olika utbildningshistorier har varit sammankopplade under tidigmodern och modern tid. I inledningen till en relativt nyutkommen utbildningshistorisk antologi om transnationella utbyten uttrycker redaktörerna att deras syfte är att bredda den ”utbildningshistoriska arenan” genom att analysera utbyten och överföringar mellan västvärlden och Asien på utbildningsområdet sedan

2 Aseged Belay et al. till Genet Zewdie, 26 september 1994, SIDA-ETI, F72: 28.

3 Michael Ståhl till Minister of Education, 2 oktober 1994, SIDA-ETI, F72: 28; Ståhl till Sven-Gunnar Larsson, 3 oktober 1994, SIDA-ETI, F72: 28; Ståhl till Minister of Education, 10 oktober 1994, SIDA-ETI, F72: 28; ”Report from MSc Coordinator/Liaison Officer for the Period 1994-09-08 to 1994-12-30,” 2–3, 2 januari 1995, SIDA-ETI, F72: 29.

4 ”Annual Report 1994/95, July, 1994 – June, 1995, Management of Natural Resources in Ethiopia: SIDA Support through the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences (SUAS),” 6, Oktober 1995, SIDA-ETI, F72: 30.

1700-talet.[5] Sådana ansatser tydliggör hur utbildningssystem och ideologier har formats genom möten och utbyten av idéer och materialiteter över nations-, kultur- och språkgränser, och bidrar därmed till att utmana de nationella inriktningar som annars fortfarande har en stark ställning inom det utbildningshistoriska fältet. Att studera gränsöverskridande möten implicerar också att studera dessa mötens rumsliga och materiella kontext.[6]

Även om det renodlade utbildningsbiståndet aldrig har dominerat biståndsbudgetarna har det internationella utvecklingssamarbetet sedan tidig efterkrigstid utgjort en arena av betydelse för transnationella utbildningskontakter.[7] Biståndets geopolitiska inramning innebar att det i hög grad kom att bli kopplat till stormakternas strävan efter globalt inflytande, vilket gav utbildning en viktig roll. Utbildning, som regel i västlig form, ansågs också centralt för själva utvecklingsbegreppet. Genom både stipendiefinansiering och försök att bygga upp utbildningskapacitet i utvecklingsländer syftade utbildningsbiståndet ytterst till att ersätta tidigare sociala praktiker med nya, moderna sådana. Utifrån idéer om samhällelig utveckling som en universellt likartad process, kopplad till kontroll över vetenskap och teknik, kunde inflytelserika moderniseringsteoretiker som W. W. Rostow avfärda det han beskrev som för-Newtonska samhällens fatalism. Enbart genom att tillägna sig den kunskap och de instrument som krävdes för ett mer rationellt förhållningssätt till världen kunde människor i sådana samhällen ta kontroll över sin egen framtid och förbättra sina levnadsvillkor.[8] Utifrån detta slags tänkande var det naturligt att planera biståndsprojekt både för att utveckla formella utbildningsinstitutioner och för att överföra teknik av ett slag som i sin tur fordrade att en kår av experter utbildades i eller för mottagarlandet. Denna distinktion innebär att begreppet utbildningsbistånd kan förstås i en bredare och en smalare mening. I bredare mening kan det avse alla former av utbildningsinsatser inom ramen för biståndsfinansierade utvecklingsprojekt. I den smalare meningen, som är den jag utgår från här, åsyftas mer specifikt projekt

5 Barnita Bagchi, Eckhardt Fuchs och Kate Rousmaniere, ”Connecting Histories of Education: Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post-)Colonial Education,” i *Connecting Histories of Education: Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post-)Colonial Education*, red. Barnita Bagchi, Eckhardt Fuchs och Kate Rousmaniere (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014), 1–2.

6 Detta anknyter i viss mån till de perspektiv som förordas av företrädare för den s.k. rumsliga vändningen i historisk forskning. För översikter av innebörden av denna, se t.ex. Erland Mårald och Christer Nordlund, ”Förord,” i *Topos: Essäer om tänkvärda platser och platsbundna tankar*, red. Erland Mårald och Christer Nordlund (Stockholm: Carlssons, 2006); Marie Cronqvist, ”Spatialisera alltid! Rummets återkomst i de historiska vetenskaperna,” *Scandia* 74, no. 2 (2010). Rumsliga perspektiv har även vunnit insteg bland utbildningshistoriker; se t.ex. ett specialnummer av History of Education: Catherine Burke, Peter Cunningham och Ian Grosvenor, red. ”’Putting Education in Its Place’: Space, Place and Materialities in the History of Education,” *History of Education* 39, no. 6 (2010). Även fältets svenska företrädare har tagit upp dessa temata; se t.ex. Joakim Landahl, ”Det nordiska skolmötet som utbildningspolitisk arena (1870–1970): Ett rumsligt perspektiv på den moderna pedagogikens historia,” *Utbildning och demokrati* 24, no. 3 (2015).

7 Stephen P. Heyneman och Bommi Lee, ”International Organizations and the Future of Education Assistance,” *International Journal of Educational Development* 48 (2016).

8 Walt Whitman Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), 4. För historiska översikter över detta slags tänkande, se t.ex. Francis X. Sutton, ”Development Ideology: Its Emergence and Decline,” *Daedalus* 118, no. 1; Michael Adas, *Dominance by Design: Technological Imperatives and America’s Civilizing Mission* (Cambridge, 2006), kapitel 5; om utbildningsbistånd specifikt, se Richard Tabulawa, ”International Aid Agencies, Learner-Centred Pedagogy and Political Democratisation: A Critique,” *Comparative Education* 39, no. 1 (2003), 14–15.

eller projektdelar med inriktning på att skapa eller stödja olika slags utbildningsinstitutioner i samarbetslandet.

Utbildningsbiståndet, i denna mening, har framförallt behandlats av den pedagogiska och utbildningsvetenskapliga forskningen.[9] Det finns däremot enbart ett begränsat *historiskt* forskningsläge på området. Den utbildningshistoriska forskningen har inte särskilt uppmärksammat utbildningen i utvecklingsbiståndet, ens när den explicit har tematiserat gränsöverskridande möten.[10] Däremot finns, internationellt men också i Sverige, en del historiska arbeten om internationaliseringen av akademisk utbildning som ibland också innefattar biståndsfinansierade initiativ.[11] Den biståndshistoriska litteraturen inkluderar slutligen en del studier av utbildningsbistånd i olika former, men särskilt i Sverige är detta forskningsfält fortfarande begränsat.[12] På det hela taget menar jag att vi fortfarande saknar kunskap om hur och varför svenska biståndsexperter och -administratörer har försökt bedriva utbildning för utveckling. Min studie av skogsutbildning och silvi-kulturella möten blir ett bidrag till att fylla denna lucka, och därmed samtidigt ett bidrag både till det utbildningshistoriska och till det biståndshistoriska fältet.

Distinktionen mellan det utbildningshistoriska och det biståndshistoriska aktualiserar också en skillnad av viss analytisk betydelse för min studie. Det projekt jag studerar var en del av SIDA:s bredare utvecklingssamarbete med Etiopien. Dess utformning och genomförande var dock kontrakterat till skogliga experter från SLU. Detta gav upphov till en viss spänning mellan å ena sidan SIDA:s biståndspolitiska mål och överväganden, och å andra sidan SLU:s prioriteringar. I botten, om än inte alltid diskuterat explicit, låg frågan om hur sambandet mellan akademisk skogsutbildning och fattigdomsbekämpning och allmän samhällsutveckling såg ut, eller om en tydlig sådan koppling överhuvudtaget fanns. Ur SLU:s perspektiv var sambandet närmast självklart när projektet inleddes. Även om engagemanget i etiopisk skogsutbildning ägde rum vid en tidpunkt då 1950- och 60-talens moderniseringsideologi hade ersatts av en bredare flora av utvecklingsteorier så fanns många av de underliggande föreställningarna om utveckling och modernitet som nära kopplat till bemästrandet av tekno-vetenskapliga resurser fortfarande kvar.[13] Det var, till exempel, en

9 För svensk forskning inom denna tradition, se t.ex. Ann-Louise Bäcktorp, *When the First-World-North Goes Local: Education and Gender in Post-Revolution Laos* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2007); Paula Mählck och Måns Fellesson, "Capacity-Building, Internationalisation or Postcolonial Education? Space and Place in Development-Aid-Funded PhD Training," *L'Education Comparée* 15 (2016).

10 Se t.ex. innehållet i den ovan citerade antologin: Bagchi, Fuchs och Rousmaniere (2014).

11 För Sverige vill jag särskilt framhålla Andreas Åkerlunds historiska studier av stipendiefinansiering av akademiska utbyten: Andreas Åkerlund, "The Impact of Foreign Policy on Educational Exchange: The Swedish State Scholarship Programme 1938–1990," *Paedagogica Historica* 50, no. 3 (2014); Andreas Åkerlund, "For Goodwill, Aid and Economic Growth: The Funding of Academic Exchange through the Swedish Institute, 1945–2010," *Nordic Journal of Educational History* 2, no. 1 (2015).

12 Mer finns skrivet i övriga Skandinavien; en bra startpunkt är de breda historiker som finns över norskt och danskt bistånd som syntetiserar tidigare studier, inklusive sådana med fokus på utbildningsprojekt: Christian Friis Bach et al., *Idealer og realiteter: Dansk udviklingspolitiks historie 1945–2005* (Köpenhamn, 2008); Jarle Simensen et al., *Norsk utviklingshjelps historie*, 3 vol. (Bergen, 2003). För Sverige har jag i en tidigare studie analyserat ett tidigt utbildningsbiståndsprojekt: Karl Bruno, "Nils Lagerlöf och det tidiga svenska biståndet," *Personhistorisk tidskrift* 110, nos. 1–2 (2014).

13 För en idéhistorisk översikt över utvecklingsteori, se Bertil Odén, *Biståndets idéhistoria: Från Marshallhjälp till milleniemål* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2006).

allmän uppfattning bland svenska skogsexperter som verkade i Etiopien vid denna tid att landet var drabbat av långt gången avskogning med åtföljande miljöproblem. För att stoppa avskogningen krävdes, menade de, rationella och vetenskapligt grundade insatser som emellertid starkt försvårades genom de rådande politiska, sociala och institutionella förhållandena i Etiopien.[14] I ljuset av detta såg de utbildning som en nödvändig väg framåt för att stärka landets skogliga institutioner, vilket i sin tur ansågs vara en förutsättning för modern, rationell skogsskötsel.

På ett mer allmänt plan var detta sätt att tänka rotat i en fortsatt uppfattning om samhällsutveckling som en universell och stegvis process, och det var följaktligen naturligt för de svenska experterna att dra paralleller mellan Etiopiens samtida problem och Sveriges förflutna.[15] Den svenska skogsskötselns självbild var och är baserad på en historieuppfattning i vilken ny lagstiftning och införandet av vetenskapligt grundade metoder för skogsskötseln blev centrala komponenter i den svenska landsbygdens utveckling under första hälften av 1900-talet, en utveckling som lyfte många människor ur fattigdom och bidrog till skapandet av det moderna, industrialiserade Sverige.[16] Denna framgångssaga har, oaktat (eller kanske snarare tack vare) att den döljer både komplexitet och konflikter, fungerat som en grundläggande ideologisk premiss för svenskt skogsbruk. Den har också kommit att legitimera exporten av svenskt skogskunnande till övriga världen.[17] Detta gjordes mycket explicit i den vision som landsbygdsminister Eskil Erlandsson lät ta fram 2011 under titeln *Skogsriket – Med värden för världen*. I denna sammanfattades vad som uppfattades som svenska skogsvärderingar, inte minst den balans mellan produktions- och miljömål som utmärker den nuvarande skogspolitiken. Planen uttryckte också, utan vidare problematisering, att Sverige skulle sprida kunskap globalt om den svenska modellen och om uthålligt skogsbruk.[18] Det skogliga biståndsprojekt jag studerar ägde rum under årtiondena före formuleringen av visionerna om Skogsriket och hade mer begränsade anspråk, men det byggde på samma underliggande föreställning om ett särskilt svenskt skogskunnande, som med fördel skulle kunna spridas till länder med ett mindre utvecklat skogsbruk. I artikeln undersöker jag denna föreställning omsatt i praktik: vad hände när svenska skogsexperter förväntades utforma utbildningar och undervisa i nya miljöer? Vad utmärkte deras insatser, varför såg de ut som de gjorde, och hur togs de emot?

14 För ett exempel på en sådan analys, se Mårten Bendz, ”Forests and Forestry in Ethiopia” (Växjö: Rural Development Consultants, 1988).

15 Särskilt den postkoloniala litteraturen har påpekat hur denna utvecklingssyn kom att leva kvar även efter att moderniseringsteorier (i vid mening) förlorade mycket av sin trovärdighet. Se t.ex. Maria Eriksson Baaz, ”Biståndet och partnerskapets problematik,” i *Sverige och de Andra: Postkoloniala perspektiv*, red. Michael Mc Eachrane och Louis Faye (Stockholm, 2001), 168–72.

16 För en skogshistorisk översikt, se Einar Stridsberg och Leif Mattsson, *Skogen genom tiderna: Dess roll för lantbruket från forntid till nutid* (Stockholm: LT, 1980). Den högre skogliga utbildningens roll har knappast uppmärksammats av forskningen. Skoglig yrkesutbildning (under efterkrigstiden) har dock analyserats av Fay Lundh Nilsson, ”De specialiserade yrkesutbildningarna: Exemplet skoglig utbildning,” i *Yrkesutbildningens formering i Sverige 1940–1975*, red. Peter Håkansson och Anders Nilsson (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2013).

17 Se t.ex. Reidar Persson, *Assistance to Forestry: Experiences and Potential for Improvement* (Jakarta: Center for International Forestry Research, 2003), 30–32.

18 Skogsrikets värderingar och ideologier analyseras i Sara Holmgren och Seema Arora-Jonsson, ”The Forest Kingdom – With What Values for the World? Climate Change and Gender Equality in a Contested Forest Policy Context,” *Scandinavian Journal of Forest Research* 30, no. 3 (2015).

Några svar på dessa frågor finns inte i tidigare forskningslitteratur. Det som finns skrivet om SLU:s engagemang i etiopisk skogsutbildning har till sin absoluta huvuddel författats av personer som själva har varit delaktiga, och det mesta har karaktär av översikter och summeringar som inte mer än ytligt kan bidra till mina frågeställningar.[19] Jag bygger därför framställningen i huvudsak på otryckt källmaterial från SLU:s samt de svenska biståndsmyndigheternas arkiv. Jag har också intervjuat flera av de inblandade svenska experterna.

Möte I: Svensk silvi-kultur

Svenskt skogligt bistånd till Etiopien inleddes under 1960-talet och växte i omfattning efter revolutionen 1974, då SIDA inledde ett brett skogligt samarbete med landet. Av särskild vikt i detta sammanhang är det stöd till utbildning och träning som inleddes 1978 med kurser för skogstekniker vid det nyskapade Wondo Genet Forestry Resources Institute utanför staden Shashemene, i ett område som fortfarande hade en del äldre skog. Utbildningen vid Wondo Genet ledde inte till någon akademisk examen utan var en diplomautbildning med starkt praktisk inriktning. Stödet till institutet administrerades inte av SLU utan, till en början, av ett konsortium bestående av två svenska konsultföretag, ORGUT och SwedForest. Efter 1986 tog SIDA självt över det operativa ansvaret.[20]

Eleverna som utbildades vid Wondo Genet kunde sköta kvalificerade uppgifter i det praktiska skogsbruket, men fann det svårt att gå vidare till administrativa eller arbetsledande tjänster på högre nivå. Den diplomaexamen de fick öppnade heller inte för vidare akademiska studier.[21] De svenska biståndsexperterna ansåg att detta var otillfredsställande i ljuset av deras starka uppfattning att fler experter behövdes i Etiopiens skogliga förvaltning. En i detta avseende särskilt tongivande aktör var Sven-Gunnar Larsson, rektor för Skogsmästarskolan i Skinnskatteberg, som var en del av SLU. I mitten av 1980-talet var Larsson tjänstledig och verkade istället på en SIDA-finansierad tjänst för arbetskraftsfrågor vid Natural Resources Conservation Development, Main Department, den avdelning av det etiopiska jordbruksministeriet som bland annat sysslade med skogsärenden. Larsson hade stort inflytande på sin etiopiska motpart och fungerade enligt ett internt SIDA-PM i praktiken som koordinator för hela det skogliga biståndsprogrammet.[22] Under 1985 och 1986 genomdrev han, med benäget stöd från bland annat SLU:s tidigare rektor Lennart Hjelm och universitetets förvaltningschef Görel Oscarsson, att diplomaprogrammet vid Won-

19 Sven-Olov Bylund, ”Lämnar Wondo Genet efter 30 år,” *Resurs*, no. 3 (2009); Gessesse Dessie och Menfese Tadesse, ”Rethinking Forestry and Natural Resources Higher Education in Ethiopia: An Education for Sustainable Development Perspective,” *Southern African Journal of Environmental Education* 29 (2012/2013); Björn Lundgren, Reidar Persson, och Sten Norén, ”Swedish-African Forest Relations,” *Kungl. Skogs- och Lantbruksakademiens tidskrift* 150, no. 2 (2011); Mats Sandewall, ”Skoglig utbildningssatsning i Etiopien – Vad blev utfallet?” *Fakta skog – Rön från Sveriges lantbruksuniversitet*, no. 9 (2014); Johan Toborn, ”SLU och etiopisk skogsutbildning: En fråga om att lära eller läras,” *Skog och forskning* 96, no. 1 (1996); Johan Toborn, ”Etiopien: ’ett SLU-land’,” i *Sammanhang: SLU 25 år*, red. Gunilla Ramberg (Uppsala: Sveriges lantbruksuniversitet, 2002).

20 Sven Sjunnesson, intervju av författaren, 29 januari 2015 (inspelning i författarens ägo).

21 Ibid.

22 Lars Sandahl, ”PM om Sven-Gunnar Larsson, Manpower Development Coordinator, Natural Resources Conservation Development Main Department (NRCDMD), Ministry of Agriculture, Etiopien,” 6 december 1985, SIDA:s centralarkiv, F1 AD: 2983, Riksarkivet (nedan SIDA).

do Genet skulle kompletteras med en SIDA-finansierad och av SLU administrerad akademisk påbyggnadsutbildning upp till kandidatnivå, eller ungefär motsvarande den svenska skogsmästarutbildningen. SLU utformade därefter en utbildning på två och ett halvt år, med fyra terminer i Wondo Genet och en termin vid Skogsmästarskolan i Skinnskatteberg.[23] Den avsågs inte bli permanent, utan planerades för tre kurser: en från 1986–1988, en andra från 1987–1989, och en sista från 1988–1990. Totalt sett planerades programmet omfatta omkring femtio etiopiska studenter.

