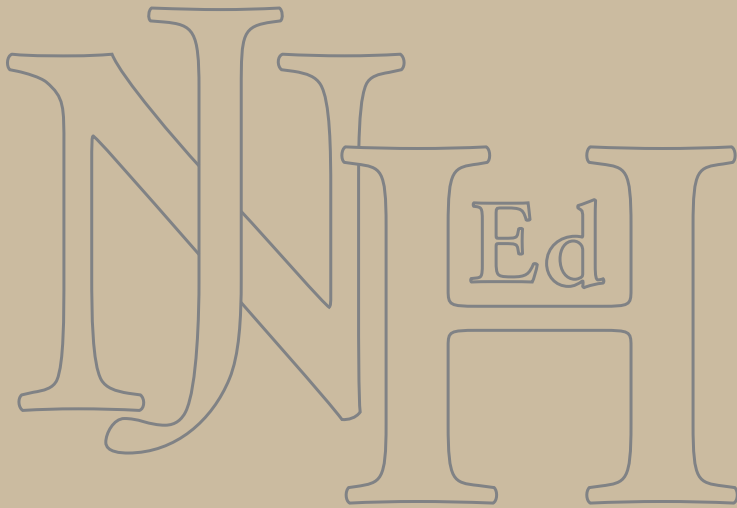


Nordic Journal of Educational History





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EDITORIAL

Notes from the editorial team

Henrik Åström Elmersjö (on behalf of the editorial team)

The Nordic Journal of Educational History has moved to a new location in cyberspace (<http://journals.uu.se/index.php/njedh>), as a consequence of an update to the OJS-platform. All our content, both new and old, has also been equipped with DOI numbers, making it easier to find online. With this issue and the special issue published in Fall 2019 we have reached the milestone of 50 original published articles.

This issue of the journal contains four articles. The first one, by Leif Yttergren, is about the career and lifestyle of female physical education teachers during the twentieth century (1932–1973). The author shows how these women, unlike many women of their time, chose to stay in their careers combining their profession with family life, even though it meant difficulty in bringing their “life puzzles” together.

The second article, by Nikolas Glover, is about the foundation of the relationship between Swedish and Tanzanian adult educators. The article argues for the concept of “aidification” in an effort to explain how transnational educational policy was transformed following decolonisation and the ideal of creating an equal partnership.

Finnish scholars Päivi Marjanen and Mika Metsärinne examine the major changes to Finnish school craft from the middle of the nineteenth century to present day. The analysis shows that the subject has changed substantially in order to stay relevant in different times, but at the same time, the aim has always been to develop useful skills for everyday life.

The last article of this issue, by Andreas Hellerstedt, deals with the problem of innate natural talent versus acquired knowledge or virtue in dissertations on education from Uppsala University, Sweden, near the end of the seventeenth century. The analysis shows that the dissertations described education in Renaissance humanistic terms and that they displayed trust in the capabilities of education.



Hemmafru eller gymnastikdirektör eller både och? Kvinnliga gymnastikdirektörer, GCI och folkhemmet 1932–1952

Leif Yttergren

Abstract • Housewife or Physical Education Teacher? Or Both? Female Physical Education Teachers and the Welfare State, 1932–1952 • The purpose of the article is to analyse the occupational careers and lifestyles of 32 female physical education teachers during the period 1932–1973. The results show that women could work both as physiotherapists and as physical education teachers. Many chose the former, which in Central Institute of Gymnastics' (*Gymnastiska centralinstitutet*, GCI) own historical writing has been reduced in favor of the physical education teachers. The women came from the middle or upper middle class of society. They were around 20 years old when they started the two-year education at GCI, which attracted students from all over the country. They could combine marriage and children with work, even though it meant duplication and difficulty in bringing together the so-called "life puzzle." Unlike many other women at this time, the physical education teachers chose the occupational career instead of becoming full time housewives. Their attitude can be explained by the occupational and caring character of the profession, but also with the strong loyalty that existed in the group and the GCI-spirit.

Keywords • female physical education teachers [kvinnliga gymnastikdirektörer], careers [karriärer], marriages [äktenskap], life stories [livshistorier]

Inledning

Försommaren 1932 utexaminerades 32¹ unga kvinnor från Gymnastiska centralinstitutet (GCI) i Stockholm. De hade genomgått en för tiden eftertraktad professionsutbildning och erhöll efter examen titeln gymnastikdirektör. Utbildningen för kvinnor var tvåårig och hade en avgörande fördel i jämförelse med många andra professionsutbildningar. Efter examen kunde nämligen kvinnorna arbeta både som sjukgymnaster, privat och offentligt, och som idrottslärare inom skolväsendet. Dessutom kunde de leda gymnastikföreningar på helger och kvällar för att utöka inkomsten. Chansen att efter examen erhålla ett lönearbete föreföll således goda för de nyexaminerade gymnastikdirektörerna. Samtidigt lämnade kvinnorna GCI i en turbulent tid. 1930-talskrisen pågick med hög arbetslöshet och ekonomisk depression. Paradoxalt nog innebar 1930-talet också en förbättrad reallöneutveckling, att fler

Forskningen har finansierats av Centrum för idrottsforskning och GIH:s Forskar- och forskarutbildningsnämnd till vilka härmed riktas ett stort tack.

1 I vissa GCI-dokument omnämns 34 studenter. Förmodligen var det två studenter som tillhört tidigare årgångar men som av okänd anledning avbröt eller aldrig avslutade sina studier, och som sedan fortsatte sina studier i den undersökta klassen.

Leif Yttergren is Associate Professor of Sports History at The Swedish School of Sport and Health Sciences. Email: leif.yttergren@gih.se

kvinnor sökte sig till arbetsmarknaden och en förbättrad levnadsstandard generellt för medborgarna.²

Syftet med det följande är att analysera kvinnliga gymnastikdirektörers yrkeskarriärer och livsöden under perioden 1932–1973 utifrån ett kollektivbiografiskt perspektiv. I fokus står de kvinnor som gick ut GCI 1932. Frågeställningar: Vilka var kvinnorna som gick ut GCI 1932? Ålder, social tillhörighet, civilstånd och geografisk hemvist? Var och med vad arbetade de efter examen? Hur påverkade ett eventuellt giftermål yrkeskarriären? Vilka likheter och skillnader finns det mellan 1930-talets och 1890-talets gymnastikdirektörers livsöden och yrkeskarriärer? De sistnämnda har analyserats utifrån likartade frågeställningar i flera studier.³

Resultaten från dessa studier visar att kvinnorna som gick ut GCI 1893 hade en medelålder på drygt 24 år. En grov geografisk uppdelning efter födelseplats ger vid handen att de antagna kvinnorna kom från hela Sverige och fem från utlandet; det internationella inslaget i klassen var således betydande, 20 procent. När det gäller social tillhörighet visar vår undersökning att kvinnorna framför allt kom från samhällets övre skikt. Vidare framkommer att kvinnorna tvingades göra ett val: antingen yrkeskarriär och barnlöst singelliv eller familj och barn men ingen yrkeskarriär. Totalt gifte sig 13 av 25 efter examen. Formellt sett hade de behörighet att arbeta som både sjukgymnaster och gymnastiklärare, men det var i den privata sfären inom den sjukgymnastiska sektorn som flest arbetsmöjligheter fanns. Arbetsmarknaden för kvinnliga gymnastikdirektörer var också rörlig och till synes oregerad och sträckte sig utanför landets gränser. Under perioden 1893–1903 åkte 16 av 25 i kursen utomlands för att arbeta som sjukgymnaster. Handlingsutrymmet var därmed stort för de kvinnliga gymnastikdirektörerna.

Forskningsläge

Syftesbeskrivningen är en aning disparat, vilket gör att forskningsläget omfattar litteratur från skilda områden såsom kvinnohistoria i allmänhet samt utbildnings- och gymnastikhistoria. Kvinnohistorisk forskning som behandlar mellankrigstiden har ett annat fokus än den rika forskningen kring kvinnors livssituation kring sekelskiftet 1900. Då var den kontroversiella rösträttsfrågan central i många studier. Flera forskare har också belyst kvinnors roll i professionaliseringsprocessen vid denna tid, hur vissa yrken maskulinerades och/eller feminiserades.⁴ Den mest relevanta undersökningen för denna studie är historikern Anders Ottossons avhandling *Sjukgymnasten – vart tog han vägen?* Ottosson menar att sjukgymnastens historia utgör ”Sveriges kanske mest intressanta yrkeshistoria, nu helt glömd och uttraderad ur det allmänna medvetandet”.⁵ Utöver att skriva sjukgymnastikyrets historia belyser Ot-

2 Hans Nilsson och Lars-Göran Tedebrand, *Familjer i växande städer: Strukturer och strategier vid familjebildning i Sverige 1840–1940* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2005), 47.

3 Se bland annat Leif Yttergren och Hans Bolling, ”Kvinnor, karriär och familj: En studie av svenska kvinnliga gymnastikdirektörers yrkeskarriärer och livsöden kring sekelskiftet 1900,” *Historisk tidskrift* 136, no. 2 (2016).

4 Se t ex Christina Florin, *Kampen om katedern: Feminiserings- och professionaliseringsprocessen inom den svenska folkskolans lärarkår 1860–1906* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 1987); Anders Ottosson, *Sjukgymnasten – vart tog han vägen? En undersökning av sjukgymnastyrkets maskulinisering och avmaskulinisering 1813–1934* (Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet, 2007); Lena Sommestad, *Från mejerska till mejerist: En studie av mejeriyrets maskuliniseringsprocess* (Lund: Arkiv, 1992).

5 Ottosson (2007), 4.

tosson ”den könsomkodningsprocess som yrket genomgått” under 1900-talet första decennier, det vill säga dess feminisering.⁶

När det gäller kvinnohistorisk forskning som berör mellankrigstiden är det främst kvinnors situation på arbetsmarknaden och i hemmet som behandlats. Kvinnor sökte sig i allt större utsträckning till arbetsmarknaden under denna tid, vilket inte var helt okomplicerat och för många män utmanande. Historiken Ulla Wikander har uttryckt det träffande:

[...] konflikterna mellan könen under mellankrigstiden ”flyttade” från en kamp om rättigheter på det statliga området (rösträtten, myndigheten) till en kamp om förvärvsarbete på arbetsmarknaden.⁷

Historikern Yvonne Hirdman menar dock att ”husmoderskontraktet” var den handlingsstrategi som vann kampen om kvinnorna under mellankrigstiden och detta med många kvinnors goda minne. Hirdman menar att olika samhällssektorer delades upp mellan könen: männen tog hand om arbets- och politikfältet. Kvinnorna hamnade i hemmet där barnbidrag och ny rationell hushållsteknik bidrog till att en ny mer statusfylld modern husmodersroll växte fram. Konsekvensen av denna sektorsuppdelning mellan könen gav enligt Hirdman upphov till ”en modern form av könssegregering”.⁸

Det finns också kvinnohistorisk forskning som visar att ett nytt och annat kvinnoideal än husmoderns började slå igenom på 1930-talet, nämligen yrkeskvinnans. Historikern Renée Frangeur framhåller i avhandlingen *Yrkeskvinna eller makens tjänarinna*:

Forskningen har med andra ord uppfattat kvinnorörelsens aktivister som antingen självständiga politiska aktörer eller objekt för statens eller partiets intressen och som enade eller splittrade efter klass och civilstånd. Mellankrigstidens kvinnoideal har beskrivits som antingen hemmakvinnan eller yrkeskvinnan eller i några fall som båda.⁹

Ingen studie har berört de kvinnliga gymnastikdirektörerna under mellankrigstiden utifrån ovan nämnda frågeställningar. I denna studie kommer att visas att mellankrigstidens gymnastikdirektörer kombinerade hemmafrurollen och yrkesrollen och att det fanns en stark identitet och lojalitet med yrkesvalet.