De första studenterna inledde sina studier vid Wondo Genet på hösten 1986. Kursprogrammet bestod till en början av inledande studier i ett antal av de skogliga ämnena samt i engelska språket. Skogsundervisningen sköttes främst av utstationerade lärare från SLU och fokuserade på skogsskötsel, skogs- och träteknik, och skogstaxering.[24] Med den tredje terminen, som var förlagd till Sverige, inträdde sedan en viktig pedagogisk förändring. Den huvudsakliga målsättningen med Sverigeterminen var att låta studenterna uppleva skogsbruk under helt andra förhållanden än de som rådde i Etiopien, eller, som Sven-Gunnar Larsson själv uttryckte sig i en delrapport om utbildningen, att låta ”the students take part of and live in a society and an environment [sic] where forestry plays such an important role, and to have an easy and natural access to educational and learning resources [...].”[25]

Figur 1. Etiopiska studenter besöker biblioteket vid Adelsnäs gods utanför Åtvidaberg under överinseende av Torgny Söderman från SLU. Adelsnäs utgjorde (och utgör) centrum för Baroniet Adelswärd AB, ett stort jordbruksföretag vars skogliga verksamhet helt saknade motsvarighet i Etiopien, och besöket är ett bra exempel på det slags studieresor som ingick i Sverigeterminen. Foto: Sven Sjunnesson, 1987.

23 Se kontraktet mellan SIDA och SLU gällande Bachelor of Science, Forestry Management, Appendix B, 26 september 1986, SIDA, F1 AD: 2984.

24 För en översikt av kursstrukturen, se det ovan citerade kontraktet mellan SIDA och SLU, Annex I.

25 Sven-Gunnar Larsson, ”BSc Forestry Management Training Project: Progress Report no. 3,” 2, SIDA, F1 AD: 5209.

En viktig del av terminen var följaktligen studieresor genom vilka studenterna fick bekanta sig med skogsföretag och försöksplanteringar i olika delar av Mellansverige.[26] Men även den mer direkta undervisningen fick en annan karaktär. När Larsson skrev om naturlig tillgång till läranderesurser syftade han på enkel tillgång till stora skogsområden för praktisk utbildning. Över en tredjedel av de lärarledda studierna under Skinnskattebergsterminen bestod av tillämpade övningar i fält, som integrerade de olika skogliga ämnena som studenterna tidigare hade läst. Under en av kurserna ägnades exempelvis en stor del av tiden åt ”an integrated exercise in silviculture, operational planning and ergonomics. In this practical thinning-exercise all operations were fulfilled by the students themselves: Planning, selection of trees, felling operations, time studies, ergonomic studies and a final follow-up of the results.”[27] Sådana övningar var viktiga i de flesta ämnena, och under terminen i Sverige lade SLU:s lärare också i allmänhet stor vikt vid att komplettera den tidigare huvudsakligen teoretiska undervisningen med praktisk träning.[28]

För de etiopiska studenterna innebar Sverigeterminen inte bara ett möte med en ny skoglig miljö utan också med en politisk miljö som skilde sig dramatiskt från den brutala polisstat de kom från. Tre av studenterna från den första kursen ansökte om politisk asyl i Sverige, och fyra av deras efterföljare under kurs nummer två gjorde samma sak. Det etiopiska jordbruksministeriet, SIDA:s samarbetspartner, var inte överdrivet upprört över detta, men ur SIDA:s perspektiv underminerade avhoppen projektets syfte, och biståndskontoret i Addis Abeba lyfte möjligheten att stryka Sverigeterminen från den tredje och sista kursen för att undvika att fler studenter lämnade utbildningen. I och med detta framträder en tydlig åtskillnad mellan SLU:s och SIDA:s mål, där den senare myndigheten vägleddes av biståndspolitiska överväganden som skar sig mot den förras uppfattning om pedagogiska nödvändigheter. SLU:s utbildningsplanerare reagerade skarpt mot förslaget att ta bort terminen i Skinnskatteberg, och framhöll att detta skulle få allvarliga konsekvenser för utbildningen.[29] Ett PM av Per Rudebjer, kursansvarig i Sverige, skissade dessa.[30] Det mest problematiska, ur SLU:s perspektiv, var att utbildningsprogrammet var upplagt kring den pedagogiska tanken att använda den tredje terminen till att arbeta integrerat med olika ämnen i en kontext där det både fanns mycket skog och ett starkt industriellt skogsbruk. Denna idé skulle undermineras om terminen flyttades till Etiopien, där förhållandena för praktiska övningar också var betydligt sämre. Samma poäng hade även gjorts tidigare, i samband med en utvärdering av den första studentgruppens Sverigetermin. Rudebjer och lärarna Lars Höök och Gustav Fredriksson hade då framhållit att utan Sverigeterminen skulle ”[t]he practical touch of the training” försvagas betydligt, och sammantaget skulle det inte vara möjligt att bibehålla utbildningens kvalitet utan en termin i Sverige.[31]

26 Per Rudebjer, Lars Höök och Gustav Fredriksson, ”An Evaluation of the Third Semester in Sweden,” 3, 30 november 1987, SIDA-ETI, F72: 21.

27 Ibid., 5.

28 Ibid., 3.

29 Sven-Gunnar Larsson till Lars Leander, 8 november 1988, SIDA-ETI, F72: 21.

30 Per Rudebjer, ”What Does it Mean to Locate Semester 3 to Ethiopia?” 1, 18 oktober 1988, SIDA-ETI, F72: 21.

31 Rudebjer, Höök och Fredriksson, ”An Evaluation of the Third Semester,” 9.

Till slut kom terminen också att kvarstå i Skinnskatteberg.[32] Detaljerna i det beslutet är i detta sammanhang mindre intressanta än de reaktioner frågan framkallade hos SLU:s experter. De utgör ett första exempel på hur den integrerade och praktiskt orienterade svenska modellen för högre skoglig utbildning problematiserade och problematiserades av etiopiska silvi-kulturella förhållanden (och samtidigt riskerade att hamna i konflikt med biståndets mer politiska överväganden). Här fanns en tydlig paradox. SLU framhöll gärna att kursen var skräddarsydd för etiopiska förhållanden, men hade samtidigt valt att utforma den på ett sätt som krävde en termins studier i Sverige. En mer generell silvi-kulturell fråga blir därmed svår att undvika: i vilken utsträckning var mötet med svenskt skogsbruk verkligen relevant för utbildningen av en etiopisk skogsmästare som skulle verka i Etiopien?

Det finns ett fåtal etiopiska röster i det källmaterial jag har använt. Ett exempel är en skildring av resan till Sverige av kursdeltagaren Taye Bekele, skriven för den examenstidning som gjordes i samband med att kurs nummer tre tog sin examen i juni 1990.[33] Taye noterade förvisso att praktiska erfarenheter var en av resans höjdpunkter, men till skillnad från de andra, ganska tekniskt hållna artiklarna i tidningen, diskuterade han inte utbildningens innehåll eller upplägg i någon detalj. Detta är bara ett löst indicium, men skulle kunna antyda att det var svårt för studenterna att avgöra vilka tillämpningar Sverigeterminen hade. Vidare gjorde den första studentgruppen en kursutvärdering, där studenterna direkt gav uttryck för sin uppfattning om Sverigeterminen. Omdömena var positiva men inte översvallande: kursledningens sammanfattning lyder enbart "[t]he training is possible to apply to ethiopian [sic] conditions."[34] Eftersom detta omdöme är filtrerat genom SLU:s lärare är det omöjligt att avgöra vad studenterna faktiskt tyckte eller i vilken utsträckning de upplevde sig fria att ge uttryck för sina uppfattningar. Formuleringen antyder dock en ganska begränsad entusiasm för terminens praktiska relevans. Om inte annat är det troligt att kursledningen, som ju värnade starkt om Sverigeterminen, hade uttryckt sig mer översvallande om omdömena hade varit samstämmigt positiva och studenterna utan vidare ansåg kunskaperna tillämpbara i Etiopien.

De som planerade kursen vid SLU var själva medvetna om att Sverigeterminens relevans kunde vara ett problem. Vid ett stort planeringsmöte sommaren 1986 hade fördelar och nackdelar med studier i Sverige diskuterats, och i mötesprotokollet noterades att det fanns en "viss risk att [studenterna] lär sig tekniker mindre väl anpassade för etiopiska förhållanden".[35] Samtidigt identifierade man dock ett antal argument för en Sverigetermin, där det viktigaste var att Sverige hade ett holistiskt och systemiskt tänkande kring skogsbruket som saknades i de flesta andra länder, och att de etiopiska studenterna skulle gynnas av att komma i kontakt med detta sätt att tänka om skog. Denna föreställning – sann eller falsk – om det speciella svenska skogsbruket blev en avgörande ideologisk utgångspunkt som fick direkt genomslag i hur Sverigeterminen, med sina många studiebesök och integrerade övningar, utformades. Med andra ord syftade terminen ytterst till att utförligt demonstrera den

32 Mötesprotokoll, linjenämnden för kandidatprogrammet, 12 maj 1989, SIDA, F1 AD: 2988.

33 Taye Bekele, "A Journey to the Land of the Midnight Sun, Sweden", i "Graduation Day Magazine: Batch III, Bachelor of Science, Forestry Management," maj 1990, SIDA, F1 AD: 2989.

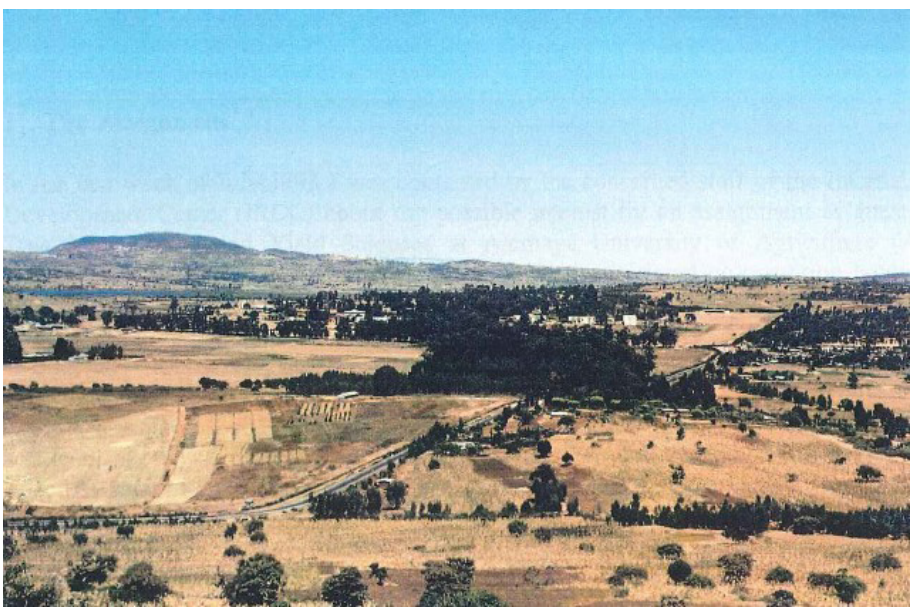
34 Larsson, "BSc Forestry Management Training Project: Progress report no. 3," 5.

35 Sten Norén, "Möte om skogsutbildning i Etiopien," 2, 18 juni 1986, SIDA, F1 AD: 2984.

svenska silvi-kulturen för de etiopiska studenterna. Planerarna vid SLU – och denna punkt ifrågasattes inte i sig av SIDA vid denna tid – förefaller ha varit övertygade om att detta skulle gynna etiopiskt skogsbruk på längre sikt, även om det inte ledde till några omedelbara utvecklingseffekter. Det är också tydligt att de svenska experterna var övertygade om nödvändigheten och nyttan av en praktisk skogsutbildning också på plats i Etiopien, vilket blir tydligt i min analys av nästa silvi-kulturella möte.

Möte II: Praktisk silvi-kultur

Samtidigt som man under slutet av 1980-talet gav kandidatutbildningen till tre grupper av etiopiska studenter var SLU också engagerat i att planera ett mer omfattande institutionellt samarbete med Alemaya lantbruksuniversitet (Alemaya University of Agriculture, AUA) i östra Etiopien, där en ny skogsfakultet var på väg att bildas. En central del i planeringen var att ta fram en ny utbildningsplan för en permanent skoglig kandidatutbildning vid Alemaya. Detta arbete skilde sig på viktiga punkter från den mer tillfälliga kandidatutbildningen som gavs vid Wondo Genet och i Sverige. Målgruppen för den senare var studenter som redan hade en skoglig utbildning på lägre nivå. AUA, å andra sidan, var ett universitet under det etiopiska utbildningsministeriet vars enda inträdeskrav var avslutad sekundärutbildning på motsvarande gymnasienivå. Det låg också i en del av landet där de naturliga förhållandena var mycket annorlunda än i Wondo Genet, nämligen i en avskogad del av Harrarghe-provinsen där ett arboretum erbjöd de enda möjligheterna till praktisk utbildning.



Figur 2. Alemaya lantbruksuniversitet omgivet av jordbruksmark. Arboretet i bildens mitt gav den enda möjligheten till praktiska övningar på plats. Foto Mats Sandewall, årtal okänt.

Redan från början hade SLU:s experter uttryckt viss tveksamhet när det gällde möjligheten att bedriva skoglig utbildning vid AUA. På ett tidigt stadium ifrågasatte man till exempel om ”forests for the students’ exercises existed at acceptable distance

from Alemaya, both natural and man-made forests".[36] Detta förhållande, som skilde sig från Wondo Genet där det fanns både planteringar och naturskog på och i anslutning till skolan, gjorde det avsevärt mycket svårare att bygga upp en utbildning med ett stort inslag av praktiska övningar. För AUA:s huvudman, det etiopiska utbildningsministeriet, var detta inget problem. Ministeriet hade redan tagit fram en egen utbildningsplan som saknade praktik och vars två första år lästes tillsammans med agronomstudenterna.[37] Här fanns således två motsatta uppfattningar om vad akademisk skogsutbildning kunde och borde vara. För de svenska experterna var praktisk, skogsbaserad träning en oundgänglig del av en sådan, medan de etiopiska utbildningsplanerarna kunde tänka sig ett helt teoretiskt utbildningsprogram.

I en senare analys av möjligheterna för SLU att samverka med Alemayauniversitet utvecklade en grupp experter, som inkluderade skogsfakultetens dekanus Per-Ove Bäckström, de svenska synpunkterna. Möjligheterna till praktisk träning utgjorde en central spänningspunkt för experterna, som explicit tog sin utgångspunkt i det svenska utbildningssystemet. De beskrev praktiken som "vital" för den svenska jägmästarlinjen (som beskrevs som den närmaste motsvarigheten till det kandidatprogram som skulle startas vid Alemaya), och framhöll hur denna utbildning inleddes med fyra och en halv månads inledande yrkesanknutna studier både vid en skogsskola och ett skogsföretag och hur de följande två årens grundläggande kurser både innehöll studieresor och mycket träning i skogsområden.[38] Efter att på detta sätt ha presenterat det svenska systemet fortsatte Bäckström och hans två kolleger med att jämföra den SLU-ledda kandidatutbildningen i Wondo Genet/Skinnskatteberg med det förslag på en ny utbildning vid Alemaya som jordbruksministeriet hade tagit fram. De började med den allmänna synpunkten att en betydande skillnad mellan de två var att det fanns en "emphasis on practical training in the [SLU] program", som dessutom riktade sig till studenter som redan hade en grundläggande och huvudsakligen praktisk skoglig utbildning.[39] Det var inte "immediately evident" från det liggande förslaget att jordbruksministeriet hade insett vikten av detta. En annan viktig skillnad var att SLU:s kandidatprogram starkt betonade vikten av att integrera de olika skogliga ämnena, något som man särskilt ägnade sig åt under terminen i Sverige. Detta var, erkände rapporten, svårt att åstadkomma på ett fullt tillfredsställande sätt i Etiopien. Författarna ansåg likväl att både praktik och integration var nödvändigt för att möta behoven hos studenternas framtida arbetsgivare, som framförallt antogs vara jordbruksministeriet självt.[40]

Dessa uppfattningar kom också att slå igenom när en plan för SLU:s stöd till Alemaya senare färdigställdes inför samarbetets planerade start 1989. I planen gavs stort utrymme till en diskussion av nyttan av praktisk träning för skogsmän och -kvinnor:

36 "Draft Agreed Minutes of the 1987 Annual Review on Forestry," appendix 2, 30 april 1987, SIDA-ETI, F72: 16.

37 Se Alf Arvidsson, Lars Höök, Göran Peterson och Folke Bohlin, "Förslag till insatser vid uppbyggandet av en skoglig fakultet vid det etiopiska lantbruksuniversitetet i Alemaya," bilaga 5, 2, 26 mars 1986, SIDA-ETI, F72: 16.

38 Per-Ove Bäckström, Johan Toborn och Marianne Wibom, "SUAS Forestry Mission to Ethiopia: B.Sc. Forestry Training at Wondo Genet; Forestry Training at the Agricultural University of Alemaya (AUA); Prospects for Cooperation between AUA and SUAS; Final Report" (Uppsala: Sveriges lantbruksuniversitet, 1988), 18.

39 Ibid., 29

40 Ibid., 29–30.

> In recent years it has become generally accepted that Ethiopian university studies in natural sciences are deficient in terms of practical training. For agricultural students this is verified by the practical training now given to the students during one of the otherwise summer holidays. The SUAS B.Sc. forestry management training [kandidatprogrammet i Wondo Genet/Skinnskatteberg] constitutes an interesting alternative to the AUA B.Sc. training as once suggested. According to the SUAS model, students are to have passed the diploma training at Wondo Genet where much practice is included, work for a couple of years, and only then take up B.Sc. studies where again much practical training is comprised. In view of the experiences, the original AUA curriculum was therefore made to accommodate the request for more practicals [...].[41]

Men det var alltså problematiskt att bedriva den typ av praktisk utbildning som SLU:s experter ansåg vara central, i Etiopien i allmänhet men i Alemaya med omnejd i synnerhet. Under rubriken ”Practical B.Sc. Training” diskuterade planens författare detta:

> B.Sc. training in forestry cannot be confined to Harrarghe only. The limited representativeness of ecological conditions and the poor access to forests of different characters make impossible [sic] to retain all practical training in the region. As a first approximation the practical and theoretical parts of the courses in the curriculum [...] are located to suitable areas.[42]

I detta avseende reflekterade planen tydligt SLU:s experters idéer om vad skoglig utbildning innebar. Dessa var noga med att framhålla att de grundade sina resonemang på tidigare erfarenheter från Etiopien och att de innebar en anpassning av utbildningen till etiopiska förhållanden och därmed förknippade behov av expertis. Men att så faktiskt var fallet var inte självklart, vilket framgår av en intervju med AUA:s skogsdekanus Badege Bishaw. Badege, som formellt var medförfattare till den ovan citerade planen men som uppenbarligen inte hade fått gehör för sitt synsätt, instämde i att förhållandena i Harrarghe-provinsen gjorde det svårt att få till stånd praktik, men menade ändå att Alemaya var en lämplig plats för högre skoglig utbildning. Han argumenterade att det i ljuset av det hårda trycket på mark var osannolikt att Etiopien skulle återfå större skogsområden under överskådlig tid, och att landet därför behövde en typ av skogsexperter som kunde arbeta i nära samverkan med bönder och jordbruksrådgivning. Det innebar att det var en fördel att utbilda skogsmän på samma plats som agronomer, och att behovet av praktisk erfarenhet av storskaligt skogsbruk minskade.[43]

Att Badege inte fick stöd för sina idéer reflekterar åtminstone till viss del att hans svenska motparter, som genom biståndskontexten fick det större inflytandet, fortfarande utgick från en svensk förförståelse där akademisk skogsutbildning var tätt knuten till skoglig praktik och därmed till skogen som en konkret, fysisk plats. De förespråkade att också skogsutbildningen i Etiopien borde bygga på denna modell, trots att förhållandena där var så annorlunda från Sverige att detta ledde till svåra,

41 ”Plans of Operations: The Forestry Faculty of the Alemaya Universiy of Agriculture (B.Sc. Training, Research, Extension, and Regular M.Sc. and Ph.D programmes); The Initial M.Sc. Programme and Ph.D. Programme in Forestry,” 7, 22 december 1988, SIDA, F1 AD: 2987.

42 Ibid., 13.

43 Karin Fahlström, ”Etiopiens förste skogsdekanus,” *U-landsskogisen* 17 (1989), 8.

delvis oöverkomliga problem. I praktiken gick man ganska långt i att anpassa omständigheterna till kursplanen istället för kursplanen till omständigheterna, till exempel genom att föreslå att stora delar av den praktiska utbildningen skulle förläggas till andra delar av Etiopien, något som även under bästa tänkbara omständigheter skulle innebära stora logistiska svårigheter.[44] På ett plan kan man förvisso betrakta detta som berömvärt: SLU:s experter stod fast vid vad de uppfattade som den enda hållbara lösningen på ett utvecklingsproblem och var redo att gå mycket långt för att göra denna lösning möjlig att genomföra. Det finns ingen anledning att betvivla att de förespråkade en svensk utbildningsmodell eftersom de var övertygade om nödvändigheten i att påvisa praktikens dygder för en ny generation etiopiska skogsexperter. Men samtidigt går det inte att undvika slutsatsen att detta försök att tillämpa den svenska modellen på en ny plats ledde till besvärliga komplikationer. Det var svårt att passa in den svenska förförståelsen i en ny silvi-kulturell miljö, men det är också tydligt att viljan till anpassning hade sina gränser. Etiopiska politiska förhållanden dikterade skogsfakultetens lokalisering till Alemaya, men de svenska experterna var påtagligt ovilliga att göra mer genomgripande anpassningar av sina utbildningsmodeller till de förhållanden som rådde där. De lyckades således inte bemästra den alltmer påtagliga inkongruensen mellan den silvi-kultur de representerade, och de omständigheter som de mötte i Etiopien.

Möte III: Akademisk silvi-kultur

Samarbetet mellan SLU och Alemaya kunde inte starta som avsett 1989, eftersom Sverige ändrade sin biståndspolitik gentemot Etiopien under slutfasen av det dåvarande inbördeskriget. Efter krigets slut återupptogs det svenska biståndet och SLU kunde återvända. De silvi-kulturella spänningarna kvarstod emellertid, som jag visade med den anekdot som inleder föreliggande artikel. Studenterna på den nya masterutbildningen ogillade kursplanens praktiska inslag och var missnöjda med att SLU hade anställt vissa lärare på basis av skoglig erfarenhet snarare än formella akademiska kvalifikationer. Detta reflekterade djupare problem kring klass, utbildning och expertidentitet där den svenska silvi-kulturen tydligt ställdes mot starka uppfattningar i Etiopien. För de svenska lärarna fanns ingen motsättning mellan att vara en högt utbildad expert och att delta i praktiskt, kroppsligt arbete, och inte heller – åtminstone inte i denna kontext – något problem med undervisning på basis av yrkeskunnande snarare än formella kvalifikationer. Men i Etiopien, liksom i många andra utvecklingsländer, fanns här en tydlig klassmarkör och skiljelinje, där den som var antagen till och i ännu högre grad utexaminerad från en högre utbildning inte kunde förväntas arbeta fysiskt på det sätt som de svenska experterna fordrade. Redan innan SLU kom in i bilden hade svenska lärare vid Wondo Genet mött, och frustrerats av, denna attityd. 1983 menade jägmästaren Anders Dahlqvist, som då undervisade där, att en stor del av undervisningen fick ägnas åt att försöka ändra studenternas uppfattning till att arbeta med händerna.[45]

Trots sådana insatser kvarstod alltså en spänning kring praktikens roll i akademisk utbildning, och den kom att fortsätta prägla projektet. Efter inbördeskriget

44 ”Plans of Operations,” 13.

45 Anders Dahlqvist, ”Skogslärare i Etiopien: Ilska, glädje, men aldrig tråkigt,” *U-landsskogisen* 11 (1983), 10–11.

började SLU, utöver det masterprogram man ordnade, till slut att ge stöd till den nya etiopiska skogsutbildningen vid Alemaya, men vid ett seminarium om metodutveckling 1993 noterade SLU:s representanter att de svenska och etiopiska deltagarna stod långt ifrån varandra i frågan om kursplanernas utveckling, något som med stor sannolikhet syftade på det återkommande problemet att erbjuda den praktiska träning SLU såg som nödvändig i området kring Alemaya.[46] Studenterna togs på studieresor till Wondo Genet och Munessaskogen, men de svenska experterna ansåg att dessa resor närmast fick sightseeingkaraktär. De kunde inte ersätta behovet av gedigen praktik i anslutning till utbildningens förläggningsort.[47]

I ljuset av detta är det förståeligt att SLU:s projektansvariga och personal i Etiopien ställde sig mycket positiva när de etiopiska myndigheterna i mitten av 1990-talet beslutade att all akademisk skogsutbildning skulle flyttas till skolan i Wondo Genet, som då gick under namnet Wondo Genet College of Forestry, och att samtidigt ge denna status som universitetsfakultet.[48] Det visade sig dock snabbt att den nya miljön inte skulle komma att ingjuta en känsla för praktikens värde i den akademiska skogsutbildningen. Akademiseringen av skogsskolan i Wondo Genet ledde istället till en markant försvagning av den praktiska utbildningen där, och till en allt mer eftersatt skötsel av skolans egna skogsresurser. Den svenske jägmästaren Birger Hjelm, som tjänstgjorde vid Wondo Genet från maj 1999 till april 2001, rapporterade efter avslutad anställning att det inte fanns någon tvekan om att den akademiska nivån hade höjts och att detta i och för sig var positivt. Men akademiseringen medförde också betydande problem, vilka Hjelm sedan beskrev ganska ingående:

> However, at the same time we can see that practical oriented education has declined at the college. Students in all levels get little or no proper practical training in forestry subjects. Many colleagues confirmed that previously (about 10 to 15 years ago) students where given more practical exercises and participated directly in forestry operations at the college. The decline in forestry operations has resulted in miss-managed forest plantations and, consequently, there are few demonstration plots showing sound management and most of the research trial are abandoned. Due to lack of management, there is also a continuously great loss of economical value since the resources isn't utilized in a proper way. As stated above, academic improvement can be a development factor, but not on the expense on neglecting practical activities which is the whole base for the College. The objective to establish improved academic level is, in my opinion, to ensure improved management, utilization and sustainable development on the natural resources. I must be honest and say that I didn't see much of this connection at the college.[49]

Hjelm betraktade det som särskilt problematiskt att akademiseringen hade fått negativa konsekvenser för skötseln av Wondo Genets skogar, och poängterade att ett så-

46 "Annual Report 1993/94: Management of Natural Resources in Ethiopia; SIDA Support through the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences (SUAS)," 7, SIDA, F1 AD: 2992.

47 "Draft Plan of Operations, 1996/97, Forestry Faculty, Alemaya University of Agriculture," mars 1996. SIDA-ETI, F72: 35.

48 Daag Skoog till Lars Peter Herthelius (telefax), "Relocating the Forestry Faculty from Alemaya to Wondo Genet," 5 november 1995, SIDA-ETI, F72: 35; "Report from MSc Coordinator/Liaison Officer for the Period 1996-07-01 to 1997-02-20," 10, SIDA-ETI, F72: 35."

49 Birger Hjelm, "Final Report at Wondo Genet College of Forestry in Ethiopia," 6. Sidas arkiv, mapp NATUR 1999-2236, Sidas huvudkontor (nedan Sida). Citatet är exakt återgivet.

dant nödvändigt verktyg som en skötselplan hade saknats under större delen av den tid han arbetade där. Ironiskt nog hade SLU bidragit till detta genom ett omfattande program som gav många av Wondo Genets etiopiska lärare möjlighet till forskarutbildning i Sverige. Hjelm noterade sarkastiskt att en anledning till att skogsskötselplanen saknades var att de som var ansvariga för att ta fram den istället ägnade sig åt att förbereda sina kommande doktorandstudier.[50]

Hjelms kritik delades av Sven Sjunnesson, som hade varit dekanus för studieärenden (Dean of Academic Affairs) vid Wondo Genet under sent 1980-tal. Under ett återbesök år 2000 upprördes han över vad han uppfattade som vanskötsel av skolan och dess skog. I sin reseberättelse beskrev han hur den lokala naturskogen, tidigare skyddad av skolan, nu förhärjades av lokala bönder som behövde betesmark och bränsle. Han skildrade också hur skolans egna skogsplanteringar och övningsområden inte längre sköttes utan fick förfalla. När det gällde konflikten med lokalbefolkningen kring tillgång till skogen handlade det inte i första hand om den interna utvecklingen på Wondo Genet utan, som Sjunnesson också framhöll i sin skildring, om den politiska utvecklingen i landet. Ett ökat regionalt självstyre hade minskat skolans manöverutrymme, eftersom de nya regionala myndigheterna tenderade att stödja de lokala bönderna i eventuella konflikter över tillgången till naturresurser – resurser som oftast också var helt nödvändiga för deras försörjning.[51]

Med utvecklingen av skogsplanteringarna och övningsområdena ansåg både Sjunnesson och Hjelm det vara en annan sak. De menade bägge två att den var direkt kopplad till den allmänt förändrade inriktningen på skolan efter dess upphöjelse till fakultet. Sjunnesson, som menade att ett av Wondo Genets ”särdrag” var praktiken, tyckte sig se att den nu ”till stora delar” hade försvunnit eftersom undervisningen hade ”akademiserats”.[52] Hjelm delade denna uppfattning och rapporterade att en vanlig attityd bland de etiopiska lärarna var att de praktiska övningar som trots allt förekom kunde skötas av underordnade assistenter. Han menade, helt i linje med vad SLU:s experter hade förespråkat sedan mitten av 1980-talet, att det var nödvändigt att den praktiska undervisningen uppvärderades och att fler fältförlagda övningar infördes, under ledning av den akademiska personalen.[53] Allt detta var förstås djupt ironiskt, för om det fanns ett dominerande drag i SLU:s arbete med att utveckla den etiopiska skogsutbildningen så var det just det återkommande försöket att förmedla en bild av akademisk skogsutbildning som något som byggde på en syntes av teori och praktik. Man hade emellertid inte lyckats bryta ner gränsen mellan högre utbildning och praktiskt arbete, och därmed blev en konsekvens av Wondo Genets akademisering att praktiken betonades allt mindre.

Efter flytten av all etiopisk högre skogsutbildning till Wondo Genet uppstod också en ny spänning mellan SLU och Sida,[54] där biståndspolitiska mål om fattigdomsbekämpning och lokalt deltagande kom i viss konflikt med SLU:s kompetenser inom

50 Ibid.

51 Sven Sjunnesson, ”Återbesök med blandade känslor,” *Tenaestelin: Medlemsblad för svensk-etiopiska föreningen* 41, no. 2 (2000), 13.

52 Ibid.

53 Hjelm, ”Final Report at Wondo Genet,” 6.

54 1995 omorganiserades den svenska biståndsmyndigheten, och den nya organisationens namnförkortning skrivs med gemener.

skogsutbildning. Redan i diskussionen kring en eventuell förlängning av projektet under 1999 noterade Sida-representanter ungefär samma sak som Birger Hjelm sedan uttryckte i sin rapport två år senare, nämligen att stödet till Wondo Genet var ”svagt ur fattigdomsperspektiv” och att det inte fanns någon tydlig koppling mellan akademisk utbildning och att bekämpa avskogning, vilket var det övergripande målet med verksamheten och ett medel för fattigdomsbekämpning. För första gången inledde Sida, i sin roll som uppdragsgivare, en explicit diskussion inte bara om projektets övergripande utformning utan om dess själva kärna: uppfattningen att högre skoglig utbildning var en viktig utvecklingsfaktor. För fortfarande efter närmare femton års verksamhet var det uppenbarligen svårt att visa på tydligt positiva resultat bortom det rent akademiska samarbetet.[55]

Denna diskussion kom sedan att karaktärisera de sista tio åren av projektet. Den kom till tydligt uttryck i Sidas ambitioner att förstärka forskningsdelen av projektet i samband med att fakulteten flyttade till Wondo Genet, med särskilt fokus på mer samhällstillvänd och direkt avnämarorienterad skoglig forskning. En del av arbetet innebar, som jag nämnde ovan, att ett stort antal av de etiopiska lärarna erbjöds forskarutbildning genom SLU. År 2003 hade Wondo Genet fyra lärare med svenska doktorsexamina på plats, nio genomgick forskarutbildning i Sverige, och ytterligare tre stipendier fanns att dela ut.[56] Men trots denna omfattande satsning gjordes knappast några framsteg när det gällde att få till stånd den slags forskning Sida prioriterade. En utvärdering av projektet från 2003 påpekade att doktorandernas ämnen var naturvetenskapliga och inriktade mot traditionell skoglig forskning, och att doktorandprogrammet således inte hade gett colleget den bredare personalprofil som eftersträvades.[57]

Samtidigt som man erbjöd forskarutbildning i Sverige arbetade SLU även med att starta upp forskning på plats vid Wondo Genet. I en artikel publicerad i skolans nyhetsbrev år 2000 beskrev dekanus Tesfaye Teshome, Sven-Gunnar Larsson och den svenska skogsexperten Daag Skoog ett ambitiöst mål om att introducera interdisciplinär och lokalbefolkningsanknuten verksamhet både inom forskning och inom utbildning. De menade att både naturvetenskap och samhällsvetenskap behövdes för att lösa problem som rörde naturresursutnyttjande, och att det därför var nödvändigt med ”holistiska” angreppssätt som komplement till de mer disciplinbundna perspektiven.[58] Men i praktiken blev det inte mycket av denna plan. Många av de mer erfarna lärarna var i Sverige för sin forskarutbildning, vilket ledde till personalbrist. Dessutom var de flesta av de potentiella etiopiska forskarna akademiskt inriktade och föredrog traditionella, disciplinbaserade problem framför aktionsforskning och tvärvetenskapligt arbete. Utvärderingen från 2003 slog fast att ett av målen för den senaste projektperioden hade varit att få till stånd ökad interdisciplinaritet och större medverkan från traktens bönder, men att det inte hade lyckats. Istället hade

55 Mötesprotokoll angående 1) Skogsutbildning i Etiopien 2) Stöd till IPPF, 2–3, 21 maj 1999, Sida, mapp NATUR 1999-2236.

56 ”Sida Support to Wondo Genet College of Forestry: Final Report by a Review and Appraisal Mission, February/March 2003,” 7, 15 juli 2003, Sida, mapp NATUR 1999-2236.

57 ”Sida Support to Wondo Genet,” i–ii.

58 Tesfaye Teshome, Sven-Gunnar Larsson och Daag Skoog, ”The Only Forestry College in Ethiopia,” *Wondo Genet Newsletter* 1, vol. 1 (2000), 2, Förvaltningensavdelningens i Umeå arkiv, F3a: 1, Sveriges lantbruksuniversitets arkiv.

de projekt som utförts varit ”klassiska” naturvetenskapliga studier utan något lokalt deltagande, och hade för övrigt i många fall inte slutförts. Utvärderingen noterade också att SLU:s engagemang för det interdisciplinära arbetet hade varit begränsat. Mönstret var således detsamma både när det gällde doktorandutbildningen i Sverige och forskningen vid Wondo Genet, och det ligger nära till hands att dra slutsatsen att SLU – som också i grunden hade en disciplinbaserad kultur och mycket lite av den samhällsvetenskapliga kompetens som egentligen hade behövts för att uppnå de bredare målen – saknade ordentliga förutsättningar för att stödja den verksamhet Sida efterfrågade.[59] Den etiopiska silvi-kultur som institutionaliserades vid Wondo Genet blev därmed en teoretisk, akademisk och disciplinbaserad silvi-kultur, som varken reflekterade SLU:s fokus på en kombination av teori och praktik eller Sidas intressen i tvärvetenskaplig aktionsforskning med deltagande från lokalbefolkningen.

Kring 2003 var situationen således komplex och mångfacetterad. Å ena sidan kunde projektet visa upp ett flertal framgångar. Wondo Genet var på väg att bli en självständig akademisk fakultet med eget ansvar för ett antal skogliga kandidat- och masterutbildningar. Antalet anställda med högre akademiska examina hade ökat markant och skulle fortsätta öka allt eftersom fler nydisputerade lärare återvände från Sverige. I ljuset av detta beskrev utvärderingen från samma år Wondo Genet som en ledande akademisk institution på naturresursområdet.[60] Men eftersom det fanns få nedsippringseffekter och rentav en del som talade för att akademiseringen av Wondo Genet snarast motverkade projektets målsättningar om att bekämpa avskogning och att generera kunskap av relevans för den lokala befolkningen, var den synbara framgången likväl problematisk för finansiärerna på Sida och rådgivarna på SLU, som båda hade anledningar att vara besvikna på den silvi-kultur som nu dominerade på skolan. SLU:s praktiska skogsutbildningsmodell hade inte slagit rot, det lokala deltagande Sida efterfrågade hade inte kommit till stånd, och skogsskötselproblemen antydde att det inte fanns något självklart samband mellan akademisk utbildning och det hållbara och rättvisa utnyttjandet av naturresurser som man ytterst syftade till. Detta innebar ett fundamentalt problem för projektet, som Birger Hjelm redan hade formulerat i sin rapport ett par år tidigare: “One reflection and a fair question: If all or most of the input goes to already privileged groups, how is this meeting up to Sida’s main objective: the fighting of poverty?”

SLU kom emellertid att fortsätta stödja Wondo Genet i ytterligare ett halvt årtionde, och under denna sista period gjorde man ett mer genomgripande försök att överbrygga klyftan mellan den akademisk-teoretiska silvi-kulturen och biståndets mål genom ett program som i viss mån lyckades stimulera en del aktionsforskning med lokalt deltagande. Här finns inte utrymme att analysera denna utveckling närmare. Det kan dock sägas att även detta initiativ drogs med problem och förseningar, och det lyckades i slutändan inte övertyga Sida, som valde att avsluta det svenska biståndet till Wondo Genet under 2009. SLU avslutade då också sitt engagemang, och den aktionsforskning som hade inletts fasades ut.

59 ”Sida Support to Wondo Genet,” 9.

60 Ibid., i.

Figur 3. Den nya konferenslokalen och föreläsningssalen i Wondo Genet under ett seminarium i samband med projektets avslutning 2009. Den utgör ett exempel på de stora investeringar som Sida bidrog till när Wondo Genet utvecklades till akademisk institution, men kan samtidigt sägas symbolisera hur den teoretiska undervisningen kom att betonas allt mer. Foto: Sven Sjunnesson, 2009.