Ett annat relevant forskningsområde för denna studie är gymnastikhistoriskt och utbildningshistoriskt. GCI:s och den svenska (ling)gymnastikens tillkomst och utveckling är väl utforskad, dock med en kraftig koncentration på den pedagogiska (skol)gymnastiken och dess företrädare, vilket lett till en skev bild av GCI och dess studenters utbildning och yrkeskarriärer.¹⁰ Sjukgymnastikens ställning på GCI var

6 Ottosson (2007), 307.

7 Renée Frangeur, *Yrkeskvinna eller makens tjänarinna: Striden om yrkesrätten för gifta kvinnor i mellankrigstidens Sverige* (Eslöv: Symposium, 1998), 35.

8 Yvonne Hirdman, ”Genusanalys av välfärdsstaten: En utmaning av dikotomierna,” i *Fra kvinnehistorie til kjønns historie*, Rapport 3 från det 22. nordiske historikermøde, red. Kari Melby och Kåre Tønnesson (Oslo: IKS, 1994), 75. Se även Frangeur (1998), 31.

9 Frangeur (1998), 31.

10 Om GCI och linggymnastiken, se Hans Bolling och Leif Yttergren, red., *200 år av kroppsbyggnad*:

betydligt starkare än vad tidigare forskning gjort gällande, vilket Anders Ottossons, Hans Bolling och Leif Yttergren forskning visar. Detta gäller särskilt för de kvinnliga GCI-studenterna, vilka tack vare sjukgymnastiken fick möjlighet till försörjning och i vissa fall till och med egenföretagande.¹¹

I sin studie av den danska kvinnogymnastiken visar den danska historikern Anne Lykke Poulsen hur den utvecklades till ett kvinnligt kunskapsfält under 1900-talets första hälft samtidigt som gymnastiklärarna och den kvinnliga gymnastiken professionaliserades.¹² Lykke Poulsens studie innehåller också ett kollektivbiografiskt kapitel där hon uppmärksammar 166 kvinnliga gymnastiklärare i det danska huvudstadsområdet år 1933. Hennes studie visar att de ur socialt hänseende kom från samhällets övre skikt, vilket också framkommer i Sheila Fletcher's studie av social bakgrund bland kvinnliga idrottslärare i England.¹³ Hans Bollings och Leif Yttergrens resultat angående svenska kvinnliga gymnastikdirektörer, vilka tog examen 1893 från GCI, visar på liknande resultat, möjligen med viss förskjutning mot att dessa kvinnor kom från samhällets toppskikt.¹⁴

Forskningen har också ägnat kvinnliga gymnastikpionjärer stor uppmärksamhet. Martina Bergman-Österberg, Sally Högström, Elin Falk och Elli Björkstén är de mest kända exemplen.¹⁵ Gemensamt för dessa är dels att alla var verksamma decennierna kring sekelskiftet 1900 och drevs av något som kan liknas vid ett kall för den linggymnastiska saken. Nämnda kvinnor var aktiva inom den pedagogiska gymnastiken. Sjukgymnastiken och dess kvinnliga förgrundsgestalter, och sådana fanns, har inte alls lockat forskningen i samma utsträckning.

Gymnastiska centralinstitutet/Gymnastik- och idrottshögskolan 1813–2013 (Stockholm: GIH, 2013); Barbro Carli, *The Making and Breaking of a Female Culture: The History of Swedish Physical Education "in a Different Voice"* (Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 2004); Jan Lindroth, *Idrottens väg till folkrörelse: Studier i svensk idrottsrörelse till 1915* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1974); Jan Lindroth, *Gymnastik med lek och idrott: För och mot fria kroppsövningar i det svenska läroverket 1878–1928* (Stockholm: HLS Förlag 1993); Jan Lindroth, *Ling – från storhet till upplösning: Studier i svensk gymnastikhistoria 1800–1950* (Stockholm: SISU idrottsböcker, 2004); Jens Ljunggren, *Kroppens bildning: Linggymnastikens manlighetsprojekt 1790–1914* (Eslöv: Symposion, 1999); Pia Lundquist Wanneberg, *Kroppens medborgarfostran: Kropp, klass och genus i skolans fysiska fostran 1919–1962* (Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, 2004); Suzanne Lundvall och Jane Meckbach, *Ett ämne i rörelse: Gymnastik för kvinnor och män i lärarutbildningen vid Gymnastiska centralinstitutet/Gymnastik- och idrottshögskolan under åren 1944 till 1992* (Stockholm: HLS förlag, 2003).

11 Yttergren och Bolling (2016), 204–8.

12 Anne Lykke Poulsen, "Den kvindelige Kvinde:" Kampe om kvindelighed, medborgarskab og professionalisering i dansk kvindegymnastik 1886–1940 (Köpenhamn: Köpenhamns universitet, 2005), 74–83.

13 Poulsen (2005), 77–78; Sheila Fletcher, "The Making and Breaking of a Female Tradition: Women's Physical Education in England 1880–1980," *British Journal of Sports History* 2, no. 1 (1985), 29–39.

14 Yttergren och Bolling (2016), 198–200.

15 Se t ex Else Trangbaek, "Sally Högström og det moderne kvindeprojekt – Svensk gymnastik og GCI's betydning i Danmark," i *200 år av kroppsbiologi: Gymnastiska centralinstitutet/Gymnastik- och idrottshögskolan 1813–2013*, red. Hans Bolling och Leif Yttergren (Stockholm: GIH, 2013), 133–60; Pia Lundquist Wanneberg, "Elin Falk, GCI och föreställningar om barnet – En analys av gymnastikstriden vid Stockholms folkskolor 1910–1913", i *200 år av kroppsbiologi. Gymnastiska centralinstitutet/Gymnastik- och idrottshögskolan 1813–2013*, red. Hans Bolling och Leif Yttergren (Stockholm: GIH, 2013), 109ff; Suzanne Lundvall och Jane Meckbach, "Pionjärer med moraliskt mod – Ett sekel med en kvinnlig lärarutbildning i kroppsövning", i *2200 år av kroppsbiologi. Gymnastiska centralinstitutet/Gymnastik- och idrottshögskolan 1813–2013*, red. Hans Bolling och Leif Yttergren (Stockholm: GIH, 2013), 161–86.

Källmaterial

Studien bygger på ett unikt, nyligen upptäckt och aldrig av forskningen tidigare använt källmaterial. Efter examen 1932 beslöt kvinnorna att fortsätta hålla kontakt med varandra via en så kallade vandringsbok. Den nionde september 1933 kan dateras som bokens födelsedatum, alltså drygt ett år efter examen. Initiativet till vandringsböckerna togs av norrländskan Berit Granqvist med smeknamnet ”Mamma”. Smeknamnen Mamma respektive Pappa gavs enligt traditionen på GCI till klassens ordningspersoner. Även de övriga i klassen erhöll med två undantag smeknamn: Ragnvi Montell och Zehra Thasin. Granqvist med flera utarbetade riktlinjer kring brevens omfång och hur boken skulle distribueras i klassen. Boken gick runt i klassen i elva varv. Ett varv kunde ta flera år. Det finns därmed ett stort antal berättelser från varje kvinna i klassen med några undantag. Till exempel tog det första varvet tre år innan boken var tillbaka hos Granqvist och varv sex tog hela 12 år, men då ingrep Granqvist. Hon hämtade boken hos en kurskamrat där den enligt henne blivit liggande allt för länge och vidarebefordrade den själv till klasskamraterna i Stockholmsområdet. Hon ringde också kontinuerligt upp kamraterna ute i landet och drev på så att boken inte blev liggande. Flera av kurskamraterna vittnar om detta i sina brev.

Vandringsböckerna består av 12 volymer inbundna anteckningsböcker á cirka 200 sidor, och täcker perioden 1933–1992. Kvinnorna själva benämnde böckerna ”Vår Bok”. År 2002 överlämnades de till Gymnastik- och idrottshögskolan (GIH). Jag påträffade dem av en slump i GIH:s biblioteks arkiv. De ger inte bara insikt i de kvinnliga gymnastiklärarnas livsöden och karriärer utan öppnar upp till komparation med de kvinnliga kollegorna som utexaminerades 1893 från GCI, vilka också skrev i en vandringsbok i flera band och som sträckte sig över många decennier. Den förvaras också i GIH:s biblioteks arkiv. Dess innehåll har studerats och berörts i flera studier av Leif Yttergren och Hans Bolling samt även av Olle Halldén i en populärvetenskaplig skrift.¹⁶

Andra världskrigets utbrott 1939 påverkade distributionen av boken. Granqvist var rädd att den skulle försvinna på grund av den osäkra postgången och därför bestämdes att den så länge kriget pågick inte fick skickas utanför Sveriges gränser. Detta drabbade tre av kvinnorna i klassen vilka alla var verksamma utomlands: Vivian ”Babs” Holm hade flyttat till Island efter examen, turkiskan Zehra Thasin hade återvänt hem till Turkiet och Carin ”Kicki” Högberg bodde i Kairo i Egypten.

Redan från bokens början utvecklades spontant en informell mall om hur breven skulle utformas. Mallen förändrades över tid för vart varv boken gick runt i klassen i takt med att kvinnornas liv och karriärer ändrades. Inledningsvis behandlade breven mest yrkeskarriären, var man fått arbete, arbetsplatsens för- och nackdelar, vilka arbetsuppgifter som ingick, ibland omnämndes lönen, men även personliga reflektioner kring resor, relationer med mera kommenterades. I takt med förändrade familjeförhållanden ändrades dock innehållet i breven och blev mer personligt hållna. Från och med femte och sjätte varvet har breven ett innehåll som bäst kan beskrivas som ”familjenytt”. Anmärkningsvärt få politiska och samhällsorienterade

16 Yttergren och Bolling (2016); Hans Bolling och Leif Yttergren, ”Swedish Gymnastics for Export: A Study of the Professional Careers and Lives of Swedish Female Gymnastic Directors, 1893–1933,” *International Journal of the History of Sport* 32, no. 11–12 (2015), 1437–55; Olle Halldén, *Vandringsboken: En 50-årig korrespondens mellan kvinnliga gymnastikdirektörer* (Stockholm: HLS-Förlag, 1996).

ämnen togs upp i breven. Inte ens jämställdhetsfrågan omnämndes. Arbetet och familjen, ”den lilla historien” stod i fokus och kring dessa teman är vandringsboken en rik källa att gräva ur.

En källkritisk reflektion är också på sin plats. Breven ger kvinnornas egen bild av sin livshistoria och yrkeskarriär. Det är således en subjektiv berättelse och sällan tas livets mörka sidor upp. Möjligen var inte vandringsboken rätt forum för detta utan personliga svårigheter avhandlades kanske i brev, telefonsamtal eller samtal kvinnorna mellan. Samtidigt ska påpekas att i de sista volymerna är breven något mer öppenjärtiga angående personliga problem.

Vandringsböckernas rika innehåll har vid behov kompletterats med tryckt och otryckt material i GCI:s arkiv i Riksarkivet. Det materialet kompletteras med data ur den numera av Riksarkivet digitaliserade folk- och kyrkobokföringen i syfte att besvara de biografiska frågeställningarna.

Metod

En kollektivbiografisk metod har använts där GCI-kvinnornas bakgrund, karriärer och livsöden samlats in efter vissa givna kriterier och sedan analyserats. Metoden används ofta vid undersökningar av människor som tillhör en yrkeskategori och för vilka samma typ av data (ålder, kön, födelseort, föräldrar, bostadsort med mera) går att samla in. Den ger möjlighet att sammanställa enskilda kvinnors livsmönster och yrkeskarriärer. Genom att ta del av kvinnornas levnadsberättelser framträder både för- och nackdelar med yrkena, och kompletteras detta med andra källor kan kvinnornas levnadsberättelser placeras in i ett historiskt och kulturellt sammanhang.¹⁷

Kvinnorna höll inte bara kontakten via brevskrivandet utan sågs även vid återkommande jubileumsträffar. De ägde rum med fem års mellanrum mellan 1937 och 1997. Vidare var intresset stort för fortbildningskurser och föreläsningar på GCI, ofta anordnade av Föreningen GCI, och där träffades också kvinnorna om möjlighet fanns. Det uppstod en stark samhörighet i klassen och en stark identitet med yrkesvalet bland kvinnorna. Kvinnorna som bodde i Stockholm respektive Göteborgsområdet träffades med viss regelbundenhet och några blev också nära vänner med flitig kontakt.

I denna artikel fokuseras perioden 1932–1973 då denna tid torde ha varit den mest aktiva för kvinnorna vad gäller yrkeskarriär och familjebildning. De flesta gick nämligen i pension kring 1970. År 1997 hade den sammansvetsade klassen sin sista återförening, 65 år efter examen, på Varbergs kurortshotell med nio deltagare. Den tolfte och sista vandringsboken slutade våren 1992. Intresset fanns då kvar att läsa i boken men däremot hade intresset att skriva i boken hade svalnat. Det skrevs då om förväntningarna inför det kommande 60-årsjubileet av examen 1932 senare under sommaren. I denna sista bok finns också en förteckning över de som avlidit. År 1992 fanns 20 kvinnor av 32 kvar i livet och de var omkring 80 år gamla.

Utbildningen vid GCI

GCI gick tidigt i bräschen för högre professionsutbildning för kvinnor i Sverige; utbildningen öppnades för dem redan 1864. Från 1887 uppgraderades examenstiteln

¹⁷ Se även Donald Broady, *Formering för offentlighet: En kollektivbiografi över Stockholmskvinnor 1880–1920* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1998).

på GCI både för män och kvinnor till gymnastikdirektör, en titel som fortlevde på institutet, då under namnet Gymnastik- och idrottshögskolan, till 1977. Totalt utexaminerades 673 kvinnor från GCI under perioden 1865–1912.¹⁸ De manliga studenternas utbildning var treårig och innehöll tre separata kurser (utbildningsprogram): militära instruktörskursen, idrottslärarkursen och sjukgymnastkursen. De manliga studenternas utbildningsstrategi skilde sig från kvinnornas. Många män, de flesta militärer, valde att bara genomgå två kurser (två år) på GCI och var därmed inte behöriga att ta ut gymnastikdirektörsexamen.¹⁹

Under perioden 1913–1932 genomgick 595 kvinnor GCI:s utbildning fördelat på 20 klasser. Antalet antagna per år var mellan 26 och 34 kvinnor. Det var således bara en klass per år som antogs. Ur ett sentida perspektiv var genomströmningen anmärkningsvärt stor. Alla 595 tog examen och erhöll därmed gymnastikdirektörstiteln.²⁰

En tidigare studie visar att kvinnorna före 1900 efter examen i ”brist på tillräckligt avlönade gymnastiklärarinneplatser” var hänvisade till eller valde att ägna sig åt sjukgymnastik i privat regi, antingen på ett större privatägt institut, eget institut eller på egen mottagning. Antalet tjänster som idrottslärare var få och utbildningen på GCI var i praktiken en sjukgymnastutbildning, åtminstone för kvinnor.²¹ Kring 1900 förbättrades möjligheterna till lönearbete inom skolväsendet då gymnastikämnet blev mer och mer obligatorisk samtidigt som sjukgymnaster började anställas vid de större sjukhusen och efterhand blev sjukgymnasterna en allt mer frekvent yrkeskategori vid landets sjukhus, vilket också märktes i var de studerade kvinnorna arbetade.

I början av 1930-talet var GCI en relativt liten utbildningsanstalt. Den leddes av en direktion, motsvarande högskolestyrelse idag, bestående av fem personer: fyra män och en kvinna.²² Elin Falk var enda kvinnan i direktionen och en känd profil i gymnastikkretsar. Hon hade också gått GCI i slutet av 1890-talet.²³ Den undervisande personalen var uppdelad i olika lärarkategorier: tre överlärare, två lärare, två lärarinnor, åtta extralärare, fem extralärarinnor och åtta biträdande lärare och lärarinnor.²⁴

Militärer var den överlägset största enskilda yrkeskategorin av den manliga undervisande personalen. De kvinnliga lärarna var föga förvånande utbildade gymnastikdirektörer.²⁵ Officeren och gymnastikledaren Gerhard Winroth var föreståndare (rektor) för GCI och hade tillträtt posten 1930 och blev kvar i sju år.

18 Kungl. Gymnastiska centralinstitutets historia 1813–1913 (Stockholm, 1913), 380–96.

19 Betygsjournaler 1913–1932 (DVIIb2+3), GCI:s arkiv, Riksarkivet.

20 Betygsjournaler 1913–1932 (DVIIb2+3), GCI:s arkiv, Riksarkivet. En kvinnlig student tog inte examen på grund av sjukdom men återkom året efter sjukfrånvaron till GCI och tog då sin examen.

21 Yttergren och Bolling (2016), 204–8.

22 Till detta ska läggas två revisorer och en sekreterare.

23 Lundquist Wanneberg (2013), 109–10.

24 Kungl. Gymnastiska Centralinstitutet, *Redogörelse för institutets verksamhet under arbetsåret 1930–1931* (Stockholm, 1931). Det är oklart vad de biträdande lärarna och extralärarna hade för anställningsförhållanden samt relationen mellan dessa och de med tillsvidare anställning. Klart är att olika typer av vikariat var vanligt för gymnastikdirektörerna kring 1930 vilket också gällde 30 år tidigare.

25 Kungl. Gymnastiska Centralinstitutet, *Redogörelse för institutets verksamhet under arbetsåret 1931–1932* (Stockholm, 1932).

Vilka ämnen undervisades kvinnorna i? Här ska påpekas att den praktiska undervisningen var uppdelad efter kön, men att samundervisning skedde till viss del i teoretiska ämnen.²⁶ Det dröjde till läsåret 1977/78 innan praktisk samundervisning infördes vid GIH.²⁷

Undervisningen var uppdelad i två huvuddelar: teoretiska och praktiska ämnen. De förstnämnda bestod av anatomi, fysiologi, pedagogisk gymnastik, sjukdomslära, fysikaliska terapins teori, lek och idrott. De praktiska ämnena bestod av pedagogisk gymnastik (personlig färdighetsträning), sjukgymnastik, lek och idrott. Stor vikt lades uppenbart vid att utveckla den egna personliga färdigheten hos studenterna.²⁸ Betyg gavs i ovan nämnda ämnen i fyra steg: med utmärkt beröm godkänt, med beröm godkänt, med utan beröm godkänt, icke utan beröm godkänt.²⁹

Sammanfattningsvis genomgick kvinnorna sin utbildning vid GCI när lärosätet fortsatt stod för en prestigeutbildning starkt förankrad i den lingska traditionen. Men det skulle inte dröja länge förrän både GCI och linggymnastiken började ifrågasättas. Att utbildningen av sjukgymnaster flyttades från GCI till Karolinska institutet 1934 innebar en avgörande förändring, både för GCI och dess studenter.³⁰ GCI kunde därmed inte längre erbjuda två professionsutbildningar inom ramen för en gymnastikdirektörsexamen, vilket drabbade de kvinnliga studenterna på GCI.

Resultat

Kvinnornas sociala tillhörighet

På 1930-talet var det få personer i Sverige som fortsatte till universitet- och högskolestudier; högre utbildning var fortsatt ett privilegium för samhällets övre skikt, i synnerhet för den manliga delen. Här kan nämnas att 1930 tog 2 248 elever studentexamen och 40 år senare var antalet 29 702.³¹ Samtidigt var utbildningssystemet inne i en jämställdhetsprocess under mellankrigstiden där flickor i högre utsträckning gavs möjlighet, åtminstone teoretiskt till studier. År 1927 fick flickor nämligen tillträde till de allmänna läroverken i samband med en större skolreform och därmed ökad chans att fortsätta till högre studier.³²

En undersökning av den sociala sammansättningen av de kvinnliga studenterna som gick ut GCI 1893 ger vid handen att de kom nästan uteslutande från samhällets övre skikt. Hur var det då 1932? Hade den sociala sammansättningen ändrats i takt med samhällets demokratisering och ökade möjligheter för arbetar- och medelklassen att utbilda sig efter folkskolan? Resultaten tyder på att så var fallet.

²⁶ *Jubileumsskrift: Föreningen G.C.I. 1902–2002* (Stockholm, 2003), 138–39.

²⁷ Kungl. Gymnastiska Centralinstitutet, *Gymnastik- och idrottshögskolan i Stockholm 1963–1988* (Stockholm, 1988), 166.

²⁸ Kungl. Gymnastiska Centralinstitutet (1932), 17–19.

²⁹ Protokoll hållet vid avslutning med kvinnliga kurselever den 28 maj 1932, Kollegiets protokoll (AII, vol. 6), GCI:s arkiv, Riksarkivet.

³⁰ Bolling och Yttergren (2013), 44–45.

³¹ Gunnar Richardson, *Svensk utbildningshistoria: Skola och samhälle förr och nu* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1999), 61.

³² Richardson (1999), 78–79.

Tabell 1. Fädernas yrke i den kvinnliga avgångsklassen vid GCI 1932.

Yrke	Antal
Företagare/handlande/fabrikörer	6
Militärer	1
Akademiker	11
Kontorsanställda	8
Hantverkare	2
Arbetare	1
Jordbrukare	2
Ospecificerade	0
Felande uppgifter	1
Summa	32

Källa och kommentar: Födelseböcker (digitaliserade, Riksarkivet) från församlingarna kvinnorna var födda i. Den felande uppgiften är turkiskan Zehras Thasin far. Hans yrke har inte gått att fastställa.

Kvinnorna kom ur samhällets olika skikt med en klar övervikt från mellanskiktet och övre mellanskiktet. Akademikerkategorin var störst och där återfanns yrken som ingenjör, tandläkare, läkare, musikdirektör, komminister med flera. Gruppen kontorsanställda, inkluderande bland annat yrken som kammarskrivare och tjänstemän, var den näst största gruppen följd av företagarna (handlande, handelsdirektör med flera). Hantverkar- och arbetargruppen utgjordes av tre personer: Sissi ”Cecilia” Borgerts far var snickare och Astrid ”Knoppen” Svenssons far var kakelugnsmakare. Skånskan Wera ”Jeppa” Perssons far arbetade som lokförare.³³ I en jämförelse med kvinnorna som utexaminerades 1893 hade det skett en social breddning, en medelklassifiering. Bland annat kan noteras att kvinnor från adelsfamiljer saknades helt medan akademikerna och kontorsanställda blivit flera. Arbetar- och hantverkargrupperna var fortsatt klart underrepresenterade. Uppenbart var högskolestudier ännu inget alternativ för unga kvinnor ur arbetarklassen.³⁴

Kvinnornas geografiska hemort

Det kan noteras att rekryteringen till GCI var nationell och skedde från landets olika delar. Elva av 32 kom från huvudstaden. Vad gäller de övriga kom två från Norrland, åtta från övriga Svealand, tio från Götaland och en från utlandet. Frances ”Fockie” Foucard var trots det utlandsklingande namnet född i Stockholm. Hon förblev ogift livet igenom och arbetade större delen av sin karriär i Åmål i Dalsland på en gymnasieskola som idrottslärare. Foucard hade engelska föräldrar, fadern var ingenjör.³⁵

Stora delar av landet var således representerat i klassen. Dessa kvinnor lämnade därmed hemmet och hembygden i unga år och flyttade till huvudstaden för att satsa på högre utbildning. I Stockholm bodde de nästan alla i innerstaden, förmodligen inneboende, med närhet till GCI vid Hamngatan.³⁶ Den mest långväga studenten var

33 Borgert, Jeppsson, födelsebok, födelseförsamling, Riksarkivet.

34 Bolling och Yttergren (2015), 1437–55.

35 Vandringböcker, Frances Foucard, Födelseböcker, Frances Foucard, Församlingsbok, Riksarkivet.

36 Kungl. Gymnastiska Centralinstitutet, *Direktion, lärare och elever 1931–1932* (Stockholm 1931), 10–11. Två av kvinnorna bodde på Lidingö och en i Stocksund.