Avslutning

Akademisk utbildning producerar och reproducerar kunskap, färdigheter och värderingar. I föreliggande artikel har jag undersökt sådan reproduktion inom ramen för Sveriges lantbruksuniversitets engagemang i ett svenskt skogligt biståndsprojekt i Etiopien. Min diskussion av tre olika silvi-kulturella möten inom ramen för biståndsprojektet har visat hur detta projekts mest centrala drag var SLU:s mycket starka uppfattning om akademisk skogsutbildning som en delvis praktikbaserad aktivitet kopplad till skogen som en konkret, fysisk plats. Detta utgjorde en bärande anledning till att SLU utformade utbildningsprogram som innehöll en termin i Sverige, där det fanns stora skogsområden som lämpade sig väl för praktiska övningar. I Etiopien saknades i stort sett sådana förutsättningar. Under planeringen för SLU:s samarbete med lantbruksuniversitetet i Alemaya ställdes detta på sin spets: kring Alemaya fanns ingen skog överhuvudtaget. Utifrån den kunskap och de värderingar SLU betraktade som centrala för skogsutbildning kunde man således inte fullt ut acceptera Alemaya som en lämplig plats för denna slags aktivitet.

Diskussionerna kring förutsättningarna för skoglig utbildning vid Alemaya utgör därmed det tydligaste exemplet på hur de svenska experterna guidades av en förförståelse formad inom ramen för en svensk silvi-kultur som kännetecknades av en stark skogsindustri och av hög tillgänglighet till skogsmiljöer för de flesta i befolkningen. Det var i detta sammanhang som uppfattningen om praktikens centralitet även för högsta möjliga skogsutbildning hade utvecklats. I Etiopien var situationen

helt annorlunda. Där fanns mycket lite sammanhängande skog, ingen skogsindustri att tala om, inga traditioner av skoglig utbildning, och allmänt en stark teoriorientering inom närliggande vetenskapsområden, som till exempel jordbruksvetenskaperna. De svenska experterna uttryckte tydligt uppfattningen att det var av central vikt att anpassa skoglig utbildning till rådande förutsättningar, och att deras förslag karaktäriserades av sådan anpassning. Emellertid har min analys visat att de regelmässigt förbehöll sig rätten att själva avgöra vilka de rådande förutsättningarna var, och att de då tenderade att falla tillbaka på vissa förgivettagna föreställningar som präglade den svenska silvi-kulturen och som i själva verket byggde på de förutsättningar som fanns i Sverige. Här kan man ana ett mer generellt dilemma för det slags kunskapsöverföring jag har diskuterat här: är man för djupt rotad i sin egen expertis är det svårt att kritiskt ifrågasätta den, samtidigt som det är sådana djupa rötter – det vill säga mycket erfarenhet och en långt utvecklad professionalitet – som gör en person till en god kandidat för ett inflytelserikt expertuppdrag.

Detta visar på värdet av att studera utbildningshistoria i en biståndskontext. I mötet med nya miljöer artikulerade SLU:s experter en skoglig utbildningsmodell som tydligt kommunicerade deras uppfattning om vad skoglig expertis innebar. Denna uppfattning, med dess underliggande värderingar, var förvisso inte dold i den inhemska kontexten, men genom att studera hur den förflyttades till en miljö där förutsättningarna var annorlunda går det att se mönster som inte framträder på samma sätt i Sverige. De svenska experternas mycket starka ovilja att nedprioritera praktiken tydliggör exempelvis hur, ur deras perspektiv, akademisk skoglig utbildning var närmast oupplösligt förbunden med praktiskt arbete i skogen. Samtidigt visar studien också på hur utbildningshistoriska undersökningar kan bidra till policydiskussioner, genom att till exempel ifrågasätta uppfattningar om möjligheten för svenska experter att snabbt anpassa sin kunskap till nya omständigheter. Detta ska inte läsas som ett argument mot att bygga upp utbildningsstöd och samarbeten utifrån den modell man är bekant med: poängen, som jag antydde ovan, är att det kan vara svårt att kritiskt granska sin egen expertis, och att självreflexion över detta dilemma är nödvändigt, inte minst inom ramen för brett formulerade visioner som den ovan nämnda om *Skogsriket*. Om detta inte görs finns risken att man fastnar i sina egna utgångspunkter och får svårt att ta till sig uppfattningar som är värdefulla men som ligger utanför det egna paradigmet. I denna artikel exemplifieras det väl av Badege Bishaws idéer om vilken typ av skogsutbildning som Etiopien behövde. Badege fick begränsat gehör för sina tankar, men den senare utvecklingen antyder att hans uppfattning var framsynt. En liknande slutsats kan också dras ur den över tid alltmer uttalade spänningen mellan SIDA/Sida:s biståndspolitiska mål, för vilka skogsutbildningen var tänkt att vara ett medel, och de resultat projektet faktiskt uppnådde. Först när Sida började kritisera en med tiden alltmer tydlig brist på koppling mellan medel och mål, och det rentav uppstod tvivel om projektets framtida finansiering, stimulerades en reflektion över den egna kunskapen inom SLU som i viss mån också förde projektet in på ett nytt och potentiellt (om än inte fullt ut realiserat) mer produktivt spår under dess sista period.

Det var inte enbart i skogen som svenskt bistånd tillmätte avgörande vikt till praktiskt kunnande. Även om den historiska forskningen på området är begränsad kan man lätt identifiera ett sådant mönster om man till exempel bläddrar bland bi-

ståndsarbetares egna minnen.[61] Här utkristalliserar sig en vidare forskningsfråga om svenskt utbildningsbistånd och svenska eller kanske skandinaviska uppfattningar om vad utbildning på olika nivåer, inklusive den akademiska, kan och bör innebära. Vilken vikt tillmättes praktiken på olika utbildningsområden och -nivåer, och varför? Hur påverkade det biståndets utförande? Visst material för sådana jämförelser finns redan i och med min egen forskning om andra agrara biståndsprojekt.[62] I det sammanhanget förstår jag SLU:s skogliga engagemang som kongruent med en överordnad svensk agrar ideologi som genomgående betonade vikten av praktiskt och platsbundet kunnande, ”residential knowledge”, med vetenskapshistorikern Robert Kohlers begrepp.[63] Teoretisk och praktisk kunskap sågs som kompletterande snarare än som motpoler, och det fanns ingen motsättning mellan att vara expert och arbeta praktiskt. Denna ideologi gav ofta goda resultat i agrara biståndssammanhang, åtminstone i rent teknisk mening, men samtidigt genererade den som regel olika slags friktion när den praktiserades i nya miljöer där föreställningar om expertis såg annorlunda ut och förutsättningarna för dess tillämpning varierade. Kring denna friktion finns utrymme för vidare forskning i gränslandet mellan utbildnings- och biståndshistoria, som kan fortsätta att tydliggöra och analysera svenska utbildningsideologier och deras effekter också på andra områden än det agrara.

61 Se t.ex. bidragen i antologin *…och världen växte: Biståndet som vi minns det*, red. Peter Gumbel, Bo Kärre och Anna Wieslander (Uppsala: Sida-seniorerna, 1999).

62 Bruno (2016), särskilt kap. 2; Bruno (2014).

63 Robert E. Kohler, *All Creatures: Naturalists, Collectors, and Biodiversity, 1850–1950* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 156–62.

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From Seminar to University: Dismantling an Old and Constructing a New Teacher Education in Finland and Sweden, 1946–1979

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Abstract • In the 1970s, Sweden and Finland abandoned the system of seminars for folk school teachers and incorporated all teacher education into the system of higher education. The visions behind the new education, as well as the original plans for its structure, were similar in both countries, but the outcomes were different. Finland managed to a greater extent to implement an academic teacher education located at universities, while the Swedish solution was deemed unsatisfactory by many actors, leading to several new reforms in the following decades. This can be explained by the different nature of the conflicts surrounding the reforms in Sweden and Finland. In Finland, the early 1970s was a period of intense left-right polarisation, followed by attempts to depoliticise teacher education. In Sweden, the vision of an academic teacher education met successful resistance from regional actors, resulting in the preservation of much of the old seminar system under the guise of small teacher education colleges.

Keywords • teacher education, educational reforms, Finland, Sweden

Introduction

Finland and Sweden are two countries that have in many ways developed along similar paths, including in the field of education. However, their systems of teacher education have turned out quite differently, despite similar initial ambitions and ideals. The roots of the differences can be found in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, when Finnish and Swedish educators and politicians alike were faced with questions of how to construct a teacher education for the new comprehensive school system, how to gain support for the reforms, and what to do with the network of seminars which had educated teachers for the old folk schools (*folkskola*, *kansakoulu*). The aim of this study is to compare how Finland and Sweden prepared and implemented a new university-based teacher education from the late 1940s until the 1970s, with a focus upon how the interactions between different actors affected the outcome of the reform process.

A comparison between the two countries' teacher education provides new perspectives on the development of the Finnish as well as the Swedish systems. The many similarities make it easier to discern the particular characteristics of each country's development, and facilitate explanations of how and why teacher education has changed. The comparative perspective also illustrate that the development

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and the outcome in each country was not predestined, but was affected by a number of contingent factors.

Ideas and actors

The school system is generally considered of great importance for the future development of society, since it shapes the worldviews, knowledge, and skills of the coming generations. Since reforms of teacher education have been seen as a necessary prerequisite for school reforms, it has developed through a struggle between actors with different views and ideologies regarding its purpose and design. Such ideologies have been labelled "orientations" in earlier research, which has primarily focused upon the United States but also to some degree on Sweden. The number and description of the orientations might vary between different researchers, but the main points are similar, exemplified by Andersson's description of orientations – although she called them paradigms – in Swedish teacher education:

1. A vocational orientation focusing upon knowledge and skills in educating according to present traditions, in order to prepare students for work in the contemporary school.
2. A progressivist orientation, where teacher education aims at renewing the school with new pedagogics or methods, democratic values, critical attitudes, etc.
3. An academic orientation that focuses upon subject knowledge, subject didactics, and university studies.
4. An orientation of personal development that emphasises the future teachers' psychological and personal development as a foundation for the teaching profession.

Although Andersson's analysis is based upon the Swedish teacher education reform of 1988, the orientations she identifies are also applicable to our period of research. However, an important difference is that in the 1950s and the 1960s in Sweden, the progressivist orientation was closely connected to a belief in the ability of the pedagogical and psychological sciences to transform teaching, similar to what Feyman-Nemser called technological orientation and Zeichner described as inquiry-orientation.[1] Another difference is that the Finnish academic orientation was more focused upon the value of university education per se, and less upon its content, than was the case in Sweden.

In order to analyse how these orientations have been used in actual struggles re-

1 Kenneth M. Zeichner, "Traditions of Practice in U.S. Preservice Teacher Education Programs," *Teaching and Teacher Education* 9, no. 1 (1993); W. Doyle, "Themes in Teacher Education Research," in *Handbook of Research on Teacher Education*, ed. W. Robert Houston, Martin Haberman, and John Sikula (New York: Macmillan, 1990); Sharon Feiman-Nemser, "Teacher Preparation: Structural and Conceptual Alternatives," in *Handbook of Research on Teacher Education*, ed. W. Robert Houston, Martin Haberman, and John Sikula (New York: Macmillan, 1990); Peter Rennert-Ariev, *Interrogating Coherence in Preservice Teacher Education: A Case Study* (College Park: University of Maryland, 2002); Bob Adamson and Paul Morris, "Comparing Curricula," in *Comparative Education Research: Approaches and Methods* 19, ed. Mark Bray, Bob Adamson, and Mark Mason (Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong, 2007); Catharina Andersson, *Läras för skolan eller skolas att lära: Tankemodeller i lärarutbildning* (Uppsala: Diss. Uppsala universitet, 1995), Ingrid Carlgren, *På väg mot en enhetlig lärarutbildning? En studie av lärarutbildares föreställningar i ett reformskede* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1992).

lating to educational policies between actors from the educational system, academia, and the political sphere, they have to be analysed with the help of a theoretical framework focused on agency.

Sociologist Margaret Archer claims that educational systems are shaped by the aims and needs of the actors who control education and wield power over it. Archer based her model on studies of the nineteenth century transformation of the educational systems in France and England. These systems changed through a process where an existing structure – education as private enterprise – was modified through interactions between agents competing for educational control, whereby a structural elaboration took place, in her case resulting in the emergence of state educational systems.[2]

We argue that in a twentieth century Nordic welfare society, where education is a central concern for the state and the object of extensive long-term planning, Archers three step model (structure–interaction–structural elaboration) has to be replaced by the four step model: structure–planned structural elaboration–interaction– implemented structural elaboration. In the short section "Historical background," we describe the pre-existing structures of teacher eduction in Finland and Sweden, which closely resembled each other. Our investigation is centred on three questions that are answered in separate chapters where the two countries are compared. First, the planned structural elaborations are described in "Visions, ideologies and structural plans," where we investigate the dominating visions of school, teaching, and pedagogy among leading actors behind the reforms of teacher education, and what changes in the content, values, structure, and organisation of teacher education they considered necessary in order to reach their objectives. Second, in "Conflicts" we describe the interactions that unfolder when aspects of the proposed changes caused conflicts between different actors. Thirdly, in "Outcomes" we investigate the implemented structural elaborations. When plans were transformed into actual political decisions, what was the outcome of the reform process? What did the reformed teacher education in Finland and Sweden look like at the end of the 1970s when teacher education had become a part of the university system in both countries?

Comparative research on reforms of teacher education

Although comparative education is a growing research field, there have been few comparisons of the development of teacher education. The existing studies stress the importance of understanding the national cultural context in the compared countries. For example, in a study of teacher education in Norway and Great Britain, Stephens, Tønnessen, and Kyriacou claim that comparative educational research highlight the importance of national contexts for the implementation of decisions. Thus, British education focused on practical teaching skills and the maintenance of order in the classroom, while Norwegian teachers were expected to learn pedagogical theory and value transmission.[3]

Similarily, Blömeke and Payne stress the importance of taking into account cultural factors and values when conducting comparative studies. For example, in Tai-

2 Margaret S. Archer, *Social Origins of Educational Systems: University Edition* (London: Sage, 1984).

3 Paul Stephens, Finn Egil Tønnessen and Chris Kyriacou,"Teacher-Training and Teacher Education in England and Norway: A Comparative Study of Policy Goals," *Comparative Education* 40, no.1 (2004).

wan only the best students of mathematics are admitted to teacher education, which is strikingly different from the case of the United States.[4]

Large comparative studies of teacher education have been conducted in Europe[5] and in the Pacific region.[6] However, these reports are inventories and evaluations and generally lack a broader comparative approach and a longer historical perspective. *Traditions and Transistions in Teacher Education* from 2003 does give a historical perspective on the developments in Canada, Iceland, and Sweden, but it is a collection of case studies by separate authors rather than a comparative project.[7]

Research on reforms of teacher education in Sweden

The history of Swedish teacher education up until the 1980s has been described by several scholars, but only Linné and Marklund have considered conflicts between actors. Linné has studied the education for folk school teachers from the 1800s until 1968, and reveal that some of the conflicts found in our analysis of the 1950s and 1960s, in terms of the future of the seminars, were already visible in the 1930s. Proponents of the non-academic, vocational seminar education of folk-school teachers claimed that it was an important route to education for young people without secondary schooling. Over time, this traditional view was challenged by the notion that the education of folk-school teachers should rely on academic principles and be based upon a secondary school exam. From the 1930s, the folk-school teachers' trade unions were important actors in propagating this change, as an academisation of folk-school teacher education would raise the status of the profession.[8]

Marklund describes the entire reform process from the 1940s to the 1970s in detail based on official reports, bills, and parliamentary decisions. However, he has not analysed parliamentary sources, which can reveal conflicts between political parties and politicians.[9]

Linné points out that the reform process was characterised by an ambiguous hesitation. From the end of the 1940s, official reports and bills advocated a new teacher education, and a parliamentary decision along these lines was taken in 1950. However, this and many following decision were vague and without a binding schedule. Thus, tangible progress was slow, and teacher education was not reformed until 1968.[10] This was six years after the introduction of the comprehensive school in 1962, and Marklund argues that a faster introduction would have been possible. According to him, the hesitation and delay was caused by the resistance of some actors to

4 Sigrid Blömeke and Lynn Payne, "Getting the Fish out of the Water: Considering Benefits and Problems of Doing Research on Teacher Education at an International Level," *Teaching and Teacher Education* 24, no. 8, (2008).

5 E.g. Theodor Sander, et al. eds., *Teacher Education in Europe: Evaluation and Perspectives* (Osnabrück: SIGMA, 1996); Tema Nord 2009:505, *Komparativt studium af de nordiske læreruddannelser* (København: Nordisk ministerråd, 2009).

6 Paul Morris and John Williamson, eds., *Teacher Education in the Asia-Pacific Region: A Comparative Study* (New York: Falmer Press, 2000).

7 Sandra Acker and Gaby Weiner, eds., Theme: Traditions and Transitions in Teacher Education, *Tidskrift för lärarutbildning och forskning*, no. 3–4 (2003).

8 Agneta Linné, *Moralen, barnet eller vetenskapen: En studie av tradition och förändring i lärarutbildningen* (Stockholm: HLS, 1996).

9 Sixten Marklund, *Skolsverige 1950–1975, 6: Rullande reform* (Stockholm: Liber, 1989).

10 Linné (1996), 315–20.

the core principles of the new teacher education. While Marklund specifically mentioned the seminar teachers,[11] our analysis of parliamentary print shows that they were supported by other actors.

Research on reforms of teacher education in Finland

Esko Kähkönen has described the development of teacher education in Finland from 1958 to 1978, while Joukko Vuorenpää has investigated the period from the 1970s until the early 2000s. Veli Nurmi has studied the development of Finnish teacher education from 1863 until the 1970s, focusing on the seminars.[12]

Kähkönen describes how the religious-national upbringing which had permeated the seminars disappeared when the seminars were closed in 1974. In his opinion, the political left used the concept of scientificity to counteract the religious and conservative value-base that dominated the schools and teacher education. With scientificity, many on the left intended to promote Marxist philosophy, but the concept was interpreted differently by others. Thus, scientificity became a central concept in the Finnish teacher education reform of the 1970s, and it has since further increased in importance, as illustrated by Säntti et al.[13]

Although there is significant Finnish research about the period, it rarely mentions actors trying to influence teacher education or conflicts between them. Nurmi mentioned one conflict in the nineteenth century – between male and female seminar students – and used it to illustrate that conflicts were not unique to his own time, but did not elaborate upon the nature of the contemporary conflicts. The fact that none of the previous overviews mention the role of The Society for Support of Free Education (*Vapaan koulutuksen tukisäätiö*, VKTS) might be explained by the fact that its existence was first made public in 2004. Nurmi was certainly aware of its existence, since he, like many other high ranking officials at the Finnish Board of Education (*Kouluhallitus/Skolstyrelsen*), was a member. However, membership was strictly confidential, and the organisation was not discussed in public until its existence was revealed in 2004.[14] Probably influenced by the closeness in time to the politically polarised 1970s and the fact that the authors themselves took part in the process, earlier research have bypassed some of the main conflicts which led to the Finnish teacher education of today.

Sources

Our main sources are committee reports and parliamentary proceedings. These documents provide a picture of how different actors sought to influence the renewal of teacher education. Important interest groups were represented in the committees

11 Marklund (1989), 251–55, 301.

12 Esko I. Kähkönen, *Opettajankoulutus Suomen koulunuudistuksessa v. 1958–1978: Yleissivistävän koulun opettajien koulutuksen järjestelyt ja tavoitteet* (Oulu: Oulun yliopisto, 1979); Joukko Vuorenpää, *Yliopistollisen opettajankoulutuksen kehittyminen Suomessa 1970-luvulta 2000-luvulle* (Turku: Turku University, 2003); Veli Nurmi, *Opettajankoulutuksen tähänastinen kehitys* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1979).