turkiskan Zehra Tahsin, som 26 år gammal inte bara flyttade till Sverige från Turkiet utan också lärde sig svenska för att kunna genomföra utbildningen. Zehra klarade utbildningen och erhöll 1932 gymnastikdirektörstiteln. Hon var den enda utländska studenten. Zehra skrev sporadiskt i vandringsböckerna efter hemkomsten till Turkiet. Hon blev senare en känd gymnastik- och idrottsprofil i Turkiet och var bland annat ledare för de kvinnliga turkiska fäktarna i Berlin-OS 1936. I Berlin träffade hon flera av sina kurskamrater som var med i den svenska massuppvisningstruppen i gymnastik. Hon fick även besök i Turkiet av några kvinnor från klassen, vilket också understryker den starka samhörigheten i gruppen.³⁷

En annan som omgående lämnade Sverige efter examen var Vivian ”Babs” Holm, född i Rasbo socken i Uppland. Hon flyttade till Island där hon gifte sig med en sjukgymnast, förmodligen GCI-utbildad. På Island arbetade hon som sjukgymnast, trots flitigt barnafödande och skilsmässa. Hon fick fyra barn på relativt kort tid. Efter skilsmässan gifte hon om sig med en präst i slutet av 1940-talet. ”Babs” stannade på Island resten av sitt liv och var anställd vid samma privatpraktik under 30 år, 1948–1978. Hon slutade vid 68 års ålder i samband med att praktiken stängdes. ”Babs” Holm engagerade sig även fackligt och var ordförande i landets sjukgymnastförening 1955–1967.³⁸

När det gäller 1893 års studenter kan noteras att de flesta var födda i Svealand, sju i Götaland, fyra i Norrland och fem utomlands – två i Finland och en vardera i Danmark, England och Norge. De som tog examen härrörde alltså från hela Sverige och det internationella inslaget i klassen var betydande.³⁹

År 1932 hade detta således delvis förändrats. Stockholmsdominansen fanns kvar, vilket inte är märkligt med tanke på att Stockholms befolkning ökat kraftigt mellan 1890 och 1930, från cirka 202 000 till drygt 500 000 invånare. Dessutom hade staden brett ut sig utanför tullarna och flera förorter hade etablerats.⁴⁰ Stockholm var åtminstone teoretiskt på väg att bli en storstad med eget stort upptagningsområde till högskole- och universitetssfären. Den stora förändringen ligger i att antalet utlandsstudenter minskat från fem till en.

Kvinnornas ålder vid utbildningsstarten

Äldst var turkiskan Zehra Tahsin, född 1904 och de yngsta var födda 1910, med andra ord var åldersspannet mellan 20 och 26 år vid GCI-inträdet 1930. Totalt 27 kvinnor av 32 var födda åren 1909 och 1910 och de var således endast kring 20 år när de började på GCI och 22 år vid examen. De var därmed relativt unga och hade nästan omgående gått från motsvarande gymnasiestudier till GCI i Stockholm. Åldersmässigt var de således även en relativt homogen grupp vid inträdet i den gymnastiska högborgen vid Hamngatan i Stockholm.⁴¹ Vid en jämförelse med den kvinnliga studentgruppen som tog examen 1893 finns en viss skillnad. Den hade en medelålder

37 Vandringsböcker, Zehra Tahsin.

38 Vandringsböcker, Vivian ”Babs” Holm.

39 Yttergren och Bolling (2016), 204–8.

40 http://statistik.stockholm.se/images/stories/pdf/Historisk_befolkning_web.pdf.

41 Tyvärr är kvinnornas ansökningshandlingar utgallrade på Riksarkivet, vilket gör det svårt att veta något om deras skolgång före GCI-tiden. Klart är att många hade goda språkkunskaper, något som var en förutsättning för arbete på utländska gymnastikinstitut.

på drygt 24 år, den yngsta hade just fyllt 21 och den äldsta fyllde 29 år när de började på GCI.⁴²

Kvinnorna blev förhållandevis gamla och avled med ett undantag mellan 1977 och 2013. De två äldsta, Inga ”Jackie” Janson var 103 år när hon avled. Ett år äldre blev Wera ”Jeppa” Persson från Helsingborg. Hon arbetade först som sjukgymnast med olika vikariat, bland annat i Helsingborg, Varberg, Umeå och var även i Paris i två år på 1930-talet. Hon var sedan hemmafru under många år, men startade sedan ett eget institut i Sigtuna på 1960-talet.

Ett undantag vad gäller ålder var dalkullan Hjördis ”Orsa” Grindal. Hon avled redan 1951 i cancer efterlämnande man och tre småbarn. Hon stack ut även på ett annat sätt då hon tämligen omgående lämnade yrket för fabriksarbete och sedan vidareutbildade hon sig till personaladministratör vid Socialhögskolan. Hon var således den enda av kvinnorna som dog i förtid, det vill säga före pension.⁴³ GCI-kvinnorna blev i genomsnitt drygt 83 år.⁴⁴

Kvinnornas yrkeskarriär

Formellt sett hade de som nämnts ovan behörighet att arbeta som både sjukgymnast och idrottslärare. En rad olika sysselsättningar har noterats som kvinnorna ägnade sig åt inom ramen för sin examen. De är indelade i huvudsysselsättning (A) och bisyssla (B):

A: idrottslärare, sjukgymnast på institut, kurort, sjukhus av skilda slag, egen företagare inom sjukgymnastik, sjukgymnast hos privatperson, annan yrkeskarriär

B: simlärare, gymnastikinstruktör i föreningar

Alla fick således anställning efter examen inom det verksamhetsområde de utbildat sig i. Här skall påpekas att anställningarnas karaktär varierade kraftigt både vad gäller innehåll och varaktighet. Under de första åren efter examen agerade de flesta kvinnor efter en likartad handlingsstrategi. Kvinnorna tackade ja till alla möjliga lönearbeten, många gånger korta vikariat, för att få praktik och inte minst en stadig inkomst. De hoppade mellan olika anställningar och geografiskt avstånd var inget hinder utan de var synnerligen mobila och tog anställningar i olika delar av Sverige. Efterhand fick många fast anställning och blev då kvar i många år på samma arbetsplats, ofta som idrottslärare på någon skola. Några sökte sig till och med utomlands. Göteborgskan Inga ”Jackie” Janson kan tjäna som ett typexempel. Hösten 1932 arbetade hon som:

- biträdande gymnastiklärare vid Högre allmänna läroverket för flickor 4 timmar i veckan
- sjukgymnast vid Göteborgs massagepoliklinik mellan kl. 8.30–14.30 med 20–25 patienter per dag, 10–15 minuter/patient och cirka 40 öre per patient (125 kr/mån)
- gymnastikinstruktör vid fem gymnastikklubbar 7 timmar i veckan.⁴⁵

42 Yttergren och Bolling (2016), 198.

43 Vandringsböcker, Hjördis ”Orsa” Grindal.

44 Statistiska Centralbyrån, http://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/pxweb/sv/ssd/START__BE__BE0101__BE0101/Medellivslangd/table/tableViewLayout1

45 Vandringsböcker, Inga ”Jackie” Jansson.

Efterhand fick hon ett längre vikariat med flera timmar som idrottslärare vid ”flickläroverket” i Göteborg och så småningom fast anställning. Hon blev kvar vid Kjellbergsska läroverket i hela 35 år och över åren varierade antalet tjänstetimmar. Noteras bör också att hon födde fem barn under tiden 1935–1947, men fortsatte att arbeta direkt efter graviditeterna. Familjen tog dessutom i likhet med många andra i Sverige hand om en finsk flicka under kriget.⁴⁶ Nämnas bör att de hade hembiträde, vilket troligen var en förutsättning för hennes fortsatta lärartjänstgöring. År 1953 framhåller hon att familjen inte längre har något hembiträde utan bara ”en fru som lagar mat en gång i veckan”. Skälet till detta var att Jackie hade ett bra schema med helledigt på fredagar trots 30 timmars tjänstgöring i veckan. Jackie gick i pension 1974.⁴⁷

Endast två av kvinnorna lämnade tidigt yrket och valde en annan yrkeskarriär. Birgit ”Billy” Andréns utbildade sig till folkskollärare efter GCI och arbetade bland annat i Abrahamsskolan och Olofslundsskolan i Stockholmsförorten Bromma där hon också bodde. Den andra var ovan nämnda ”Orsa” Grindahl. Hon började arbeta i en kexfabrik och utbildade sig till personaladministratör. Under tiden arbetade hon som idrottslärare.⁴⁸

Mobiliteten var således stor hos vissa av kvinnorna och uppenbart var behovet stort att ha en inkomstbringande tjänst med tanke på flyttningsbenägenheten. Wera ”Jeppa” Persson var till och med på väg att tillträda en tjänst i USA på ett sjukgymnastikinstitut när hon träffade sin blivande man. Kärleken vann och hon hoppade av USA-resan och stannade kvar i Sverige. Hon gifte sig 1937 och fick barn sommaren 1938 och blev därefter hemmafru i 25 år. Hon återvände sedan till sjukgymnastiken och öppnade egen sjukgymnastikpraktik. Hon hade patienter även efter uppnådd pensionsålder.⁴⁹

I slutet av 1800-talet, ”nervositetens tidsålder” var det inte ovanligt att sjukgymnaster arbetade hemma hos en välbeställd familj. Denna inkomstmöjlighet verkar vara på väg att försvinna för gymnastikdirektörerna under 1930-talet Agnes ”Thulo” Thorburn utgör ett undantag. Hon arbetade en period hösten 1933 som assistent hos friherrinnan Sparre, vilken bodde i Nederländerna.⁵⁰

Hur var det då med utlandsarbete bland kvinnorna? När det gäller den kvinnliga kursen som gick ut 1893 kan noteras att många arbetade i kortare eller längre perioder utomlands. Flera gånger vikarierade de för varandra i ett väl fungerande nätverk som uppenbart sträckte sig utanför landets gränser. USA, Finland, Tyskland, Schweiz, Frankrike, Danmark, England, Polen och Italien var länder som de utexaminerade gymnastikdirektörerna arbetade i.⁵¹ Att dessa kvinnor sökte sig utomlands var på intet sätt unikt. Theodor Bergquist, chef för Svenska Gymnastikanstalten i kurorten Bad Wörishofen i Tyskland, gav 1905 ut *Svenska gymnastiken i utlandet och dess representanter*. 228 personer är med i bokens biografiska del, en majoritet av

46 Detta var inte ovanligt. Omkring 70 000 finska barn skickades till Sverige under andra världskriget. Se Astri Andresen et al., *Barnen och välfärdspolitiken: Nordiska barndomar 1900–2000* (Stockholm: Dialogos, 2011), 365–70.

47 Vandringsböcker, Inga ”Jackie” Jansson.

48 Vandringsböcker, Birgit ”Billy” Andréns.

49 Vandringsböcker, Wera ”Jeppa” Persson.

50 Vandringsböcker, Agnes ”Thulo” Thorburn.

51 Yttergren och Bolling (2016), 207.

dem, 146 stycken, är kvinnor.⁵² Det fanns således en stor internationell arbetsmarknad för och ett internationellt nätverk av svenska gymnastikdirektörer med sjukgymnastisk inriktning, åtminstone kring sekelskiftet 1900.

På 1930-talet hade detta delvis ändrats. Fortsatt fanns det ett intresse för utlandsarbete och en efterfrågan på svenska sjukgymnaster. Det var bara de som efterfrågades, inte idrottslärarna. Hela tolv av de 32 kvinnorna flyttade utomlands av olika skäl till länder som Italien, Frankrike, Holland, Belgien, England, Egypten, Spanien och Island. Av dessa var det åtta som flyttade enbart för att arbeta som sjukgymnaster, de övriga fyra av andra skäl. Särskilt sjukgymnastarbete i Frankrike lockade kvinnorna, vilket överensstämmer med resultaten för 1890-talet. Det fanns sedan länge institut i Frankrike där svenska sjukgymnaster var etablerade. Däremot var det ingen som åkte över till USA för att arbeta, vilket förekom i slutet på 1890-talet och detta trots betydligt snabbare och bättre kommunikationer över Atlanten på 1930-talet.