13 Kähkönen (1979), 133–34; Janne Säntti et al., "Bowing to Science: Finnish Teacher Education Turns its Back on Practical Schoolwork," *Educational Practice and Theory* 36, no. 1 (2014), 21.

14 Jari Leskinen, *Tulevaisuuden turvaksi: Sotavahinkoyhdistyksen ja irtaimiston sotavahinkoyhdistyksen sotavahinkovakuutustoiminta 1939–1954: Sotavahinkoyhdistyksen säätiö ja sotavahinkosäätiö 1954–2004* (Jyväskylä: Sotavahinkosäätiö, 2004).

and the viewpoints of the political parties are revealed in parliamentary debates. Although our efforts to conduct a balanced comparative study are facilitated by the similarities of the countries' committee systems, some differences do exist. In Finland, actors who disagreed with the general conclusions of the committee published objections at the end of the committee reports. In Sweden, dissenting voices is instead captured in the summaries of referrals published together with the propositions in parliament. While these summaries might have gone through a process of selection in order to support the viewpoints presented in the proposition, they still illustrate which actors were supporting and which were opposing the proposition in question.

Historical background – teacher education for folk schools and grammar schools in Finland and Sweden

A parallel school system developed in Finland and Sweden in the nineteenth century, with grammar schools for the elite and folk schools for the majority of the population. In Finland and Sweden, folk-school teachers and grammar-school teachers followed separate educational paths of entirely different characters. From the middle of the nineteenth century, folk-school teachers were trained in "seminars" with no connection to the universities. Seminar education was more vocationally oriented than the academic education of grammar-school teachers who took a bachelor degree in their university subjects, after which they—from the mid-1800s—received some pedagogical instruction and practical teaching training in schools.[15]

The legacy of these two teacher-education traditions, one vocationally and the other academically oriented, continued to play a role in both Finland and Sweden during the period examined in this present article, the 1940s to the 1970s. Teacher education was gradually reformed and reorganised in a way that brought these forms of training closer to one another, for example by the introduction of teacher-training colleges, but the old and new forms coexisted for a long time. The comprehensive school – planned in Sweden in the 1940s and 1950s, in Finland in the 1960s, introduced in Sweden in 1962 and in Finland in 1972 – was a driving force of teacher-education reform. As a result of this development, teacher education finally became a part of the university system, in 1977 in Sweden and in 1974 in Finland, where it was elevated to masters' level in 1979, a year which marks the end of this study.

Visions, ideologies, and structural plans

Sweden

Since the late nineteenth century, Swedish social democrats and liberals had envisioned a comprehensive school which would provide a common basic education for all children regardless of social background. The aim was not only to provide better education for the individual, but also to create a more democratic society. In this ambition, the aims of progressivist pedagogues and Social Democrats coincided. The Social Democratic Party, which with the exception of a few months in 1936 was in government from 1932 to 1976, dominated Swedish educational policies. During our period of research, liberals and conservatives did not have an alternative vision

15 Emil Bertilsson, "Lärarutbildning," in *Utbildningshistoria: En introduktion* 2nd ed., ed. Esbjörn Larsson and Johannes Westberg (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2015), 191–95; Kähkönen (1979), 23.

for education, but either supported the aims of the social democrats or objected to mere details.

The school commission of 1946 aimed at redrawing primary and secondary education in Sweden. It consisted of politicians from different parties, but was dominated by Social Democrats. Among them was sociologist and politician Alva Myrdal, minister of education Josef Weijne, and Stellan Arvidson who later became a well-known school politician. The commission published its main report in 1948, containing a chapter on teacher education, and in 1952 a second report, prepared by a group of experts and high officials.[16]

The commission proposed a move towards a comprehensive school system, which required a new teacher education that could bridge the gap between folk and grammar school teachers. It considered the old seminars a mere school education, lacking academic foundations and mixing theory and practice to an unacceptable level. Grammar school teacher education had too strict a division between the two, and a weak linkage between theoretical studies and school reality. Both forms of teacher education contained too little psychology, pedagogy, and preparations for the nurturing role of teachers.[17]

The comprehensive school should not only provide pupils with knowledge and skills, but also, in a progressivist spirit, develop their personalities and raise them to be good democratic citizens. Old methods of teaching were therefore considered obsolete.[18] It was important to convince student teachers that teaching should no longer be based upon lectures, home work, and tests. "New Education" (learning-by-doing), where pupils worked and searched for information independently, were considered central. The old authoritative teacher role should be transformed into one of cooperation between teacher and student.[19]

The school commission proposed that the future teacher education should take place in a new kind of institute for higher education – the teacher-training colleges. These were to be more academic than the folk-school seminars, and special training schools would be attached to them. A professor in pedagogy at each teacher-training college would be responsible for the research, partly in nearby experimental schools. Lecturers in methodology would ensure that the student teachers would receive scientifically based knowledge about methods adapted to specific age groups.[20] Thus, the commission believed strongly in pedagogy, psychology, teaching methodology, and in improving teaching methods through research.[21] However, since this emphasis on science was closely linked to an ambition to reform school and society, it should not primarily be interpreted as academically oriented. Rather, it reflected the heavy reliance on psychology and pedagogy present in the Swedish progressivist orientation.

16 SOU 1948:27; SOU 1952:33.

17 SOU 1948:27, 361–75; SOU 1952:33, 3, 22.

18 Berit Askling, *Utbildningsplanering i en lärarutbildning: En studie av läroplansarbete i den decentraliserade högskolan* (Stockholm : Stockholms universitet, 1983), 180–81; Hannu Simola et al., "Changes in Nordic Teaching Practices: From Individualized Teaching to the Teaching of Individuals," in *The Finnish Education Mystery: Historical and Sociological Essays on Schooling in Finland*, ed. Hannu Simola (New York: Routledge, 2015), 178–203.

19 SOU 1948:27, 351-55; SOU 1952:33, 22.

20 SOU 1948:27, 19, 354, 409–15; SOU 1952:33, 19, 22–40.

21 Ibid.

The teacher-training colleges should be large and located in university cities to enable coordination of education and research. The report of 1948 suggested that in cities without universities, some seminars could be transformed into "small" teacher-training colleges, exclusively providing education for folk school teachers.[22] The report of 1952 abandoned this idea in favour of placing all teacher-training in university cities, granting folk-school teachers contact with the academic world.[23] However, the small colleges would later return as an important issue in the debate.

The commission also launched a detailed plan for the first teacher-training college in Stockholm, intended as a blueprint for other colleges to follow. It should provide vocational training for teachers from grade one of comprehensive school up to secondary-school level in pedagogy, psychology, teaching methods, and social issues. Common training would bring different groups of teachers closer to one another. Grammar-school teachers should complete their subject studies at university, after which they spent one year at teacher-training college, while folk school teachers would get all their instruction, including subject studies, at the college. All student teachers would complete a vocationally-oriented aspirant training.

Following the school commission's proposals, Sweden's first teacher-training college opened in 1956 in Stockholm. However, this was not connected to any binding decisions regarding the establishment of more colleges or the future of the seminars. Instead, teacher education changed gradually in the following decade. Three more "large" teacher-training colleges for education of both folk and grammar-school teachers were established in university cities in the early 1960s.[24] However, the seminars and aspirant-year grammar schools were left in place.

After the parliamentary decision in 1962 to implement the comprehensive school reform, the teacher education experts of 1960 (*1960 års lärarutbildningssakkunniga*, LUS) was assigned to investigate the adaptation of teacher education to the comprehensive school system.[25] It was initiated by the Social Democratic government, but consisted of experts and high officials, among them Torsten Husén, professor of pedagogy and a comprehensive school expert. The unions of class and subject teachers were represented by a member each. The only politician was the Social Democrat Stellan Arvidsson, but as a former teacher and headmaster, he was also an expert.

LUS mainly pursued the progressivist aims of the school commission: it wanted to closely align folk and grammar-school teacher education, and highlighted the problems with both the old seminar education and the academic education of grammar-school teachers.[26] LUS also emphasised the importance of education and research in the behavioural sciences, especially pedagogy, and displayed a strong belief in methodological instruction and research as well as experimental schools.[27] According to LUS, the student teachers should adopt a scientific and critical view, but in their own teaching they should remain neutral in matters of politics and religion.[28]

22 SOU 1948:27, 377–415; SOU 1952:33, 1–3, 7–9, 19–20.

23 SOU 1952:33, 236.

24 Marklund (1989), 255-57.

25 SOU 1965:29, 18–30.

26 SOU 1965:29, 16, 189, 192–94, 638, chapters 8 & 9.

27 SOU 1965:29, 95–102, 137–38, 535, 569–70, 583, chapter 24.

28 SOU 1965:29, 89–91, chapter 23.

According to LUS, the student teachers should be willing to re-evaluate and re-structure their work in schools. A reformed teacher education was thus seen as a necessary for the implementation of the comprehensive-school reform.[29] The school commission had declared that schools should no longer simply transmit knowledge and skills, but LUS went even further, stating that the school's *main objective* was to develop pupils' personalities. Traditional class instruction should give way to more individual forms of study that would encourage independence and responsibility.[30] This emphasis on ideology, pedagogy, and methodology meant that LUS had a progressivist orientation but showed comparatively little interest in a core concern of the academic orientation: subject education. Only one out of twelve objectives of teacher education mentioned by LUS was related to subject knowledge.[31]

The main proposal of LUS' final report in 1965 was that the teacher-training colleges should take over all teacher education from seminars and aspirant-year grammar schools, which should be closed. This required two further teacher-training colleges established, like the existing four, in university cities. Thus, the idea of "small" teacher-training colleges, exclusively for class teachers and disconnected from universities, was abandoned.[32] However, LUS considered it better to organise the teacher-training colleges as part of the school system, under the Swedish National Board of Education (*Skolöverstyrelsen*), rather than under the universities, since teacher education shared so much with the school sector.[33] One member, Stellan Arvidsson, objected to this and proposed that the colleges should be organised as part of the university system. According to Arvidsson, this was necessary in order to make teacher education fully academic with a scientific foundation.[34] LUS also suggested that all teacher education should be based upon the matriculation exam, both for folk and grammar-school teachers.[35] Issues regarding the matriculation exam and whether teacher education should be part of the school or university system would later cause heated debate and conflicts.

Finland

As in Sweden, the need for teacher education reform in Finland was linked to the introduction of comprehensive schools. In 1963, the parliament voted in favour of a comprehensive school system, a decision that was implemented in the course of the 1970s. Since Finland moved later than Sweden towards a comprehensive school reform, the need for a renewed teacher education also arose later. Unlike Sweden, the early initiatives for a reform of teacher education came from professors of pedagogy, not from the political sphere.

Professor O.K. Kyöstiö at Jyväskylä College of education considered it a failure that the seminars were kept in place when the education of folk school teachers was

29 SOU 1965:29, 102, 636.

30 SOU 1965:29, 77, 79, 98, 101–3.

31 SOU 1965:29, 101–2.

32 SOU 1965:29, 597–600, 630–32.

33 SOU 1965:29, 489.

34 SOU 1965:29, 653–54.

35 SOU 1965:29, chapter 4, 10, 637.

reformed in 1957.[36] He became the most fervent opponent of the seminars, and formed a committee at the department of pedagogy in Jyväskylä that in 1963 suggested the seminars should be replaced by a three-year academic education. Characteristic of the academic orientation among Finnish professors of pedagogy, the committee placed little emphasis on the content of the education, assuming that academic studies would create a mentality that enabled teachers to follow the constantly changing body of knowledge.[37]

In 1965, students of pedagogy from Jyväskylä and Oulu published an open letter to the Ministry of Education, demanding an extension of teacher education by two years, enabling teachers to graduate with academic degrees. They favoured more studies in pedagogy, psychology, and languages at the expense of practical subjects such as handicrafts, music, and home economics.[38]

From the mid-1960s, the government appointed a series of committees with the purpose of reforming teacher education. The teacher-training committee (1965–1967) consisted of experts, headed by Professor Matti Koskenniemi, who together with his colleagues Kyöstiö and Martti Takala were responsible for the basic outline of the committee's report. The other members of the committee were mainly from the Finnish Board of Education.[39]

Professor Kyöstiö fervently opposed the old teacher ideal, while a representative from the Board of Education, without success, defended the idea of the teacher as a moral role model. Although the committee acknowledged that teachers needed to understand the importance of ethical and aesthetical norms, it claimed that teachers had previously represented middle-class values, and that the teacher's role was no longer to embody certain values, since the plurality of beliefs in society made value consensus impossible.[40]

"Pluralism" had been adopted by the youth organization of the conservative National Coalition party, the main opponent of the leftist student movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The concept came from Karl Dahrendorf's theory about the institutionalization of class conflicts in post-industrial society, which in Finland was used to integrate communists into democratic society. The young conservatives also propagated critical dualism, the separation of values from facts.[41] Finnish committee reports from the late 1960s and early 1970s combines pluralism and critical dualism. Whether or not directly influenced by the young conservatives, this provided the committees with a way forward when old values had lost their appeal and no consensus could be reached about new ones.

According to the teacher-training committee, teaching should not be based solely on opinions and experiences, but also upon research. Teachers should learn to follow

36 Kähkönen (1979), 32.

37 Kähkönen (1979), 45–46, Oiva Kyöstiö, Veli Nurmi, and Annika Takala, "Eräs opettajanvalmistuksen uudistamista koskeva suunitelma," *Kasvatus ja koulu* (1963), 11–23.

38 Kähkönen (1979), 47–48.

39 FCR 1967:B101, 1; Kähkönen (1979), 55.

40 FCR 1967:B101, 14; Kähkönen (1979), 60.

41 Paavo Kärenlampi, *Taistelu kouludemokratiasta: Kouludemokratian aalto Suomessa* (Helsinki: Suomen historiallinen seura, 1999), 163–64; Pekka Suvanto, *Konservatismi: Ranskan vallankumouksesta 1990-luvulle* (Helsinki: Suomen historiallinen seura, 1994), 311, 315; Laura Kolbe, *Eliitti, traditio, murros: Helsingin Yliopiston Ylioppilaskunta 1960–1990* (Helsinki: Otava, 1996), 425.

the development of teaching methods.[42] The committee wanted to raise teachers' general level of knowledge, but acknowledged that teachers could no longer be expected to beknowledge banks. Since knowledge ages and changes with time, teachers needed continuous education, and should be allowed to develop personal goals.[43]

In 1960, the committee for the teacher-seminar legislation listed desirable qualities of teachers: ability to guide the personal development of students, pedagogical skills, and subject knowledge. However, in 1968 the curriculum committee for teacher education no longer listed personal development as the first criteria, but instead emphasised knowledge of the needs of society, today and in the future. The 1968 report also recognised the plurality of values in society and did not, as the 1960 report, mention values which should be held in high regard.[44] This reflected a shift away from an orientation of personal development. The mentioning of the needs of society reflects a certain progressivist orientation, but the emphasis on value pluralism counteracted the ideological ambitions of progressivism that were so prominent in Sweden.

The 1968 report claimed that all student teachers needed more knowledge of both pedagogy and the school subjects, with class teachers focusing upon the former and subject teachers upon the latter. In addition, teachers needed scientific training in order to become critically thinking and capable of experimentation. Free scientific thinking would also counteract earlier tendencies to lock student teachers into certain pedagogical practices.[45]

While the discussions about the content of Finnish teacher education were slow and inconclusive, rapid advances were made regarding the structure of the education. In 1964, a group of parliamentarians motioned for a quick renewal of teacher education. They referred to the 1860s, when the education of folk school teachers at Jyväskylä seminar had preceded the opening of the first folk schools.[46]

The Board of Education reacted by arguing that all teacher education should be conducted in teacher-training colleges under its own control: although a university education might be more desirable for the students, teacher-training colleges were better for the schools, since schools and teacher-training should not be distanced from one another.[47]

The teacher-training committee (1965–1967) suggested that all teacher-training should take place in cooperation between universities and colleges of pedagogy, the former providing the students with subject knowledge and the latter pedagogical skills. However, opinions within the committee differed regarding the fate of the old seminars. Kyöstiö wanted to abandon all seminars and concentrate teacher education at the universities, arguing that small teacher-training units far from universities would remain mere seminars. Koskenniemi and Takala were less radical and wanted to preserve two seminars as subsidiaries of colleges of pedagogy. The committee's secretary, Veli Nurmi, claimed that the attitudes of the teachers, not location,

42 FCR 1967:B101, 14.

43 Ibid.

44 FCR 1968:B100 12–13, FCR 1960:7, 7.

45 FCR 1968:B100, 13–15, 19–20.

46 Kähkönen (1979), 49; Valtiopäivät 1964 Liitteet I-XII A, 608–9.

47 Kähkönen (1979), 51.

decided whether seminars became isolated or not. Backed by teachers, the Board of Education suggested a network of institutions covering the country, utilising many existing seminars.[48]

Nurmi, Koskenniemi and Takala were also members of a working group at the Ministry of Education that produced a similar proposal. In August 1968, it was decided that four seminars were to be closed, while the rest were preserved for use in the new teacher education.[49]

Nurmi also chaired the curriculum committee for teacher education, the other members mainly representing practical experience from teaching and teacher education. No professors of pedagogy were present, since it was feared their uncompromising attitudes would obstruct decision-making. However, they continued to criticise the seminars in their role of experts.[50]

In order to expedite the reforms, the committee of comprehensive-school teachers was appointed in November 1968. The closing of the seminars was a sensitive issue for the Minister of Education, Johannes Virolainen (Centre), since it had a negative impact on regional policies. He therefore wanted a thorough investigation by a committee including members of parliament.[51]

In the committee, Koskenniemi argued for a complete renewal, burning the bridges to the old system. The committee report claimed that small teacher-training colleges might remain mere seminars, and that larger units were more effective. It recommended that class and subject teachers should be educated for four years at universities, and teacher-training colleges attached to them, leading to a bachelor degree. Addressing concerns raised by representatives of practical teacher education, the report stated that the instruction must not be too theoretical and that the skills expected of teachers who taught the lower classes had to be taken into consideration.[52]

Six seminars were to be closed and the rest would incorporated into the new organisation. Kyöstiö was appalled that some seminars would be used in the new organisation, while the closures, especially the two in Lapland, prompted heavy criticism in parliament. However, in December 1969 the parliament approved the suggestion.[53] The basic academic structure of the future teacher education was thereby decided, while its content was still open to discussion.

Conclusions

Reformers in Sweden and in Finland shared a vision of a teacher education for the comprehensive school system that would be detached from old values and based on science and new pedagogical practices. In that sense, the planned structural elaborations were similar in the two countries. In Finland, it was believed that these changes would occur automatically if the seminars were closed and teacher education moved

48 FCR 1967:B101, 211–15, Nurmi (1979), 231, Kähkönen (1979), 63.

49 Kähkönen (1979), 63–65.

50 FCR 1968:B100, Opettajankolutuksen opetussuunitelmatoimikunta, NA 540:212:1, Kähkönen (1979), 68.

51 Nurmi (1979), 232; Kähkönen (1979), 72–73.

52 Kähkönen (1979), 74; FCR 1969:108, 76–77.

53 Kähkönen (1979), 76; Valtiopäivät 1969, Pöytäkirja II, 2282–87, 2320–25.

to the universities. Finnish reformers claimed that in a modern pluralistic society, it was impossible to prescribe which methods teachers should use and on what values they should base their education. Instead, the academic environment should train student teachers in thinking independently regarding questions of methods and values.