Det verkar som goda kontakter var nyckeln till lönearbete. Ofta rekommenderade kvinnorna varandra till tjänster både i utlandet och i Sverige. Inte sällan ersatte de varandra på olika arbetsplatser. Det fanns också ett etablerat nätverk bland gymnastikdirektörer i Sverige där Föreningen GCI var spindeln i nätet.

Vidare har noterats att kvinnorna arbetade utomlands endast korta perioder och bara på 1930-talet. Två, tre år var vanligast och sen återvände man för gott till Sverige och i många fall väntade giftermål och barn och lönearbete på hemmaplan. Förmodligen var det så att förspelet och efterspelet till andra världskriget och givetvis kriget i sig påverkade arbetskraftsmobiliteten i Europa.⁵³

Ett annat skäl till att intresset för utlandsarbete minskat framför Agnes ”Thulo” Thorburn. Hon arbetade periodvis utomlands under 1930-talet, men ville inte vara utomlands för länge för att inte tappa i konkurrenskraft i Sverige. Uppenbart var det så att utlandsarbete inte var lika meriterande som lönearbete på hemmaplan för en sjukgymnast på 1930-talet.⁵⁴

Resultaten stämmer delvis överens med en enkätundersökning som Föreningen GCI gjorde bland sina medlemmar om ”Kvinnliga gymnastikdirektörers försörjningsförhållanden åren 1927–1931”. Den visade att 1931 arbetade knappt 20 procent enbart som sjukgymnaster, 11 procent som idrottslärare (friskgymnaster), cirka 40 procent kombinerade dessa yrken. Hela 13 procent angav att ”Försörjning omöjlig på grund av arbetsbrist”, 16 procent hade lämnat yrket efter giftermål och 2 procent hade ”Övergått till annat yrke”. Utbildningen vid GCI var således i praktiken ingen garanti för lönearbete och en säker inkomst. Kvinnorna tvingades många gånger att ta korta vikariat runt om i Sverige annars hotade arbetslöshet och inkomstbortfall.

Giftermål och familj

I en tidigare studie framgår att av de kvinnor som utexaminerades från GCI 1893 gifte sig 13 av 25 kvinnor efter examen, drygt 50 procent. De som gifte sig gjorde det med något undantag relativt sent i livet, och när de provat på att vara ute i yrkeslivet

52 Theodor Bergquist, *Svenska gymnastiken i utlandet och dess representanter* (Stockholm: Nordin & Josephson, 1905), 37–126.

53 Turkiskan Zehra Thasin flyttade tillbaka hem och Vivian Holm flyttade till Island för att både arbeta och gifta sig. Sissi Borgert bodde ett tag i Italien på grund av makens arbete. Inga Holmqvist jobbade ett tag på 1950-talet som reseledare i Spanien.

54 Vandringsböcker, Agnes Thurborn.

en tid. När så skett valde de antingen giftermål och avslutad yrkeskarriär eller singelliv och fortsatt yrkeskarriär. Endast någon enstaka av kvinnorna fortsatte med sin yrkeskarriär efter giftermål.⁵⁵

De kvinnliga gymnastikdirektörerna som gick ut GCI 1932 gifte sig i betydligt högre utsträckning och dessutom tidigare i livet och relativt snart efter att ha genomgått utbildningen. Hela 28 kvinnor av 32 gifte sig efter examen, många relativt omgående efter ha inlett sin inledningsvis ganska brokiga yrkeskarriär som idrottslärare och/eller sjukgymnast. Under perioden 1933–1943 hade 26 av 32 gift sig och två till gifte sig mellan 1944–1953. Fyra kvinnor, Agnes ”Thulo” Thorburn, Frances ”Fockie” Foucard, Ragnvi Montell, Margit ”Majken” Salmén, var ogifta under hela sitt liv. Vidare kan noteras att äktenskapen var långvariga, oftast livslånga. Endast några stycken skilde sig eller separerade. Däremot var det drygt en handfull som tidigt blev änkor och av dessa gifte ett par om sig.

Tabell 2. De kvinnliga gymnastikdirektörerna civilstånd vid Gymnastiska centralinstitutet (GCI) i Stockholm 1933–1953

År	Gifta	Ogifta	Avlidna	Totalt
1933	5	27		32
1943	26	6		32
1953	27	4	1	32

Källa: Vandringsböcker 1933–1992 (GIH:s bibliotek), vol. I–V.

Kvinnorna som gick ut 1932 under mellankrigstiden valde således i betydligt större utsträckning giftermål än sina medsystrar på 1890-talet. Kan det ha berott på att handlingsutrymmet för kvinnor blivit större vid giftermål och att detta med automatik inte innebar avbruten yrkeskarriär och att bli hemmafru resten av livet? Hur kan det annorlunda giftermålsmönstret mellan 1890-talet och 1930- och 1940-talen förklaras? Tidigare forskning visar att det endast undantagsvis gick att förena giftermål och barn med fortsatt yrkeskarriär för 1890-talets gymnastikkvinnor.⁵⁶ Gymnastikkvinnornas handlingsutrymme var således stort fram till giftermålet. Till skillnad från 1890-talets GCI-kvinnor framkommer ingen enhetlig bild utan tre olika handlingsstrategier kan urskiljas: arbetslinjen, hemmafrualternativet, återvändningsstrategin.

Arbetslinjen innebar att kvinnorna fortsatte att arbeta tämligen omgående efter barnafödandet. Detta trots att barnpassning var ett ständigt problem, vilket flera av kvinnorna vittnar om i sina brev. Den offentliga barnomsorgen var som historikern K.G. Hammarlund visar i princip obefintlig på 1930-talet och det skulle dröja till 1960-talet innan den började byggas ut på allvar i samband med att kvinnorna i allt högre grad lämnade hemmet och började förvärvsarbeta. År 1965 yrkesarbetade nästan var tredje kvinna mot endast var tionde 20 år tidigare.⁵⁷ Gymnastikkvinnorna var således föregångare bland de yrkesarbetande kvinnorna.

⁵⁵ Yttergren och Bolling (2016), 200–4.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ K.G. Hammarlund, *Barnet och barnomsorgen: Bilden av barnet i ett socialpolitiskt projekt* (Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet, 1998), 108–12, 139–40.

Kvinnorna kombinerade ju i hög grad lönearbete och familj. Uppenbarligen var barn och barnpassning en kvinnofråga. Ingen av kvinnorna nämner något om att mannen var hemma och tog hand om barnen, vilket ytterligare komplicerade livspusslet för kvinnorna. Lösningarna var många, ofta tog de hjälp av barnflickor. Anna-Lisa "Lulle" Ahlberg hade barnflickor som enligt henne "kommer och går". Sissie "Knäcken" Borgert hade hemhjälp som fick bo gratis hos familjen mot att hon hjälpte till i hushållet. Inga "Bam" Holmqvists mamma passade barnet under några år, men sen flyttade hon och då fanns det ingen annan utväg för henne än att ta med sig dottern till arbetet. Även Ebba "Quippe" Quiding och Greta "Truls" Östling, vilka drev ett gymnastikinstitut tillsammans i Västerås, arbetade vissa perioder halvtid och gick om lott på institutet för att få livspusslet barn och lönearbete att fungera. Ibland hade de också barnflickor. Britta "Pullan" Widman fick fyra barn och arbetade som idrottslärare. Hon ville gå ner på deltid, men tvekade för hon inte ville lämna en fast tjänst. Familjen skaffade därför ett hembiträde på 1940-talet för att hon skulle kunna fortsätta arbeta heltid: "För jag tycker alltså att vårt yrke är det bästa på jorden." Anna-Lisa "Jeddan" Jerdin fick barn sent i livet, vid 44 års ålder. I februari 1952 föddes sonen Jan och höstterminen 1954 började hon arbeta igen i Solna läroverk som idrottslärare.

Den andra strategin benämns hemmafrualternativet och innebar att kvinnorna lämnade yrket efter giftermål och barn och blev hemmafruar på heltid. Denna strategi verkar inte vara helt accepterad bland kvinnorna och de ursäktade sitt val. Till exempel Gull "Gloria" Schöler framhöll: "är själv fortfarande en fullkomlig avfalling." Detta alternativ var föga attraktivt och endast ett fåtal av kvinnorna lämnade yrket för gott vid giftermål. Nämnda Gloria arbetade några år som sjukgymnast i bland annat Kalmar och verkade trivas med det. Hon träffade där sin blivande man som var jurist. De gifte sig 1937 och efter det återvände hon aldrig till yrket. Cirka 20 år efter examen skrev hon om sin situation: "hemmafru som vanligt och glad och nöjd med det." Hon fick tre barn. Hennes man gjorde däremot karriär.

Även Carin "Kicki" Högberg lämnade yrket och blev hemmafru/representationshustru efter giftermålet 1937. Innan dess arbetade hon som sjukgymnast bland annat på kurorten Sätra Brunn i Västmanland. Hennes man var norrman, välbeställd affärsman och honorärkonsul med verksamhet i Kairo. De bodde och verkade där under 24 år, men tvingades lämna landet i samband med störtandet av Kung Farouk i början av 1950-talet. Antieuropeiska stämningarna blev enligt "Kicki" för starka och familjen flyttade till Oslo.⁵⁸ I övrigt var det som nämnts väldigt få av kvinnorna som valde hemmafrualternativet fullt ut.

Det tredje alternativet, återvändningsstrategin, innebar att kvinnorna lämnade yrket en tid för oavlönat arbete som hemmafru och återvände sedan till yrkeslivet. Till exempel Brita "Biffen" Westin fick tre barn och var först hemma med dom. "Biffen" började arbeta igen 1953, 21 år efter examen, och när det yngsta barnet var 5 år. Hon gjorde då karriär inom vården och i början av 1960-talet tillträdde hon en tjänst som chef på Göteborgs sjukgymnastiska poliklinik. En tjänst hon innehade till sin pension 1974. Greta "Truls" Östling arbetade efter examen som sjukgymnast bland annat på "Vaneföreanstalten" i Härnösand. Hon gifte sig 1937 och fick fem barn. Hon var hemmafru en tid innan hon startade ett sjukgymnastiskt institut i Västerås

58 Vandringsböcker, Carin "Kicki" Högberg.

med kurskamraten ”Quippe”. Hon arbetade i varierad omfattning på institutet och fortsatte att behandla patienter i ytterligare 10 år efter pensionering och slutade arbeta först vid 77 års ålder.

Ytterligare ett exempel på denna återvändningsstrategi är Wera ”Jeppa” Persson. Efter examen 1932 hoppade hon runt på olika sjukgymnastvikariat på skilda platser i Sverige och i Paris. Hon arbetade också på kryssningsfartyget Gripsholm innan hon gifte sig 1937. Hon lämnade då arbetslivet: ”Har full sysselsättning att sköta hem och barn.” Efter 25 år som hemmafru lockade åter yrkeslivet och 1962 anmälde hon sig till en så kallad reaktiveringskurs för sjukgymnaster. Efter den startade hon så småningom en egen sjukgymnastisk praktik i Sigtuna. Hon fortsatte att driva den och ha patienter även efter att ha uppnått pensionsåldern.⁵⁹

Här kan således konstateras att giftermål och barn med några undantag inte innebar att kvinnorna gav upp sin yrkeskarriär. Många återgick tämligen omgående till sin tjänstgöring i varierad omfattning. Några gick ner i tid, andra valde bort att arbeta extra med att leda gymnastikföreningar, vilket ofta skedde på kvällstid och helger.