In Sweden, politicians had an important role in formulating the progressivist visions of teacher education. There was also a greater belief in determining methods and values centrally than was the case in Finland. While the divided political field in Finland necessitated pluralism in values, the dominance of the Social Democrats in Sweden allowed for a vision of teacher education dominated by progressive values and pedagogical practices.

Both Finnish and Swedish reformers propagated a scientific teacher education. However, the Swedish progressivist and centralised interpretation of scientific teacher education allowed for the possibility that research results and best practices could be established centrally and then implemented at all teacher education units, all of which did not need to conduct research themselves. In the Finnish academic orientation, scientific teacher education was equated with education taking place in a university environment. The small differences in the visions of Finnish and Swedish reformers would come to have important consequences for the structure of teacher education.

There were striking similarities between the structure of teacher education proposed by the Finnish and Swedish committees. The network of seminars should be closed down and teacher education should become academic and moved into universities or, in the case of Sweden, to teacher-training colleges. In Finland, the rationale behind this was clearly academically oriented, as university studies were considered to be beneficial per se, regardless of the education's content, which was initially given little consideration. Although the Swedish plans also placed teacher education at institutions of higher learning, the progressivist content of the teacher education took centre stage, and was specified in great detail.

Conflicts

Sweden

Following the school commission's first report in 1948, most voices from folk and grammar schools, from the universities, and the folk-school teacher unions embraced the school commission's ideas.[54] Neither was there much parliamentary debate or opposition to the principles of the new teacher education.[55] Only a few parliamentarians sought to preserve the seminars.[56] This consensus was likely partly due to the vagueness of the bill brought forward by the Social Democratic government, which merely proposed a gradual establishment of teacher-training colleges without binding details.[57]

54 Prop. 1950:219, 79–82.

55 Särskilda utskottets utlåtande nr 4 1950; Protokoll första och andra kammaren, torsdagen den 7 december 1950.

56 Motion 601 andra kammaren 1950; Motion 507 första kammaren 1950; Inlägg av hr Wahlund riksdagsdebatten första kammaren 1950.

57 Prop. 1950:219.

Thus, in 1950 the parliament unanimously decided to establish teacher-training colleges, but without deciding how and when.[58] The earlier decision to form a comprehensive-school system – which was the cause behind teacher education reform – was also a decision-in-principle without timetable or commitments, explaining why the teacher education decision was similarly vague.[59]

In 1952, the school commission's second report, proposing the establishment of the first teacher-training college acting as a model for future colleges, was welcomed by all teacher unions.[60] However, the report received heavy criticism from many seminars and the aspirant-year grammar schools. Given that the report suggested a concentration of all teacher education to colleges in the university cities, dismantling the seminars and aspirant-year grammar schools, it is not surprising that these institutions claimed the proposition was too centralising. The seminars considered the report demeaning towards seminar-based teacher education, and some suggested that the idea of teacher-training colleges should be abandoned in favour of seminar-based instruction.[61]

Despite this criticism, there was little resistance in parliament to the Social Democrat – Agrarian government's bill in 1954 that proposed the establishment of Stockholm teacher-training college in 1956.[62] By not specifying when other colleges would follow, the bill left the main controversy – what to do with the old seminars and aspirant-year schools – unresolved. The lack of precision in the decisions also led to other problems, since it lengthened the reform process.[63]

In 1965, LUS completed its report about the adaptation of teacher education to the new comprehensive-school system. The ensuing conflicts had a decisive effect on the final design of teacher education. Three issues were in focus: the organization of the teacher-training colleges, the requirements for admission to class teacher studies, and the future role of the seminars.

In their referrals regarding LUS' report, different actors displayed conflicting opinions. The universities, the union of grammar school teachers, and the existing teacher-training colleges favoured including the colleges in the university sector in order to strengthen the scientific connection. On the other hand, the National Board of Education (*Skolöverstyrelsen*) and other actors from the school sector supported LUS' suggestion to leave the colleges as part of the school system under the direction of the National Board of Education. The board also opposed LUS' proposal to base all teacher education on the matriculation exam. Instead, it believed that completed vocational school (*fackskola*) would suffice as entry requirement to class teacher studies.[64]

Many actors – primarily the union of grammar school teachers, the student organisation, and the Swedish Higher Education Authority (*Universitets- och hög-*

58 Riksdagens skrivelse 404, 1950; Marklund (1989), 249.

59 Gunnar Richardson, *Svensk utbildningshistoria: Skola och samhälle förr och nu* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2009), 119–25.

60 Marklund (1989), 254.

61 Prop. 1954:209, 21–25; Marklund (1989), 253–55.

62 Statsutskottets utlåtande nr 189, 1954; Protokoll fk och ak, 8 december 1954; Riksdagens skrivelse 393, 1954.

63 Marklund (1989), 249–45.

64 Prop. 1967:4, 52–61, 149–54.

skoleämbetet) – supported the proposal from LUS of placing all teacher education at the teacher-training colleges, thus closing the seminars and the aspirant-year grammar schools. The seminars pleaded for the continuation of small, local seminars, claiming that teacher-training colleges could become impersonal education factories.[65]

The National Board of Education and some County Boards of Education (*Länsskolnämnder*) also wanted to maintain the seminars temporarily, since they were needed to cover the significant demand for teachers. For the same reason, other institutions wanted a slower dismantling of the seminars than suggested by LUS. Regional interests, county education boards, and County Administrative Boards (*Länsstyrelser*) tried to place the proposed branches of the teacher-training colleges at existing seminars within their regions.[66] The seminars were particularly critical since they faced closure if the reforms were implemented.[67]

The National Board of education, the seminars, and the regional actors formed a strong alliance, and managed to influence the Social Democratic government. For example, delegates from the seminars were lobbying intensively in Stockholm in order to preserve the seminars in their region.[68] The Government's bill in 1967 was clearly in line with these actors' demands, and therefore it did not follow all of LUS' proposals. The admission requirements for class teachers were lowered in the bill, from a complete matriculation exam to vocational school exam. This was supported by the powerful national labour union (*Landsorganisationen*, LO), closely connected to the Social Democratic Party.[69] However, the education for subject teachers still required a matriculation exam. The most important change was the reintroduction of the "small" teacher-training colleges, first suggested by the school commission in 1948. In the bill, most of the existing seminars were transformed into "small" teacher-training colleges for class teachers.[70]

Actors in favour of radical change and a complete closure of the seminar network combined a strong progressivist orientation with ingredients from the academic orientation, stressing the importance of university education based on the matriculation exam. Those in favour of preserving the seminars in the new organisation were maybe more influenced by vested interests than by ideology, but expressed opinions in line with a vocational orientation.

Out of 30 members in the parliamentary committee on education (*Utbildningsutskottet*) that prepared the bill, ten were against the idea to lower the admission requirements for class teachers, arguing that it contradicted the idea of a unified teacher education. They all represented liberal or conservative parties, but lost against the Social Democratic majority that supported the bill.[71]

However, some Social Democrats in the parliament also turned against their party and their Minister of Education, Ragnar Edenman, who had initiated the bill.

65 Prop. 1967:4, 202–15.

66 Ibid.

67 Marklund (1989), 307–9.

68 Ibid.

69 Prop. 1967:4, 52–61, 124–33.

70 Prop. 1967:4, 124–30, 228–37.

71 Statsutskottets utlåtande nr 51 1967, 42–43.

Among them was Stellan Arvidsson, who objected to the preservation of the seminars as small teacher-training colleges and to lowering the admission requirements for class teachers. Arvidsson thought that these proposed measures would undermine the academic qualities in teacher education, especially for class teachers, who would become separated from the subject teachers. Thereby, Arvidsson supported the original ideas of the school commission and the LUS committee, of which he had been a member.[72] Arvidsson's opposition to the party line illustrates the different views on the education of folk-school teachers that existed within the labour movement.[73] Thus, the divisions in parliament cannot be reduced to a conflict between Social Democrats and the centre-right.

However, the development took another course than Arvidsson desired. In 1967, the parliament – where the Social Democrats had a majority – decided to implement a new teacher education, accepting most of the proposals in the bill.[74] This meant that most seminars remained as so-called small teacher-training colleges, that the admission requirements for class teachers were lowered to a vocational school exam, and that the teacher-training colleges remained part of the school system under the control of the National Board of Education.

Finland

Finland also experienced some controversies regarding the structure of teacher education, which had caused so much conflict in Sweden. Still, in Finland the question was settled comparatively early in the reform process through the decision to close the seminars and move teacher education to the universities, codified in the law of teacher education in 1971. The Finnish reform of teacher education and the conflicts between different actors that it caused was relatively free from ideology in the 1960s. However, in the early 1970s, the emergence of influential actors with a progressivist orientation on the educational field caused massive ideological conflicts. The left-wing of the Social Democratic Party, including the young minister for education, Ulf Sundqvist, and the new head of the Board of Education, Erkki Aho, attacked the bourgeoisie hegemony in the schools.

The comprehensive-school reform was permeated by progressivist ideology, intended to create a society of equal opportunities. In Finland it was supported by SKDL (a leftist coalition), the Social Democrats, and the Centre Party. The fiercest opposition to the reform was presented by the conservative National Coalition Party. The comprehensive school reform in Finland coincided with the student movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Progressive politicians tried to shift power within the grammar schools from the conservative teachers to the supposedly more radical pupils by extending school democracy, but the attempt was stopped by two organisations founded in 1973, VKTS and the teacher union *Opetuslan ammattijärjestö*, OAJ.[75]

VKTS (1973–1991) was founded by business leaders and people from the cultural

72 Statsutskottets utlåtande nr 51 1967, 31, 46–48; Motion 860 av Stellan Arvidsson, andra kammaren 1967.

73 Linné (1996), 309.

74 Riksdagens skrivelse 143, 1967.

75 Kärenlampi (1999).

and academic worlds, and soon started to attract politicians from the right and centre. It became a secret weapon in school politics of the business think tank *Elinkeinoelämän valtuutskunta* (EVA), its primary funder. VKTS's supporters were united by concerns about the leftist offensive in the field of education, and the organization attracted many civil servants from the Board of Education and the Ministry of Education. The existence of VKTS did not become public knowledge until 2004.[76]

An arguably even stronger actor in the field of education was the teacher union, OAJ, which was formed through the amalgamation of three smaller unions. According to Hannu Simola, since the 1970s no major decisions have been taken in Finland regarding educational policies without the consent of OAJ.[77] The fact that Finnish politicians tried to implement the comprehensive-school reform with the support of pupils, rather than as in Sweden where folk-school teachers were used as allies against the more conservative grammar-school teachers,[78] eased the formation of a unified teachers' union in Finland.

The rapid polarisation in the field of education also affected teacher education. In 1973, the Ministry of Education appointed a teacher education commission to establish the general objectives of class and subject teacher education and prepare regulations, exams, and curricula.[79] The commission published a preliminary report in 1974 and a final report in 1975.[80]

According to the commission, education should transmit the central content of cultural heritage to students and safeguard its further development. Thus, teachers and teacher educators needed to be able to not only conduct education but define its goals and evaluate it. The teacher should understand society as well as the education system's role within it, and also change society by raising the educational level of the population and promoting educational equality.[81] Thus, school should change society through the standard and equality of education, not through the transmission of values.

The committee also planned for the continued renewal of teacher education. It should take place on three levels: 1) development of the goals of teacher education, 2) strategical planning, and 3) operational planning. The responsibility for strategic planning should be transferred from the central administration to the institutions involved in operational planning.[82] That effectively meant a decentralisation of power from the political level to the institutions providing teacher education.

The committee also stressed that student teachers had to become optimists regarding children's ability to learn.[83] This part of the report was heavily influenced

76 Sakari Suutarinen, "Vapaan koulutuksen tukisäätiö: Koulukasvatuksen, opettajankoulutuksen ja tutkimuksen näkymätön vaikuttaja 1973–1991," *Kasvatus & Aika* 2, no. 2 (2008), 29–30.

77 Hannu Simola, "Educational Science, the State and Teachers: Setting up the Corporate Regulation of Teacher Education in Finland," in *The Finnish Education Mystery: Historical and Sociological Essays on Schooling in Finland*, ed. Hannu Simola (New York: Routledge, 2015), 75–77.

78 Åke Isling, *Kampen för och emot en demokratisk skola, 1: Samhällsstruktur och skolorganisation* (Stockholm: Sober 1980), 357.

79 FCR 1975:75, 3–5.

80 FCR 1975:75, 25–56.

81 FCR 1975:75, 52–54, 63–76.

82 FCR 1975:75, 290–91.

83 FCR 1975:75, 69.

by committee member Yrjö-Paavo Häyrynen, professor of psychology at Joensuu University, who had published a book about educability in 1973.[84] Educability was an essential ideological prerequisite for the comprehensive school.

In the preliminary report of 1974, the committee's most radical members, Yrjö Engeström, Häyrynen, and Kalevi Rantanen, wrote a reservation asking for more precise formulations about the attitudes that this education sought to instil in the pupils. By leaving these formulations vague, the committee was, according to the three radical members, evading its moral responsibility. Instead they should have emphasised peace, friendship between peoples,[85] improvements in the conditions of workers, and democratic rights. In a possible reference to the VKTS, they also warned that international and national right-wing forces and capital owners mobilised in order to stop the democratisation of schools.[86] There was agreement within the committee that national ideology could no longer be the foundation of the Finnish school system. While the radicals wanted to replace it with socialism, the majority supported pluralism, claiming it was no longer possible to reach ideological consensus.

This also explains their view that the organisation of teacher education should be decentralised, with little room for political intervention. Although the commission acknowledged that the general goals of teacher education had to correspond to general societal goals, they suggested that these goals should be objects of research at the new research-based teacher education institutions.[87] Rather than presenting a rigid plan structured by political objectives, the commission outlined a self-renewing teacher education that could develop on its own for decades without interference from the political level.

Pluralism thus functioned as a way to reduce the influence of political – most importantly socialist – ideology, while scientificity helped reduce the direct control of politicians. These developments seemed attractive to many after the turbulent and politicised first half of the 1970s, which contributed in strengthening the academic orientation of teacher education.

The radical suggestions of Engeström, Häyrynen, and Rantanen were not included in the final report. Häyrynen left the committee at the end of 1974, while Engeström and Rantanen did not participate in the spring of 1975 and, remarkably, did not sign the final report.[88] Thus, the report which laid the foundations for Finnish teacher education for decades to come was less influenced by progressivist left-wing ideology than the committee's original composition suggested.

In the spring of 1975, the political tides had already turned against the radicals. On 12 December 1974, in a meeting instigated by VKTS, the teacher union OAJ forced the head of the Board of Education, Erkki Aho, to sign a secret contract that

84 Yrjö-Paavo Häyrynen and Jarkko Hautamäki, *Ihmisen koulutettavuus ja koulutuspolitiikka* (Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto, 1973).

85 In Cold War Finland, "Friendship between peoples" signaled support of the official policy of friendship with the Soviet Union.

86 FCR 1974:101, Eriävä mielipide, 2–3.

87 FCR 1975:75, 275, 290–91.

88 FCR 1975:75, x; Kähkönen (1979), 99.

effectively undermined radical school democracy in Finish grammar schools.[89] From this point on, the progressivist offensive on the education system was undermined, and an academically oriented backlash ensued.

Already from its beginnings, VKTS showed significant interest in teacher education. In this area, they cooperated with The Research Foundation of Higher Education and Science Policy (*Korkeakoulu- ja Tiedepoliittinen Tutkimussäätiö*), which, like VKTS, was funded by EVA and other business organizations. Through its extensive networks in academia, administration, and politics, VKTS tried to counteract the radicalisation of teachers by influencing the selection of student teachers and teacher educators as well as the content of teacher education.[90]

The project which implemented the reform of university exams in in the field of teacher education 1979 was called *Kasvatusalan tutkinnonuudistus*, KATU. A project member , Markku Andersson from Jyväskylä, told VKTS that he could influence the reform of teacher education already in the planning phase.[91] VKTS's main concern was that student teachers were exposed to socialist impulses early in their education at the point where they were most easily influenced, for example by educational history described in terms of class struggle.[92] In the KATU-project, Jyväskylä had responsibility for the introductory general studies in the education of comprehensive-school teachers.[93] Thus, Andersson exerted real influence over the very part of the programme that VKTS considered problematic.

Although VKTS certainly intended to influence the school system and teacher education, and it supported the strengthening of its academic orientation that took place, it is difficult to assess to what extent VKTS caused these changes. The mere fact that they managed to mobilise such a vast network across the political and educational fields illustrates that many important actors strongly opposed the policies of the left. These actors would probably have put up resistance without the existence of VKTS, but it is likely that the coordination it provided strengthened the conservative cause.

Since the support for VKTS's agenda was so strong, it might seem strange that the organisation worked in secrecy rather than fought its battles in the open. However, VKTS can only be understood as part of a tradition of Finnish clandestine Cold War anti-communist organisations, some of which had earlier tried to influence the field of education.[94] During the Cold War, Finland's official foreign policy prescribed friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union, and the primacy of foreign policy limited what could be said in the public debate. This atmosphere of "Finlandisation" culminated in the early 1970s. The fear that educational reform was part of a communist takeover today seem exaggerated, but were real to some of the founders of VKTS at the time.

89 Kärenlampi (1999), 183; Suutarinen (2008), 30.

90 Suutarinen (2008) 35–36, Jaakko Aho, "Vapaan Koulutuksen Tukisäätiö – Suomalaisen koulutuksen pelastus vai rapautuma?" Suomen Kouluhistoriallisen Seuran yleisöseminaari 10. joulukuuta 2010. Jaakko Ahon alustus, http://www.kasvhistseura.fi/dokumentit/1108211033_jaakko_aho.pdf, 9.

91 Suutarinen (2008), 36.

92 Suutarinen (2008), 37.

93 Vuorenpää (2003), 141.

94 Jarkko Vesikansa, *Salainen sisällissota: Työnantajien ja porvarien taistelu kommunismia vastaan kylmän sodan Suomessa* (Helsinki: Otava, 2004), 284–87.

Conclusions

Although the conflicts regarding teacher education were fought with arguments originating in the progressivist, academic, and to some extent vocational teacher-education orientations, wider societal interests worked in the background. In Sweden, the vested interests of actors benefitting from the new and old systems played a major role, since the main conflict concerned the structure of teacher education, especially the status of the education of class teachers and the future of the seminars. The conflicts were partly political, but not a simple clash between left and right, since they divided the labour movement. An academic wing of the Social Democratic Party wanted to raise the academic standard of class-teacher education, thus closing the seminars, and they were supported by liberals and conservatives. Other forces within the labour movement, such as LO, opposed the academisation of teacher education. Just as important were the non-political actors who wanted to preserve the seminars, above all the seminars themselves but also regional actors. Another powerful actor was the National Board of Education that supported the seminars and opposed academisation.