Sammanfattande diskussion

Syftet med artikeln har varit att analysera yrkeskarriärerna för de kvinnliga gymnastikdirektörernas, som gick ut GCI 1932. Kvinnorna emanerade ur samhällets mellanskikt och övre mellanskikt. En jämförelse med kvinnorna som gick ut 1893 ger vid handen att den årsklassen i betydligt större utsträckning kom från samhällets övre skikt. Åldersmässigt var gruppen som gick ut 1932 relativt homogen. De var kring 20 år när de började den tvååriga utbildningen på GCI. För många innebar detta också ett uppbrott från hemorten och en flytt till Stockholm. GCI-utbildningen lockade i princip studenter från hela landet. Studenterna från 1893 kom i stor utsträckning från Stockholm. Det gjorde också studenterna som gick ut 1932, vilket är logiskt med tanke på att Stockholms befolkning ökat kraftigt mellan 1890 och 1930, från cirka 200 000 till drygt 500 000 invånare.⁶⁰

Även när det gäller giftermål skilde sig årgångarna åt. 28 av 32 gifte sig och dessutom tämligen omgående efter avslutad utbildning och under pågående yrkeskarriär. Vidare kan noteras att äktenskapen var långvariga. Kvinnorna som gick ut 1893 var betydligt mindre giftermålsbenägna. Endast 13 av 25 kvinnor gifte sig efter examen och det skedde relativt sent i livet när de hade varit ute i arbetslivet ett tag. Då stod de inför ett vägskäl i livet: antingen giftermål och avslutad yrkeskarriär eller singelliv och fortsatt yrkeskarriär. Den ökade giftermålsfrekvensen var inte unik för de kvinnliga gymnastikdirektörerna. Hans Nilsson och Lars-Göran Tedebrand konstaterar att under 1930- och 1940-talen skedde ”en utomordentligt stark uppgång i giftermålsfrekvensen”. De menar att detta hängde samman med strukturella faktorer men även med ”kulturella och mentalitetsmässiga faktorer som fokusering på privatlivet, husmodersidealet och den begynnande konsumismen”.⁶¹

Resultaten visar också att 1930-talets kvinnliga gymnastikdirektörer hade betydligt större handlingsutrymme och valde att arbeta, gifta sig och bilda familj trots att det innebar dubbelarbete och svårigheter att få ihop det så kallade livspusslet. 1930-talet var en tid när gifta kvinnors rätt till lönearbete diskuterades i samhället:

59 Vandringsböcker, Wera ”Jeppa” Persson.

60 http://statistik.stockholm.se/images/stories/pdf/Historisk_befolkning_web.pdf.

61 Nilsson och Tedebrand (2005), 76.

yrkeskvinna eller hemmakvinna var frågan som ställdes. Det restes till och med krav på begränsningar av gifta kvinnors rätt till arbete. År 1939 kom också en lag som stärkte kvinnans rätt på arbetsmarknaden i samband med giftermål och graviditet, men den innebar bara marginella förbättringar utifrån en sentida kontext. Till exempel kunde kvinnor avskedas om de tagit längre ledigt än 12 veckor efter det hon fött barn.⁶²

Kommunal barnomsorg var ännu inget alternativ och det var inget de undersökta kvinnorna nämnde som ett alternativ för barnpassning. Istället var det olika lösningar, ofta barnflickor och/eller hembiträden, som många gånger gjorde att de undersökta kvinnorna kunde förvärvsarbeta i samband med familjebildning. Uppfinningsrikedomen var stor och arbetet många gånger prioriterat!

Det har noterats att kvinnorna agerade utifrån tre olika handlingsalternativ utan vattentäta skott emellan i samband med familjebildning: arbetslinjen, hemmafrualternativet, återvändningsstrategin. Det har visat sig att familjebildning endast i några enstaka fall innebar att kvinnorna lämnade arbetslivet för gott och blev hemmafruar. Många började arbeta tämligen omgående efter graviditeten i enlighet med arbetsmarknadens hårda krav. Återvändarna var ytterligare en kategori. De stannade hemma med barnen under en period och återvände till yrket när barnen blivit större.

Hur ska man då förklara att så många kvinnor återvände till yrket efter giftermål, vilket skiljer sig radikalt från 1890-talets handlingsstrategi bland de kvinnliga gymnastikdirektörerna? Förklaringen finns i tidsandan och samhällsutvecklingen från 1930-talet och framåt och den debatt som följde i Alva och Gunnar Myrdals omdiskuterade debattbok *Kris i befolkningsfrågan* från 1934. K.G. Hammarlund menar att från 1930-talet följde decennier av diskussion kring kvinnors förvärvsarbete och barnomsorg.⁶³ Parallellt började det spridas en uppfattning i samhället om att kvinnors förvärvsarbete bidrog till samhällets välbefinnande och inte var ett hot mot männens försörjningsmöjligheter.⁶⁴

Gymnastikkvinnorna var något av spjutspetsar i denna omvandlingsprocess, vilket understryks av att bara 10 procent av de gifta kvinnorna förvärvsarbetade på 1930-talet. År 1945 hade denna siffra ökat till drygt 14 procent och till 24 procent 1960. GCI-kvinnorna var således mer lönearbetsbenägna än andra kvinnor på 1930-talet även efter giftermål.⁶⁵ GCI-kvinnornas lönearbetsbenägenhet kan kanske förklaras utifrån yrkets fostrande och vårdande karaktär. Lärar- och sjukgymnastyrket kan ses som ett kall likt sjuksköterskans och läkarens. Även den starka klassammanhållningen och GCI-andan kan ha spelat in i viljan att arbeta. Begreppet ”avfälling” används av kvinnorna själva när de inte förvärvsarbetade utan var hemmafruar.

Utbildningen på GCI innebar att kvinnorna kunde arbeta som sjukgymnaster och idrottslärare samt arbeta extra som instruktörer inom gymnastikrörelsen. Teoretiskt

62 Catharina Calleman, ”Befolkningskriserna och arbetsrätten,” i *Familjeföreställningar: Om familjens betydelse inom juridik, ekonomi och forskning*, red. Monica Burman och Åsa Gunnarsson (Uppsala: Lustus, 2001), 254–58; Katarina Larsson, *Andrahandskontrakt i folkhemmet: Närmiljö och kvinnors förändringsstrategier* (Örebro: Örebro Studies in History, 2005), 133–36.

63 Hammarlund (1998), 41.

64 Ibid., 173.

65 Ibid., 85.

föreföll således möjligheterna till lönearbete goda, men i verkligheten var handlingsutrymmet begränsat för kvinnorna. De nödgades till att ta det lönearbete som gavs oavsett var det fanns i landet. I början var det ofta korta vikariat som sjukgymnaster eller idrottslärare, ibland kombinerade man dessa. Denna strategi verkade emellertid fungera och efterhand erhöll många fasta tjänster. Några startade också sjukgymnastiska institut. Endast två av kvinnorna lämnade yrket för annan yrkesverksamhet. Även lönearbete utomlands lockade drygt ett tiotal av kvinnorna, vilket stämmer väl överens med kvinnorna som gick ut 1893. En viktig skillnad kan dock noteras. De sistnämnda verkade utomlands i långa perioder medan 1932 års årgång tog korta vikariat efter examen innan de återvände hem till Sverige. Uppenbart var inte utlandstjänstgöring lika attraktivt längre på 1930-talet. En förklaring till detta antyds i breven. Utlandsarbete var inte lika meriterande som att arbeta i Sverige och i jakten på en fast anställning var meriteringen uppenbart viktig.

I likhet med kvinnorna som gick ut 1893 var sjukgymnastyrket något som lockade kvinnorna i minst lika hög utsträckning som idrottsläraryrket. Det starka sjukgymnastiska inslaget har i GCI/GIH:s egen historieskrivning hållits tillbaka.

Tidigare forskning har diskuterat huruvida mellankrigstidens kvinnor var yrkeskvinnor eller ”makens tjänarinna” för att tala med Renée Frangeur. Historikern Yvonne Hirdman menar att under folkhemseran var det rådande genuskontraktet det så kallade ”husmoderskontraktet”. Perioden mellan 1930 och 1960 kännetecknades av att detta kontrakt rådde i samhället, vilket innebar att kvinnan var hemma, den goda husmodern, och skötte barn och hem. Mannen däremot tog hand om lönearbetet och försörjde därmed familjen.⁶⁶ Frangeur menar däremot att gifta kvinnor sökte sig till arbetsmarknaden i allt större utsträckning redan under 1930-talet och att fler kvinnor ”bejakade det moderna förvärvsarbetet”,⁶⁷ vilket stämmer väl överens med gymnastikkvinnornas agerande. De förenade i de flesta fall en stark identitet som yrkeskvinna med hemmafrurollen och återvände till yrket så fort lagstiftningen krävde detta eller när barnen blivit äldre eller när barnpassningen lösts. Hemmafrurollen var inget permanent alternativ för gymnastikkvinnorna. Längtan till lönearbetet var starkare.

66 Yvonne Hirdman, *Demokrati och makt i Sverige: Maktutredningens huvudrapport*, SOU 1990:44, 84–87.

67 Frangeur (1998), 67.

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The “Aidification” of National Experiences: Swedish-Supported Correspondence Education in Tanzania, ca 1960–1975

Nikolas Glover

Abstract • This article deals with the foundational juncture in a 60-year long (and counting) relationship between Swedish and Tanzanian adult educators. It analyses how Swedish correspondence education methods and objectives were adapted as they entered the emerging field of foreign aid. Two educational institutions in Tanzania, in which Swedish funds and personnel played a central role are studied: the Nordic-funded Co-operative Educational Centre in Moshi founded in 1964, and the Swedish-funded National Correspondence Institute in Dar es Salaam (1971–). The analysis shows how international NGOs and individual policy entrepreneurs created the initial arenas for policy transfer. It emphasises how the ideal of creating an equal partnership affected the policies that were being lent and borrowed. The article argues that the concept of aidification can be used to capture the ways in which transnational policy areas such as education were transformed in the wake of decolonisation.

Keywords • correspondence education, development aid, Tanzania, lending, borrowing

This article examines the early history of Swedish-backed institutions providing education via correspondence in Tanzania.¹ At the time Sweden was said to be the country with the most extensive correspondence education enrolment per capita in the world. Explanations pointed to the combination of a sparse, geographically widespread population with a high level of literacy, an efficient publishing industry and reliable postal services. Well-established private correspondence institutes accounted for a significant share of enrolments.² The premises were radically different in independent Tanganyika (renamed Tanzania in 1964). Yet one of Sweden’s earliest forays into development co-operation focused on adapting the methods of correspondence to this very different context. The purpose of what follows is to use this observation as an entry-point for an analysis of how entering the global “aid rush”

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- 1 Although the first of these institutes was jointly backed by Nordic co-operatives and the Nordic Tanganyika Project, it was Swedish nationals who had a direct influence on how it was run and the courses it produced.
- 2 SOU 1962:16, *Korrespondensundervisningen inom skolväsendet: Betänkande* (Stockholm: Statens offentliga utredningar, 1962), 15; Orsi Husz and Nikolas Glover, “Between Human Capital and Human Worth: Popular Valuations of Knowledge in 20th Century Sweden,” *Scandinavian Journal of History* (2019), <https://doi.org/10.1080/03468755.2019.1578687>.

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or “development race” affected the field of adult education in Sweden.³ Which actors collaborated in adapting Swedish experiences of correspondence education for development purposes? In what ways did emerging development ideals of “partnership” determine processes of policy lending and borrowing?

Decolonisation in Africa and Asia not only had profound effects on dominant political discourses and identities in those continents but also in Europe.⁴ In the following I study a foundational juncture in what would turn out to be a 60-year long (and still counting) relationship between Swedish and Tanzanian adult educators.⁵ In the 1960s “development” became a ubiquitous concept in international affairs, and it seemed almost impossible to speak of North-South relationships without resorting to it. It is against this background that I examine the setting up of two educational institutions in Tanzania in which Swedish funds and personnel played a key role. The first is the Co-operative Educational Centre (CEC) in Moshi founded in 1964 and jointly initiated by the Nordic co-operative movements. The second institution is the Swedish-funded National Correspondence Institute (NCI) in Dar es Salaam, established in 1971. The CEC’s main objective was to offer training for the rank and file of Tanzania’s rapidly growing rural co-operative primary societies. The number of students increased over the first years, and between 1965 and 1969 6,100 individuals enrolled.⁶ By the end of 1970, eight correspondence courses had been produced by the CEC. In contrast, the NCI was created through a bilateral agreement between the Tanzanian and Swedish governments. It was a central, national institute for mass correspondence education under the auspices of the Institute for Adult Education in Dar es Salaam.⁷ By July 1974 there were 8,600 students enrolled, and two years later the number had reached 20,000.⁸ While the Moshi centre had been launched with a handful of employees, by 1974–1975 the NCI was already employing 64 Tanzanians on full-time contracts.⁹

The analysis is based on reports, correspondence and publications kept in the archives of the Nordic Tanzania Project and of the Swedish aid office in Dar es Salaam. Specifically I have traced the development of the CEC in the first of these archives in the boxes dedicated to “Co-operative projects.” In the latter archive I have concen-

3 Helge Pharo and Monika Pohle Fraser, eds., *The Aid Rush: Aid Regimes in Northern Europe During the Cold War*, vol. 2 (Oslo: Unipub, 2008); Gunnar Lind Haase Svendsen and Gert Tinggard Svendsen, “The Global Development Race and the Samaritan’s Dilemma: Development Aid Discourse in Danish Agriculture,” *Contemporary European History* 17, no. 1 (2008).

4 E.g. Giuliano Garavini, “The Colonies Strike Back: The Impact of the Third World on Western Europe, 1968–1975,” *Contemporary European History* 16, no. 3 (2007).

5 See e.g. Folkbildningsrådet, *Gränsöverskridande folkbildning: Om resurser, nätverk och transnationellt engagemang* (Stockholm: Allduplo, 2011), 23–24, 36–37.

6 Sven Grabe, “Tanzania: An Educational Program for Cooperatives,” in *Education for Rural Development: Case Studies for Planners*, ed. Manzoor Ahmed and Philip H. Coombs (New York, Washington & London: Praeger Publishers, 1975), 599–603.

7 See e.g. “PM. Korrespondensinstitution i Tanzania,” spring 1969, Series F14, vol. 77, Styrelsen för internationell utveckling, Biståndskontoret Tanzania (SIDA-TAN), Swedish National Archives (SNA).

8 “Stöd till korrespondensinstitutionen, Tanzania – Ny byggnad,” 22 July 1974, F14, vol. 77, SIDA-TAN, SNA, 3–4; Marsel Heisel, “Adult Education in Tanzania,” *International Social Work* 22, no. 3 (1979), 45.

9 Erdos, “National Correspondence Institution 1970–1975,” June 1975, F14, vol. 76, SIDA-TAN, SNA, 56–58.

trated on the boxes dedicated to the NCI. The selection of these sources is motivated by the fact that they were produced within what could loosely be termed the Swedish/Nordic-Tanzanian zones of contact and collaboration that I focus on here. The sources provide accounts of how key Swedish actors interpreted ongoing processes, explained developments and prescribed actions. These accounts invariably include passages of "translation," either when Swedish actors sought to make their experience of adult education applicable in Tanzania or, conversely, when they sought to make their experience of development co-operation understandable in Sweden. Such passages have constituted the focal point of the analysis. It is important to bear in mind that many of the documents were intended for superiors in the organisation or influential public groups back home. There is therefore reason to expect a measure of self-censorship when it comes to negative reporting about possible internal conflicts, misunderstandings and disappointing outcomes. The nature of the sources therefore means that the analysis does not claim to deal with the internal relationship between the co-operative movement's and the Swedish aid authorities' respective headquarters and their field offices abroad.¹⁰ Moreover, although the sources are suited for the article's stated purpose, they yield limited insight into the Tanzanian point-of-view of Swedish involvement or the day-to-day interactions between Swedes and Tanzanians at the CEC or the NCI.

The article is organised as follows. In the next section I situate the object of study in relation to existing research, and introduce the conceptual framework. I then go on to examine the *institutional setting*, identifying how international NGOs and individual policy entrepreneurs created arenas in which Sweden and Tanzania established their respective roles as donor and receiver of educational aid. Then I turn to the *process of aid professionalisation* over the 1960s, specifically the efforts to systematically de- and re-nationalise correspondence education practices. This was part of a broader agenda to dissolve the colonial dichotomies of European leaders vs African subjects and active "donors" vs passive "recipients." It was further expressed in what I discuss in the following section, namely the *politics of appropriation*. Swedes and Tanzanians collaborated in remoulding education practices deployed within the industrialised Swedish market economy, adapting them to the largely agrarian Tanzanian economy directed by a one-party authoritarian state. In the final section I return to the concept *aidification*, arguing that it can fruitfully be deployed to capture the ways in which transnational policy areas such as education were transformed in the wake of decolonisation.

Sweden and Tanzania: A postcolonial partnership

At the beginning of the 1960s, Nordic governments jointly and individually intensified their contacts with postcolonial counterparts in Africa and Asia, and by the end of the decade they had established themselves as avid supporters of the Third World

¹⁰ On this, see for instance Ole Elgström, *Foreign Aid Negotiations: The Swedish-Tanzanian Aid Dialogue* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1992), 56–59. The administrative structure surrounding the projects, not dealt with here, changed throughout the course of the 1960s. The Swedish Agency for International Assistance (NIB) was established in 1962 to administer Sweden's growing aid program. After a few chaotic years it was replaced by the government agency SIDA in 1965. It was under SIDA that the field office in Dar es Salaam was set up in 1967. In the early 1970s the office became an integrated part of the Swedish Embassy.

bloc in the UN.¹¹ In their study of Danish agricultural co-operative movement during the 1960s, Gunnar Lind Haase Svendsen and Gert Tingaard Svendsen explain this foreign policy development by identifying an emerging “goodness ideology” in Danish society around this time. They argue that this factor lay behind the significant channelling of resources towards development aid.¹² Research suggests that a similar ideological development was in play in Sweden.¹³ However, the articulations of that domestic ideology in different development contexts require close examination. The reason is that the notion of a wholesale “exporting” of the good Nordic society which Svendsen and Svendsen identify in the co-operative press was too simplistic for those actors who actually came into contact with presumptive “importers” overseas.¹⁴ While historians over the last decade have come to focus their attention on what happened to theories of development when they were put into practice on the ground, this analysis instead concerns what happened when practicing adult educators encountered theories of development.¹⁵

Between 1962 and 1983 Tanzania was one of the largest recipients of foreign aid in the world. Of the 50 aid donor countries the Nordics have been the most important over time. Over the years they have provided Tanzania with on average 30 per cent of its bilateral aid, and Sweden alone has provided approximately half that share.¹⁶ Tanzania received over 10 per cent of Sweden’s total foreign aid during the second half of the 1960s, and that share increased to around 15 per cent during the following years. From an early stage, Swedish aid to Tanzania included support to education, gradually being concentrated to adult education and vocational training.¹⁷ Existing research has shown how the emerging relationship between the Nordic countries and postcolonial Tanzania was characterised by an intriguing combination of ideologi-

11 E.g. Cranford Pratt, “Middle Power Internationalism and Global Poverty,” in *Middle Power Internationalism: The North-South Dimension*, ed. Cranford Pratt (Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1990).

12 Svendsen and Svendsen (2008).

13 Sunniva Engh, “The Conscience of the World? Swedish and Norwegian Provision of Development Aid,” *Itinerario* 32, no. 2 (2009), 65–82; Norbert Götz and Ann-Marie Ekengren, “The One Per Cent Country: Sweden’s Internalisation of the Aid Norm,” in *Saints and Sinners: Development Aid and its Dynamics in a Historical and Comparative Perspective*, ed. Torsten Borring Olesen, Helge Pharo and Kristian Paasikesen (Oslo: Akademika forlag, 2013), 21–49. See also Nikolas Glover, “Staten, organisations-Sverige och vidsynthetens förgätmigej: Det strategiska främjandet av svensk internationalism, 1945–1963,” in *Efterkrigstidens samhällskontakter*, ed. Fredrik Norén and Emil Stjernholm (Stockholm: Mediehistoriskt arkiv, forthcoming).

14 Svendsen and Svendsen (2008), 97, 103, 113.

15 Joseph Morgan Hodge, “Writing the History of Development (Part 2: Longer, Deeper, Wider),” *Humanity* 7, no. 1 (2018), 125.

16 Sebastian Edwards, *Toxic Aid: The Evolution of Foreign Aid to Tanzania, 1961–2011* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 3, 56. For an analysis of the historical development of Swedish-Tanzanian relations within the context of development aid, see May-Britt Öhman, *Taming Exotic Beauties: Swedish Hydropower Constructions in Tanzania in the Era of Development Assistance, 1960s–1990s* (Stockholm: Royal Institute of Technology, 2007).

17 Edwards (2014), 52–60; Abel G. M. Ishumi, “External Aid: A Lever for Social Progress in Developing Countries? A Case Study of SIDA-supported Educational Projects in Tanzania, 1970–1990s,” *International Journal of Educational Development* 12, no. 4 (1992), 265–76; Andrew Coulson, *Tanzania: A Political Economy*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 348–54; Lars-Olof Edström, “A Scandinavian Perspective on Aid to Education,” *Prospects* 4, no. 2 (1974), 229–37; Olav Stokke, *Sveriges utvecklingsbistånd och biståndspolitik* (Uppsala: Nordiska afrikainstitutet, 1978), 124, 139.

cally grounded solidarity and hardnosed political manoeuvring. Retroactive scholarly assessments have ranged from harsh to admiring. Jarle Simensen characterises the Nordics as naïve in their dealings with the Tanzanian regime, and shockingly unwilling to see the realities of President Julius Nyerere’s increasingly authoritarian policies. In line with this, Nordic support to Tanzanian co-operatives has been denoted a “bleak chapter” in the history of foreign aid.¹⁸ In a similarly critical vein others have highlighted the reproduction of colonial discourses surrounding Swedish Folk Development Colleges in Tanzania during the 1970s and 1980s.¹⁹ On the other hand, scholars that have dealt with Tanzania’s adult education policies, including the CEC in Moshi and the NCI in Dar es Salaam, have tended to underscore the relative successes of these early foreign-backed institutions.²⁰ In this latter body of research, while the Tanzanian government is credited for educating the citizenry, the Nordic donors are lauded for their financial backing and forthcoming continuous support.²¹

It is against this ambivalent historical backdrop that I trace the early Swedish involvement in Tanzanian adult education in general and education via correspondence in particular. I argue that it provides a fruitful case for examining the tensions between problematic idealism and laudable pragmatism (and vice versa) that previous research has highlighted. Specifically, it allows for a study of what I propose to call the *processes of aidification* which took place within policy fields, professional associations and organisations in the 1950s and 1960s. Although I introduce it in an analysis of Swedish adult education, existing research suggests that the concept might fruitfully be applied in other contemporaneous policy fields too.²² I apply an analytical framework consisting of two component parts. The first deploys con-

18 Jarle Simensen, “The Norwegian-Tanzanian Aid Relationship: A Historical Perspective,” in *Tanzania in Transition: From Nyerere to Mkapa*, ed. Kjell Havnevik and Aida C. Isinika (Dar es Salaam: Mukuki na Nyota Publishers, 2010); Jarle Simensen, “Aid Symbioses and its Pitfalls: The Nordic/Norwegian-Tanzanian Aid Relationship, 1962–1986,” in *The Aid Rush: Aid Regimes in Northern Europe During the Cold War*, vol. 2, ed. Helge Pharo and Monika Pohle Fraser (Oslo: Unipub, 2008), 153–77; Kristian Ravn Paaskesen, “A Bleak Chapter in Nordic Development Aid History? The Nordic Co-operative Assistance Project in Tanzania,” *Scandinavian Journal of History* 35, no. 4 (2010), 451–70.

19 Magnus Dahlstedt and Henrik Nordvall, “Paradoxes of Solidarity: Democracy and Colonial Legacies in Swedish Popular Education,” *Adult Education Quarterly* 61, no. 3 (2011), 244–61. See also Alan Rogers, “Cultural Transfer in Adult Education: The Case of the Folk Development Colleges in Tanzania,” *International Review of Education* 46, no. 1/2 (2000), 67–92; Sofia Österborg Wiklund, “(Inter)nationalistisk folkbildning: Säkerhetspolitik, nationalism och opinionsbildning i den svenska folkhögskolans mobilisering för utvecklingsfrågor 1950–1969,” *Nordic Journal of Education History* 5, no. 1 (2018), 51–72.