In Finland, the main conflicts erupted after decisions had been made regarding the structure of teacher education. They were more ideological in nature than in Sweden, and connected to a left-right polarization that permeated Finnish educational policies and Finnish public life in the early 1970s. The conflicts began when young, radical, and progressively-oriented Social Democrats challenged what they perceived as the bourgeois hegemony in the education system. The attack was effectively countered by academically-oriented actors within academia, schools, and administration, supported by the teacher union OAJ and the secret business-funded organisation VKTS. The academic orientation of the latter organisation did not, as Finnish professors of pedagogy, emphasise the virtues of university education, but the value of subject knowledge. From the mid-1970s, a period of de-politicisation followed. Thus, the interactions between important agents in the educational arena unfolded differently in Sweden and Finland, paving the way for divergent outcomes.

Outcomes

Sweden

In 1967, the parliament decided to implement a new education for comprehensive school teachers. Thus, an ordinance for the teacher-training colleges was issued in 1968.[95] With this reform, both "large" and "small" teacher-training colleges were established. The so-called "large" teacher-training colleges educated both primary and secondary school teachers, and had resources for research with a professorship in pedagogy. The large colleges were located close to the universities in order to facilitate academic contacts. In addition to the existing four colleges, two more were opened in 1967–68 in cities where universities were newly established or planned.[96] The "small" teacher-training colleges, which only educated class teachers for primary schools, had no professors and no research resources. Through this reform, nine of the folk-school seminars, situated all over Sweden in towns without universities, were converted into small teacher-training colleges. In fact, no regular

95 SFS 1968: 318, *Kungl Majt: s stadga för lärarhögskolorna, given Stockholms slott den 28 maj 1968*.

96 Marklund (1989), 250; SOU 1978:86, 54; SOU 1965:29, 525–30.

folk-school seminars were closed, but only those educating teachers for grades 1-2 (*småskollärarseminarier*). The teacher-training colleges became part of the school system, under the National Board of Education.[97]

The ordinance of 1968 initially stated that the teacher-training colleges should train and educate teachers on a "scientific basis". The larger teaching-training colleges were to conduct research of importance for schools. Both large and small teacher-training colleges should conduct pedagogic experiments and promote development in the school sector. The colleges should teach pedagogy and pedagogy research methods, and the students should learn to develop teaching methods based on new research. Methodology was also emphasised in the ordinance, as were practical teaching skills.[98]

It was firmly stated again that teachers and teacher students are instruments of change and development in the compulsory-school system, as had been stated earlier by the school commission and the LUS committee. Another reappearing idea was that schools should promote personal development and student teachers should be trained to fulfil this duty. However, the ordinance said little about teacher students' subject knowledge and nothing about knowledge transfer in schools.[99] Thus the reform was dominated by a progressive orientation.

Marklunds and Linné have concluded that the Swedish reform of 1968 was a compromise and partly a failure. Far from the original plans and visions in the school commission, non-academic traditions and practices from seminars continued to dominate the new teacher education, especially in the many small seminars turned teacher-training colleges where former seminar teachers remained in office.[100]

The teacher-training college organisation was altered through the university reform of 1977, which brought most education of a vocational nature into the university system. Teacher education became a full university education, and it was organised as part of the university system under the Swedish Higher Education Authority, instead of the Board of Education. The "large" teacher-training colleges were reorganised as faculties or departments in the universities in each city. The "smaller" teacher-training colleges became important parts of the newly established regional university colleges. In practice, the objectives, content, and design of teacher education did not change significantly as a result of this reform.[101] As before, the subject student teachers completed a bachelor degree and then attended one year of vocational courses and school practice. However, class teachers did not write a thesis equivalent to a bachelor's degree. Although the progressivist orientation of all teacher education was strengthened through the reform, the basic division remained

97 SFS 1968: 318; Prop 1967:4, 124–30, 228–37; Marklund (1989), 250; SOU 1978:86, 54; SOU 1965:29, 525–30

98 SFS 1968: 318.

99 Ibid.

100 Linné (1996), 309; Marklund (1989), 306–9.

101 Erik Blix and Gerhard Arfwedson, eds., *Lärarhögskolan i Stockholm 1956–1996* (Stockholm: HLS, 1996), 74–78; Askling (1983), 3; Torbjörn Carle, Sven Kinnander, and Sven Salin, *Lärarnas riksförbund 1884–2000: Ett stycke svensk skolhistoria ur fackligt perspektiv* (Stockholm: Informationsförl., 2000), 215; Sven G. Hartman, *Det pedagogiska kulturarvet: Traditioner och idéer i svensk undervisningshistoria* (Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 2005) 151–52; Hans Albin Larsson, *Mot bättre vetande: En svensk skolhistoria* (Stockholm: SNS förlag, 2011), 79–78.

between a more academically oriented subject teacher education and a more vocationally oriented class teacher education.

Finland

In contrast to Sweden, Finland did achieve the ambitious goals for structural reform envisioned by the various teacher-education committees, and in fact exceeded them. The 1971 legislation on teacher education caused relatively little debate, since it rested upon familiar principles accepted through the work of several committees.[102] The reform was implemented in 1974 and teacher education was limited to seven units. An eighth unit was founded 1979 in Lapland. The educational programme included practical training in ordinary schools as well as in state-run training schools attached to each teacher education unit. Training school teachers held high standards and were, after seven years of employment, allowed one sabbatical semester for further education.[103] The training schools were less independent than their predecessors, the normal schools.

From 1974, all Finnish teachers studied for four years at university. Class teachers took a bachelor in pedagogy, and subject teachers studied for a bachelor in their main subject. The teacher education commission of 1973 had originally suggested a unified exam in pedagogy for both class and subject teachers, but this suggestion was met with opposition from the subject departments at the universities.[104]

When the bachelor degree was removed from the system of higher education in 1979, teacher education was upgraded to a five year masters' programme, although no committee had suggested a higher level than bachelor.[105] It has been suggested that the education was elevated to masters "by accident" as an unintended consequence of the general reform. However, according to the recollections of Jaakko Numminen, permanent secretary at the Ministry of Education between 1973 and 1994, the elevation of teacher education to masters' level was consciously and actively pursued by officials at his department.[106]

The KATU-project's report was based upon the recommendations by the teacher education commission of 1973, but by reducing the number of specialisation subjects from three to two, leaving room for more studies in each subject, it took a step away from the relatively low emphasis on subject knowledge originally envisioned by the professors of pedagogy in the 1960s and early 1970s.[107] The initially firm academic orientation of the new Finnish teacher education was thus strengthened by changes and adaptations in the late 1970s.

Conclusions

The reforms resulted in significant differences in implemented structural elaboration between the two countries' teacher-education systems, despite similar planned structural elaborations. In Sweden, the school commission and the LUS commission

102 Kähkönen (1979), 88.

103 Kähkönen (1979), 89; Vuorenpää (2003), 93.

104 Vuorenpää (2003), 104.

105 Kähkönen (1979), 100–1, Vuorenpää (2003), 127.

106 Interview with Numminen 14.11.2016.

107 Kähkönen (1979), 100–1.

wanted to bring class and subject teachers closer to one another, but the reform of 1968 did not bridge the gap between the two teacher-training traditions. The establishment of two categories of teacher-training-colleges maintained the old separation between grammar and folk-school teachers and made the education of class teachers less academic than the education of subject teachers. Furthermore, entry requirements were lower for class teachers, of whom no matriculation exam was required. The foundations of the 1968 reform remained unchanged when Swedish teacher education was incorporated into the university system in 1977.

In contrast, in 1974 Finland reformed the teacher education thoroughly by incorporating it entirely into the university system. The seminars were closed or used within the university organisation. Thus, the academic attachment became stronger and more equal for class and subject teachers than it was in Sweden. There was no division between small and large seats of learning, and both class and subject teachers took bachelor degrees. Finland managed better than Sweden in bridging the gap between the two teacher-education traditions. When Finnish teacher education was upgraded to masters' level in 1979, the differences in quality and status compared to Sweden was pronounced.

The basic plans for teacher education reform in both Finland and Sweden mainly stemmed from two orientations: the progressivist idea of creating a teacher education for a school for all children, the comprehensive school, and the academic idea of elevating all teacher education to university level. However, regarding the outcomes, the academic orientation came to be much more prominent in Finland than in Sweden, where it initially barely influenced class-teacher education at all, and where progressivism instead had the upper hand.

From seminar to university

In the mid twentieth century, the Swedish and Finnish systems of teacher education resembled each other closely, and the initial plans for a new teacher education were also similar. However, thereafter the reform processes took different directions in the two countries. This can be understood in the light of Margaret Archers model of educational change (structure–interaction–structural elaboration, but only if we recognise that in a 20th century planned welfare-state, it must be modified in order to differentiate between planned and implemented structural elaboration. Despite similarities in initial structure and planned structural elaboration, the implemented structural elaboration of the Swedish and Finnish systems of teacher education differed significantly. This is explained by the interactions between the involved agents, and the national political circumstances under which these interactions took place.

In Sweden, the pedagogical aims and visions from the school commission and LUS-commission were approved by parliament, but not the basic structural changes of the education that both commissions had considered necessary in order to achieve these visions. Representatives of the seminars and regional actors managed to prevent all teacher education from moving to academic institutions. The postponement of the Swedish decision on the structure of teacher education until the late 1960s also helped preserve the dispersed network of seminars. It coincided with a new government policy of decentralisation, prioritising regional centres at the ex-

pense of big cities, which were believed to have expanded too quickly.[108] This might explain why teacher education was maintained in former seminars transformed into "small" teacher-training colleges, located at regional centres. Regional actors actively lobbied for this solution and successfully managed to persuade the government.

Spatially, the reformed Swedish teacher education was more decentralised than the Finnish, dispersed as it was in small teacher-training colleges all over the country. It was, however, initially under the National Board of Education. The Finnish teacher education was concentrated in universities, but they had an old tradition of relative independence from government and central administration. Thus, the Finnish reforms meant spatial centralisation, but decentralisation of power from central government agencies to the universities. Swedish teacher education took place in a network of smaller institutions where the aims and content of teacher education were centrally regulated. Finnish teacher education took place in the universities that were largely free to conduct education as they pleased, since the reform was based upon the assumption that academic studies per se would have a benevolent influence on teachers' critical skills.

The fact that the structure of Finnish teacher education was decided upon early, and that it stipulated a long education without clearly specifying what it would contain, created space for the later heated debates about the specifics of what student teachers should be studying during their many years in academia. The implementation of the reform took place following the student revolt, which in Finland gravitated towards Soviet communism as it coincided with the period of most intense Finlandisation, and the role of Marxism within teacher education became a pressing issue. While progressivist reformism had a dominant position among professors of pedagogy in Sweden, their Finnish colleagues displayed a wider range of attitudes, some being academically oriented while others became outright revolutionaries in the polarised political climate of the early 1970s.

The political turbulence in the early 1970s might also have contributed to the fact that the members of the teacher education commission of 1973 envisioned a teacher education with significant autonomy for the teacher education units: they were even going to conduct research about the goals of teacher education, thereby leaving little room for politicians to influence its development. This is undoubtedly an important explanation for why the Finnish teacher education system of 1974 has survived for so long without major reforms.

Another reason is that most stake-holders are generally satisfied with the system. For the teacher union, it ensured a high status for their profession. The progressivists on the political left and in the Centre Party achieved the aim of ensuring that all pupils in Finland receive equal instruction by well-educated teachers, regardless of their regional, domestic, or social background. Academically-oriented actors, stressing the importance of subject knowledge, have appreciated the maintenance of academic standards in teacher education. The Finnish professors of pedagogy did not achieve the total annihilation of the old seminars that they envisioned, but in comparison with Sweden much less of the seminar institutions survived into the new system. The importance of pedagogy in teacher education also increased compared to the old system, especially for subject teacher who now wrote a masters' thesis in

108 Bo Malmberg, *Befolkningsutveckling och välfärd*, rapport 8 (Stockholm: Fritzes, 2000), 59–62.

pedagogy, but also for subject teachers. The fact that Finnish teacher education became a five-year masters' degree programme is probably an important prerequisite for the general feeling of contentment. Since there was more space on the curriculum than any committee had envisioned, it was easier to accommodate all competing wishes of what should be included in the new education. In contrast, the Swedish step towards an academic teacher education in the 1970s was not entirely satisfactory to anyone and became a compromise. The only winners were the seminars that managed to survive the threat of being closed.

Some actors have criticised Finnish teacher education, especially in the 1990s, but the alliance of strong actors in support of the system, first among them the influential, unified teacher union OAJ, has ensured that its basic structure has remained unchanged since the 1970s. In Sweden, many actors have had an interest in changing teacher education, and each new reform (1988, 1992, 2001, 2011) has been the result of an alliance of interests between the politicians in power and one or more actors in the educational field, leaving other actors in the educational arena dissatisfied.

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Abbreviations

SOU Statens offentliga utredningar.
SFS Statens författningssamling.
FCR Finnish committee reports.

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Book Reviews

Andreas Åkerlund
Public Diplomacy and Academic Mobility in Sweden: The Swedish Institute and Scholarship Programs for Foreign Academics, 1938–2010.
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2016, 245 pp.

Public Diplomacy and Academic Mobility in Sweden: The Swedish Institute and Scholarship Programs for Foreign Academics, 1938–2010 handlar om dei svenske programma for akademisk mobilitet i perioden 1938–2010. Akademisk mobilitet omfattar her ulike program for utveksling av både studentar og akademikarar ("scholars"). Den empiriske analysen er avgrensa til å kartleggja utlendingar som fekk finansiering ("scholarship") for eit lengre studie- eller forskingsopphald i Sverige i den aktuelle perioden, anten via bilaterale eller multiraterale ordningar.

Materialet som ligg til grunn for analysen opnar for å studera slik mobilitet over det som må karakteriserast som eit relativt langt tidsspann. På denne måten får boka fram ulike variasjonar som akademikarmobiliteten gjennomgjekk over tid. Dette gjeld for det første omfanget av student- og akademikarutvekslinga. Her gjekk utviklinga frå eit særs lite omfang i slutten av 1930-åra, via ein gradvis vekst i etterkrigstida, til ein kraftig vekst frå om lag 1970. Denne kulminerte kring 1990 for så å verta følgt av ein ny kraftig vekst i 1990-åra og ein brå nedgang i perioden etterpå.

Parallelt med endringane i omfanget var det òg endringar i kva fagfelt utvekslinga føregjekk innanfor og kva opphavsland dei ulike akademikarane hadde. Når det gjeld det siste, gjekk utviklinga frå eit stort innslag frå andre nordiske land i byrjinga til eit større innslag av andre europeiske land i etterkrigstida. Den store auken i 1970-åra skreiv seg frå eit stort innslag av akademikarmobilitet frå den tredje verda. Auken i 1990-åra kom på bakgrunn av Sovjetunionen sitt fall, med etterfølgjande stor akademikarmobilitet frå Aust-Europa.

Bak denne utviklinga var det på same vis endringar i måten utvekslingane vart finansierte på. I periodar var dei bilaterale og multilaterale innslaga store, medan det reint svenske innslaget var stort i andre periodar. Det var på same vis endringar i talet på menn og kvinner som var på utveksling.

Framstillinga støttar seg på eit omfattande empirisk materiale, og funna som kjem fram i dei ulike numeriske oversiktane vil det føra for langt å gjera greie for her. Hovudærendet til Andreas Åkerlund er likevel å få fram at akademikarmobiliteten i heile perioden har vore eit viktig innslag i svensk utanrikspolitikk. Akademikarmobilitet er del av det som i faglitteraturen vert kalla *Public Diplomacy*. Termen er ikkje enkel å omsetta til skandinaviske språk. Men *Public Diplomacy* viser altså til den kontakten eller dei relasjonane som utspiller seg mellom menneske frå ulike land og som ikkje er del av det institusjonaliserte diplomatiet. Relasjonane innanfor alle delar av sivilsamfunnet er viktige i så måte, og utveksling av akademikarar er eit heilt sentralt innslag. Føremåla er i så måte òg fleire: Det handlar både om

å byggja relasjonar og forståing mellom menneske, om kunnskapsoverføring og å byggja opp positive bilde sitt eige land i omverda. Eit viktig side ved *Public Diplomacy* er rett og slett å utøva mjuk makt, eller *Soft Power*.

Slik sett er akademikarutvekslinga nært knytt til utanrikspolitiske mål. Ein sentral aktør i Sverige har vore Svenska Institutet, som har hatt som hovudføremål å byggja eit positivt bilde av Sverige i omverda. Som Åkerlund sin studie viser, har det svenske utanriksdepartementet òg vore ein viktig finansiell bidragsytar til utvekslingsprogramma i heile perioden, og det i større grad enn utdanningsdepartementet har vore. Karakteristisk i så måte er òg at verksemda i sterkare og sterkare grad institusjonelt sett har vore knytt til *staten*.

Den utviklinga som Åkerlund påviser i akademikarmobiliteten frå 1938 fram til 2010 let seg slik greitt lesa opp mot dei sentrale måla for svensk utanrikspolitikk i same perioden. I den første perioden av den kalde krigen handla det om Sverige som brubyggjar mellom aust og vest. Frå 1970-åra vart Sverige ein stor ytar av bistand til landa i sør. I 1990-åra var det viktig å stabilisera og byggja gode relasjonar til statane i Aust-Europa.

Studien til Andreas Åkerlund får fram dette store biletet på ein framifrå og overtydande måte. Skal ein koma med nokre kritiske innvendingar, er det for det første at studien i for stor grad støttar seg på kvantitative data. Det har heilt klart vore eit omfattande arbeid å kartleggja omfanget av utvekslinga slik det er gjort. Men analysen hadde stått seg på å presentera utfyllande og utdjupande kvalitative eksempel. Dette ville truleg ha styrkja validiteten av dei funna som studien gjer ytterlegare.

For det andre ville ein del komparative refleksjonar ha gjort seg. Korleis artar svensk akademikarmobilitet seg i eit enda større bilde? Her ligg det jo ei utfordring i sjølve den periodiseringa som framstillinga legg til grunn, ved at det vert operert med ein periode som strekkjer seg frå 1938 til 1970. Det vert kort vist til at det var lite mobilitet i krigsåra 1940–45, men at det var ein visst innslag av akademikarar frå aksemaktene. For ein norsk lesar er det her lett å innvenda at akademikarmobiliteten *ut* frå Noreg var særskilt stor desse åra. Denne skjedde anten i form av akademikarar som måtte rømma til Sverige eller vart sendte i tysk fangeskap etter at Universitetet i Oslo vart stengt i 1943. Eter krigen hadde svensk akademisk liv på same vis eit heilt anna utgangspunkt å starta ut frå enn nabolanda som hadde vore deltakarar i krigen. Dette hadde truleg òg verknadar for omfanget av svensk akademikarmobilitet jamført med andre land i den første etterkrigstida.

Trass i desse kritiske innvendingane må det slåast fast at Andreas Åkerlund har levert eit svært viktig i bidrag. Studien plasserer akademikarmobiliteten i den rette konteksten sin, nemleg som ein del av det utanrikspolitiske feltet. Djupast sett har dette òg verknadar for måten vi tenkjer om både utanrikspolitisk historie og utdanningshistorie på.

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Daniel Lövheim
Naturvetarna, ingenjörerna och valfrihetens samhälle: Rekrytering till teknik och naturvetenskap under svensk efterkrigstid
Nordic Academic Press
2016, 260 pp.

In the decades following World War II, the need for engineers and scientists has been articulated at regular intervals, in Sweden and elsewhere in the Western world. Even more so after the launch of the Soviet satellite *Sputnik* in 1957, whereupon large sums were invested in science and technology education in the USA and beyond. In Sweden, as in other countries, it was feared that a shortage of engineers and scientists would lead to reduced economic growth and weaker competitiveness for industry. Thus recruiting more candidates to fill positions in industry became an important goal. In *Naturveterna, ingenjörerna och valfrihetens samhälle*, Daniel Lövheim studies the origins, expansion and the consequences of the political efforts to influence young people to choose technical and scientific education and professions.

The book consists of an introduction (ch. 1) and five chapters (2–6) which mainly proceed chronologically. Lövheim investigates a period of 50 years, beginning with the 1950s, when systematic recruitment efforts coincided with a period of mass education and development of the unitary school system (ch. 2). Between 1950 and 1960, the number of students enrolled in the *gymnasium* doubled. To meet the needs in the labor market, it was expected that more than half of the *gymnasium* students should study natural science or technology. Engineers of all categories were needed, including those trained at the *gymnasium* level. In fact, to raise the status of and recruitment to the technical training at this level, the technical course was placed side by side with the course in natural science, breaking thus with a hundred-year tradition in the Swedish educational system. However, the technical course did not attract as many students as hoped for, and quite a large number of students from the natural science course transferred to the social science course after a while. The challenge was to steer the students towards technical and scientific education. But how to balance the freedom of choice against national needs? The answer was "positive proganda" – to motivate and convince the students to opt for technical and scientific education.

In chapters 3 and 4, the plurality of initiatives to influence young people in their choice of education in the 1970s and 1980s are presented and discussed. Students' attitudes to science and technology were mapped in order to understand why the gymnasium reform failed to attract enough candidates to these courses. Some actions were directed at science teaching, such as more laboratory work in school, summer schools for teachers, and the development of new teaching materials – efforts that would attract the students to science studies rather than scaring them off. Participation in international Science Olympiads and Science Fairs would also increase interest in science and technology, as would the science centers, which invited participation from the visitors.

One group which was subject to specific actions, especially in the 1980s, was the girls. A course in technology in primary school was introduced for all pupils to increase interest in the subject and, more specifically, to stimulate them – the girls in particular – to shape identities compatible with employment

in technical fields. Summer courses in practical skills such as welding were offered, as were happenings for women at the museum for science and technology. Parents were targeted in campaigns directed at women and their choice of education and professions, and women technicians and engineers appeared as role models in pamphlets. Interestingly, but not surprisingly, arguments for women's place in science and technology mainly emphasized the needs of society, not the needs of the women as individuals or as a group. Still, women who worked in technical fields should expect improved working conditions, better salary and higher status than in traditional women's work. Thus, choosing technical and scientific work was a way to become equal in society. This pragmatic approach to feminism reminds me of what Laura Puaca called "technocratic feminism" – when national security rhetoric was invoked to argue for women's employment in science and engineering in the post-war era (Laura Puaca, *Searching for Scientific Womanpower*, University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

Efforts continued in the 1990s (ch. 5). Worth noting is the so-called NOT project (*naturvetenskap och teknik*), which introduced a one-year course in mathematics, physics and chemistry to make it possible for students to change educational track. Financial support for people aged 25–48 who wanted to become an engineer was offered as well. The recruitment did increase, but at what cost? Lövheim successfully analyses the problems of steering so many students in the direction of science and mathematics – in fact, even the statistics used to legitimize such actions have been questioned. In Norway, too, education in science and technology was reckoned to be important for the rebuilding of the country in the post-war years. However, I am surprised to learn the extent to which actions were taken in Sweden. In Lövheim's analysis, the country's cultural self-esteem constitute part of the context. International trends and transnational studies on students' achievements supported such efforts. Nevertheless, the power exertion demonstrated in this book has been criticized, and rightfully so. The main problem, as Lövheim convincingly argues, is the lack of historicity at the political level. The current book adds to the historical awareness of recruitment policy within science and technology in Sweden, and should be read by politicians as well as by historians and science educators.

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Anna Larsson, Björn Norlin, Maria Rönnlund
Den svenska skolgårdens historia: Skolans utemiljö som pedagogiskt och socialt rum
Nordic Academic Press
2017, 290 pp.

Jeg har med stor interesse og glede lest boken om den svenske skolegårdens historie. Interessen min for tematikken stammer fra at jeg selv forsker på skolegårder og skolebygg, og gleden over boken stammer fra at jeg opplever den nyskapende og velskrevet. Forfatterne, alle fra universitetet i Umeå, gir en historisk fremstilling som strekker seg over en periode på 400 år; fra 1600-tallet til 2010-tallet. Boka omhandler på mange vis *stedet og rommets* betydning i utdanningsdiskursen og spesielt skolegårdens betydning som et sosialt og pedagogisk rom.

Forfatterne forankrer sine analyser av skolegården i Henri Lefebvres teori om det sosiale rommet (*The production of space*, 1991). De bryter ned studien av skolegården i tre romlige dimensjoner og inndeler det sosiale rommet i tre hovedkomponenter, som konstituerer skolegården i studien: *den representerte skolegården*, *den fysiske skolegården* og *den levde skolegården*. Gjennom bokens 9 kapitler brukes dette analytiske rammeverket til å tolke og forstå den svenske skolegårdens utvikling. En slik tilnærming og analyse oppleves som fruktbar og nyskapende, og skaper en ekstra dimensjon i analysen av det historiske materialet.

Forfatterne har anvendt seg av en rekke ulike kildetyper, og kildeomfanget er selvsagt avhengig av hvilken tidsperiode som behandles; kildene blir mer tallrike og omfattende dess nærmere vår egen tid. De mest sentrale kilder er offisielle tekster og styringsdokumenter som skolelover, læreplaner, bygge- og planteg-ninger for skolebygg og skolegårder. Andre kilder er årsrapporter, ulike artikler og tekster om skolegården fra fagblader for både lærere, arkitekter og tekster for barn og ungdom. Fotografier og illustrasjoner av skolegårder er også med som sentrale kilder. De nevnte kilder bidrar til å fange *den representerte skolegården* og *den fysiske skolegården*. For å fange *den levde skolegården* har forfatterne benyttet seg av minnesamlinger, selvbiografier og intervjuer, og de har selv intervjuet dagens elever og ansatte i skolen. Det gjøres godt rede for kildematerialet supplert med en ryddig metodisk refleksjon og forskningsetiske betraktninger. Til sammen presenterer forfatterne et rikholdig kildemateriale som brukes aktivt i teksten og med et godt sluttnotesystem tilhørende hvert kapittel. Boken er for øvrig rikt illustrert med trykk, skisser og fotografier som til sammen konkretiserer og visualisere tekstens tematikk for leseren.

Over åtte kapittel får vi en kronologisk fremstilling av den svenske skolegårdens historie, etterfulgt av et niende kapittel som sammenfatter og diskuterer hvordan skolegården historisk har tatt form. Mange interessante temaer og analyser tas opp av forfatterne, og jeg har plass bare til et lite utvalg her. Boken starter på 1600-tallet og da er det en historie først og fremst om skoler for gutter og om skolegården i de statlige skolene for sekundærundervisning. Skolegården er fra starten av et sted for rekreasjon, fysisk aktivitet og lek, inspirert av klassisk humanistisk utdanningstradisjon med betoningen av fysisk aktivitet som viktig for intellektuell utvikling.

Skolens relasjon til *kirken* er sentral frem til midten av 1800-tallet og hadde betydning for skolegården og hvilken *atferd* man anså som passende. Skoler lå gjerne ved siden av kirker og delte gårdsplass, og utemiljøet blir allerede nevnt i en skoleordning fra 1611 om elevers

oppførsel i utendørs pauser fra undervisningen. I takt med skolens utvikling følger fokus på mer disiplinering og kontroll med de frie aktivitetene utendørs; visste du at det fantes eget skolefengsel på skolegårdene på 16- og 1700-tallet ("skolhäktet")? Vi får også kjennskap til hvordan skolegården i Sverige tidlig var et sted for militæreksersis, våpentrening for gutter og utover 1800-tallet en arena for *gymnastikk og kroppsøvelser* (kjent som "Linggymnastiken"). Slikt skulle styrke nasjonalisme og nasjonsbygging i det svenske samfunnet. Gymnastikken ble utover 1900-tallet erstattet med skoleidretten og det medførte at skolegårdene fikk områder for ballspill og idrettsaktivitet, noe den fortsatt preges av.

Lek, læring og fysisk aktivitet fremtrer som gjennomgripende forestillinger om skolegården. Skolegården er et pedagogisk hjelpemiddel til å konkretisere og variere undervisningen. Utover på andre halvdel av 1900-tallet og spesielt siden 1970-tallet blir man opptatt av at skolegården skal tilfredsstille barns behov for ulike typer lek og aktiviteter. Leken og de frie aktiviteter settes i økende grad i forbindelse teorier om barns utvikling, både sosialt, kognitivt og motorisk. Fra 1970-tallet av ses skolegården i sammenheng med barns oppvekstmiljø og kobles til nærmiljøet. I dag skal skolegården både i og utenom skoletiden sørge for å gi elevene gode opplevelser, og innby og stimulere barna til aktivitet og fysisk utfoldelse, som del i et folkehelseperspektiv.

Et annet fenomen boken tar opp er fremveksten av *skolehagene* utover 17-1800 tallet. Skolehagen var gjerne en integrert del av skolegården. I sekundærskolene ("läroverken") som lå i byer og som var skolene for middel- og overklassens barn, skulle skolehagen først fremst anvendes i læren om botanikk og biologi. I folkeskolen, med sin arbeider og landsbygdorientering var det primære å tilegne seg plante- og dyrkingskunnskaper. Hagestell skulle lære denne elevgruppen å bli arbeidsomme og forberede de på et landbruksliv. Slik sett var Sveriges parallellskolesystem et system som skapte ulike skolegårder for ulike samfunnsklasser. Boken viser også at sosiale kategoriseringer som *kjønn* og *alder*, i tillegg til *klasse*, har hatt, og har, stor betydning for utforming og bruk av skolegården.

På 1990-tallet kom en internasjonal kritikk av de "grå skolegårder" og fokus på utendørs undervisning, miljøperspektiver og en forgrønning av skolegårdene skapte mye engasjement blant og lokale skolegårdstiltak. Fra historisk sett å være et sentralstyrt og regulert rom med statlige standardiseringerr og krav, ble skolegården etter 1980/90 mer avregulert og lokalt utformet der kvalitative beskrivelser fremfor kvantifiserbare størrelser på f.eks. areal pr elev gjelder. Fraværet av normering har ført til at skolegården utfordres; økt fortetning gir knapphet på areal, særlig i urbane strøk og ved nybygging av skoler. Hvordan skolene prioriterer utforming av skolegården kan også bli en faktor i skolenes konkurranse om elever, og forfatterne spør om vi går mot en utvikling også mot "bra" og "dårlige" skolegårder i en alt mer segregert svensk skole med større forskjeller mellom kommuner og enkeltskoler.

Tematikken – skolegården spesielt og de materielle omgivelser i skolen generelt - er ikke så mye til stede i studier av skole- og utdanningshistorien. Forfatterne har med denne boken vist hvordan man kan koble en historieskriving om skolegården sammen med generell utdannings – og samfunnshistorie, og på det viset satt skolegården inn i en større samfunnsmessig kontekst. God lesning!

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Urban Claesson (ed.)
Fostran och bildning för en annan modernitet: Siljanskolan som reformpedagogiskt alternativ
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Siljanskolan verkade mellan 1927 och 1971. Den var ett eget, men kanske just därför tidstypiskt fenomen i det svenska kulturliv, vilket under 1930- och 1940-talen hade inslag som funktionalismen, gestaltpsykologin och Oxfordgrupprörelsen. I antologin *Fostran och bildning för en annan modernitet* presenterar sex författare verksamma vid Högskolan Dalarna olika aspekter av den verksamhet som försiggick under i första hand dessa årtionden. Den gemensamma utgångspunkten är skolans och dess grundares (Signe Bergner-Alm och Harald Alm) förhållande till reformpedagogiken och till den fortgående samhällsutvecklingen i ett Sverige, som hade formats av industrialisering, demokratisering, urbanisering, sekularisering och – i vid mening – byråkratisering.

Efter redaktörens korta inledning följer en uppsats av historikern Peter Reinholdsson om Dalarna, Leksand, Siljanskolan, dess grundare och arkiv. Den är förhållandevis kortfattad och ger ett antal viktiga fakta av betydelse för fortsatt läsning. Därefter kommer två texter av teoretisk bakgrundskaraktär. Redaktören, historikern Urban Claesson, skriver om Dalarna, svensk nationalism och nationsbygge, där han till viss del utgår från kontextdimensionen i sin doktorsavhandling, *Folkhemmets kyrka: Harald Hallén och folkkyrkans genombrott. En studie i socialdemokrati, kyrka och nationsbygge med särskild hänsyn till perioden 1905–1933* (Uppsala 2004). Pedagogiklektorn vid Högskolan Dalarna, Jan Morawski, belyser det reformpedagogiska ramverket med särskild inriktning på New Education Fellowships principprogram och på betydelsefulla svenska pedagogidebattörer som Anna Sandström, Fridtjuv Berg och inte minst Ellen Key.

Claessons text presenterar ur ett internationellt perspektiv den jordbruksromantiska nationalism, som här allmänt anses rymma möjligheterna till en ”annan modernitet” i förhållande till den socialdemokratiska och liberala Folkhemssverige, som långsamt blev allt starkare efter första världskriget. Beträffande nationalismen knyter han an till två av klassikerna inom efterkrigstidens forskning, tjecken Miroslav Hroch och britten Eric Hobsbawm, men berör också andra auktoriteter. Tyvärr stannar de internationella perspektiven vid synen på detta. När det gäller antiindustrialism och agrarromantik begränsas utblicken från det svenska till huvudsakligen brittiska idéströmningar, trots att bland annat ”Rembrandttysken”, Julius Langbehn, fanns inom det tyska språkområdet medan Maurice Barrès blev en centralgestalt på det franska. Båda hade bevisligen inflytande inom svensk kultur- och undervisningsdebatt.

Två problem framträder i Morawskis redogörelse för ”Siljanskolan och den reformpedagogiska rörelsen”. Det ena är en ensidig koppling till engelskspråkiga förebilder liknande den hos Claesson. Trots att de reformpedagogiska tankegångarna har spelat lika stor roll i Frankrike och Tyskland som i Storbritannien och USA, nöjer sig Morawski med att i stort sett enbart följa de svenska och angloamerikanska traditionerna. Det andra problemet ligger i själva begreppet reformpedagogik, som i stort sett kan beteckna allt som på något sätt vänder sig emot etablerade pedagogiska ståndpunkter. Troligen är detta ett av

skälen till den lite ensidiga fixeringen vid engelskspråkig *new education*, där det faktiskt erbjuds ett slags idéprogram, även om detta vare sig är heltäckande eller sammanhängande. Det kunde emellertid diskuteras huruvida det generella begreppet *reformpedagogik* över huvud taget var användbart i ett sammanhang som detta.

Efter bakgrundsteckningarna följer tre uppsatser av mer specifik karaktär. Historikern Lars Båtefalk relaterar makarna Alms och Siljanskolans verksamhet till de traumatiska erfarenheterna av första världskriget och försöken att med freden som ledstjärna forma ett nytt slags människa. Musikpedagogen Juvas Marianne Liljas tar i en uppsats, som i viss mån är ett extrakt av hennes tidigare publicerade "'En ny musikuppfostran': Reformpedagogiska anspråk i Siljanskolans bildningsinnehåll" (*Nordic Journal of Educational History*, 3:1 [2016], 47–74), sångens, musikens och i viss mån dansens betydelse vid Siljanskolan. Socialantropologen Åsa Bartholdsson behandlar synen på hemmet som en central samhällelig enhet, Jean-Jacques Rousseaus föreställning om det "naturliga" barnet och argument för och emot hemundervisning. Antologin avslutas med en förteckning över skolans sommarkurser från 1928 till 1945 samt en presentation av författarna.

Båtefalks artikel innehåller något som troligen är ytterligare ett skäl till antologins inriktning på angloamerikansk New Education Fellowship. Rörelsen formades nämligen mot bakgrund av det första världskrigets fasor och det då starkt kända behovet av en fredsrörelse. Artikelns fortsättning speglar mellankrigstidens komplicerade intresse för vetenskapligt grundade kunskaper om det mänskliga psyket i växelspel med grundläggande frågor om etik och moral. Ambitionen var att forma ett slags allsidig bildning som skulle omöjliggöra eller åtminstone motverka uppkomsten av nya krig. Denna knöts allt tydligare till det lilla sammanhanget och det individuella i kontrast till det samhälleligt normaliserade.

Liksom inom den traditionella danska folkhögskolan spelade den enskildes sjungande en viktig roll. I detta sammanhang framträdde kopplingarna till en tysk musikpedagogisk tradition, i och med att musikpedagogen och sedermera professorn Fritz Jöde från 1934 började hålla sommarkurser i musikpedagogik. Liljas text tar inte bara upp detta, utan ger över huvud taget en förtjänstfull bild av den musikaliska eller – för att anknyta till tyska pedagogiska föreställningar – musiska fostran som erbjöds sommarkursdeltagarna. Denna skulle främja individualiseringen och forma det nya slag av allsidig bildning, som ansågs motverka uppkomsten av nya världskatastrofer. När hon redogör för musikverksamheterna framträder litet av det stora genomslag Siljanskolans kurser fick i det svenska kulturlivet.

I den avslutande artikeln beskriver Bartholdsson konkret en konflikt mellan Siljanskolans ideal och skolpliktens regelverk, samtidigt som hon för en allmän diskussion om hemmet och familjen som en pedagogisk enhet i förhållande till den institutionaliserade skolmiljön. Det exemplifierar den bild av Tönnies' distinktion mellan *Gemeinschaft* (ty. gemenskap, förbund) och *Gesellschaft* (ty. sällskap, samhälle, bolag), som också Claesson berör i en fotnot för att markera karaktären hos moderniteten och ett annat alternativ. Vad som tyvärr inte diskuteras är, att föreställningen om familjen och hushållet som "naturlig" samhällelig enhet av tradition har brukat sammanhänga med den rörande "fadersmakt" (*patria potestas*). Sambandet öppnar vägen åter för

det patriarkala samhälle som vi trodde att moderniteten börjat befria oss från.

Fostran och bildning för en annan modernitet är en viktig bok i så måtto att den lyfter fram Siljanskolan som ett viktigt fenomen i svenskt kultur- och bildningsliv. Den ger oss värdefulla glimtar från en verklighet som existerade efter första världskriget och några årtionden därefter, men också från en kontrafaktisk ”annan modernitet” som aldrig kom att realiseras. Denna var antiindustriell och agrarromantisk. Rötterna var gemensamma med en rad föreställningar, som särskilt grasserade kring sekelskiftet 1900 och senare, rörande pedagogiska möjligheter att forma ett nytt slags människor. De gemensamma rötterna behöver vare sig betyda att alla reformpedagogiska ansatser skulle vara uttryck för en ”annan modernitet”, eller att de, om de realiserats, skulle ha bidragit till att forma ett nytt slags fredsälskande och kärleksfulla individer.

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