20 E.g. J.N.S. Mutanyatta, “Innovation in Distance Education Learning Systems: The Case of the National Correspondence Institute of Tanzania, 1972–2002,” *Open Learning* 23, no. 1 (2008), 59.

21 Eginio M. Chale, “Tanzania’s Distance-Teaching Programme,” in *Distance Education for Teacher Training*, ed. Hilary Perraton (London: Routledge, 2000), 21–41; Mutanyatta (2008), 57–65; Willy L.M. Komba, “Increasing Education Access Through Open and Distance Learning in Tanzania: A Critical Review of Approaches and Practices,” *International Journal of Education and Development using Information and Communication Technology* 5, no. 5 (2009), 8–21.

22 See for example Annika Berg’s study of public health experts, *Den gränslösa hälsan: Signe och Axel Höjer, folkhälsan och expertisen* (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2009), Part III; Karl Bruno’s study of the agricultural sciences *Exporting Agrarian Expertise: Development Aid at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences and its Predecessors, 1950–2009* (Uppsala: University of Agricultural Sciences, 2016); Andreas Åkerlund’s on higher education, *Public Diplomacy and Academic Mobility in Sweden: The Swedish Institute and Scholarship Programs for Foreign Academics, 1938–2010* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2016), chap. 3.

cepts developed in the field of Comparative International Education studies, namely “lending and borrowing.” Both are central to the broader process of policy transfer: “Policy borrowing’ implies that countries explicitly seek to appropriate a policy and tailor it to the local context, whereas ‘policy lending’ connotes that governments or global governance organisations provide policies to a receiving country with or without consent.”²³ These concepts are deployed here in relation to a second analytical component. It belongs specifically to the history of foreign aid, namely the long-standing dominant Swedish discourse of ensuring an equal “partnership” between donors and recipients. Although the concept of partnership itself only began gaining ground in the 1970s, the ideal of creating “non-paternalist, equal relationships” with no strings attached was strong in Swedish foreign aid circles already during the preceding decade.²⁴ Rooted in Social Democratic rhetoric of international solidarity and an emerging anticolonial facet to Swedish national identity, there was a “strong desire to adapt the forms and content of aid to the goals and wishes of the cooperating partners.”²⁵ This self-perception was clear among Swedish expatriates in Tanzania. In a state so firmly wedded to the rhetoric and politics of self-reliance, a survey among Swedish technical experts in 1971 for example showed that they tended to consider their own presence “a necessary evil.”²⁶ The partnership ideal sprung from a reaction against the colonial imposition of externally designed policies. Although it by no means in and of itself put an end to unequal power relations and colonial patterns of dominance, it did influence the form and direction of global North-South relations in the postcolonial world. Being equal partners, African governments were to actively scrutinise and select policies from their development counterparts abroad, and ideal lenders were to help determine how such policies might be adapted to national goals and local conditions. Taking this framework as my point of departure, I examine how these ideals of being a “good lender” were articulated when aid-funded educational institutions were established in Tanzania.

Institutional settings: National policies, transnational organisations

Like the leaders of other newly independent countries, the Tanzanian government expressed a strong commitment to extensive adult education policies as a means to accelerate economic, political and social development.²⁷ The eloquent and forceful speeches and writings of President Nyerere are commonly cited as an explanation for

23 Laura Michelle Portnoi, *Policy Borrowing and Reform in Education: Globalized Processes and Local Contexts* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 149.

24 Maria Eriksson Baaz, *The Paternalism of Partnership: A Postcolonial Reading of Identity in Development Aid* (New York/London: Zed Books, 2005), 6; Rebecca Schaaf, “The Rhetoric and Reality of Partnerships for International Development,” *Geography Compass* 9, no. 2 (2015), 70; Stokke (1978), 109.

25 Elgström (1992), 50.

26 Stig Lindholm, *Appointment with the Third World: Experts and Volunteers in the Field: Their Work, Life and Thoughts* (Stockholm: Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, 1974), 67. See also Baaz (2005), chap. 5.

27 H.S. Bhola, *Campaigning for Literacy: Eight National Experiences of the Twentieth Century* (Mayenne: UNESCO, 1984), 138–56; Philemon A. K. Mushi, *History and Development of Education in Tanzania* (Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press, 2009), 101, 115–23; Philemon A. K. Mushi, “Origins and Development of Adult Education Innovations in Tanzania,” *International Review of Education*, 37, no. 3 (1991), 351–63; Heisel (1979), 38–46; O.W. Furlley and Tom Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa* (New York/London/Lagos: NOK Publishers, 1978), 378–90.

the strong foreign donor support for Tanzania's postcolonial educational policies.²⁸ As the title of his *Education for Self-Reliance* (1967) stated, a key purpose of all education was to promote Tanzanian self-reliance from the grassroots-level of the village to the national level. In this endeavour the new Tanzanian government sought assistance from abroad.

How did this lead to the large-scale involvement of the Nordic countries? When explaining why certain foreign educational policies become attractive, David Phillips has emphasised the role of political change and subsequent formations of new configurations and alliances.²⁹ Clearly, Tanzanian independence not only brought with it fundamental domestic political change, but also a novel international setting in which the government had to find allies. Meanwhile the Nordic countries were seeking to establish roles for themselves in the United Nations, which at this point was increasingly dominated by the Afro-Asian bloc and its development-oriented agenda. Over the course of the 1960s Swedish policy of neutrality shifted in character, from independent but cautious to an explicitly "active foreign policy." The latter included vocally criticizing (when deemed politically possible) human rights abuses, foreign dictatorships and the East-West divide. Offering development aid became an important tool in this new direction, and in 1968 the parliament committed to the goal of spending one per cent of Sweden's GDP on aid. A key dimension to the government's newfound foreign policy activism was fraternising with Third World countries. In the words of Norbert Götz and Ann-Marie Ekengren, "rationalising the South and its approach to world politics according to supposedly universal modern (i.e. Western progressive) standards was thereby an important objective."³⁰ By the end of the 1960s, the government became explicitly ideological in its view that Sweden should seek to cooperate with regimes that pursued development goals that the Swedes approved of. Since independence, Tanzania's political course meant that it emerged as an attractive partner in that regard.³¹ The mutual ideological attraction between Nyerere's TANU and the Social Democratic governments in the Nordic countries was certainly an effective conduit of policy transfers.³² For the Swedes, providing development assistance to Nyerere's "democratic socialist" regime was a perfect fit for the government's new foreign policy as it shored up its ideological credentials among prospective allies in the Third World. From a Tanzanian perspective, building good relations with the Nordic countries and flattering them through policy borrowing made sense from the perspective of Nyererean "postcolonial realism."³³

Yet this inter-governmental relationship-building was only one dimension of the

28 See e.g. Michael Young, Hilary Perraton, Janet Jenkins and Tony Dodds, *Distance Teaching for the Third World: The Lion and the Clockwork Mouse* (London/Boston/Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), 1; Heisel (1979), 40; Mushi (1991), 353–4; Rolf Sundén, "Vuxenutbildning i Tanzania," in *Folkbildning som bistånd: Personliga berättelser och reflektioner*, ed. Folke Albinson, Johan Norbeck and Rolf Sundén (Linköping: Vuxenutbildningscentrum, 2000), 109–10.

29 David Phillips, "Toward a Theory of Policy Attraction," in *The Global Politics of Educational Borrowing and Lending*, ed. Gita Steiner-Khamsi (New York: Teacher's College Press, 2004), 54–56.

30 Götz and Ekengren (2013), 33.

31 Elgström (1992), 50; Cranford Pratt, *The Critical Phase in Tanzania, 1945–1968: Nyerere and the Emergence of a Socialist Strategy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 152–57.

32 Elgström (1992), 75–77.

33 Paul Bjerck, "Postcolonial Realism: Tanganyika's Foreign Policy Under Nyerere, 1960–1963," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 44, no. 2 (2011).

many ties that rapidly evolved in the early 1960s. Non-governmental organisations also played a key role. Dana Burde and Gita Steiner-Khamsi have identified several reasons for why such actors are keen to export their educational models and promote their best practices.³⁴ In the cases studied here, it can be argued that the decolonisation of Africa and Asia and the emergence of the Third World as a political force completely transformed the focus of NGOs and INGOs claiming to be “international” in scope and “internationalist” by nature. Both the foundation of the CEC and the funding of the NCI can be linked to specific organisations adapting to the geopolitics of decolonisation and the related political thrust towards implementing, managing and leading “development.” The Nordic involvement in Moshi can be traced to the International Co-operative Alliance’s (ICA) attempt to become less Eurocentric.³⁵ Similarly, the Swedish involvement in the NCI can be traced to the changing geographic focus of the International Council of Correspondence Education (ICCE), from a largely North American organisation in the 1950s to an increasingly global membership by the mid-1960s.³⁶ The discourse of development and the increasing flows of foreign aid offered them concrete ways to live up to their “international” designations. In both the ICA and the ICCE, as I will be developing below, Swedes played a prominent role in this expansion.

Founded in 1895 the ICA began in earnest engaging in the issue of co-operative development at its 1957 congress in Stockholm. According to the historian Rita Rhodes, this congress heralded growing Swedish influence within the ICA. Dr Mauritz Bonow was elected vice-president and would at the next world congress, in Lausanne 1960, become president. He held that position until 1975, and led the move to set up a regional ICA headquarters in New Delhi. That office was largely funded by the Swedish Co-operative Union (*Kooperativa Förbundet*, KF).³⁷ Moreover, Bonow became a board member of the Swedish aid authority, the Agency for International Assistance (*Nämnden för internationellt bistånd*, NIB), and was in that capacity closely informed about the launching of official co-Nordic assistance efforts in Tanzania.³⁸ In his inaugural Presidential speech, Nyerere emphasised the role that the co-operative movement would play in the establishment of “a true socialist society.” Since the co-operative movements in the Nordic countries had a long and successful history in largely agricultural societies, the national co-operative unions in Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Finland soon began planning for a Nordic educational centre for Tanzanian co-operatives. The joint preparations, led by Bonow in his dual capacity as representative of KF and the ICA, resulted in the foundation in May 1964 of the Nordic Co-operative Tanzania Consortium (*Nordiska Kooperativa Tanzani-*

34 Dana Burde, “International NGOs and Best Practices: The Art of Educational Lending,” in *The Global Politics of Educational Borrowing and Lending*, ed. Gita Steiner-Khamsi (New York: Teacher’s College Press, 2004), 173–87; Philip W. Jones, “Taking the Credit: Financing and Policy Linkages in the Education Portfolio of the World Bank,” in *The Global Politics of Educational Borrowing and Lending*, ed. Gita Steiner-Khamsi (New York: Teacher’s College Press, 2004), 188–200.

35 Rita Rhodes, *Empire and Co-operation: How the British Empire Used Co-operatives in its Development Strategies 1900–1970* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2012), 292–93.

36 Ellen L. Bunker, “An Historical Analysis of a Distance Education Forum: The International Council for Distance Education World Conference Proceedings, 1938 to 1995,” (PhD diss. The Pennsylvania State University, 1998), 173–74; 382–83.

37 Rhodes (2012), 296.

38 Simensen (2010), 59.

akonsortiet).³⁹ It was this joint Nordic body of co-operatives, chaired by Bonow, that lay behind the setting up of the Co-operative Education Centre in Moshi in 1964.⁴⁰

The path towards Swedish support to the NCI took a similar route. Its origins lay in another world congress held in the Swedish capital. In June 1965 the ICCE, founded in 1938, held its seventh international congress and the first of its kind outside North America. Whereas the previous conferences had been attended by less than 100 delegates representing fewer than 10 countries, this conference marked a shift in the ICCE's history, with nearly 300 attendees representing more than 30 countries. A quarter of the participants were Swedish. For the first time one of the themes of the main ICCE conference was dedicated to "correspondence education in developing countries," and by the next world conference in Paris 1969 the even more specific "training of manpower by correspondence education in African countries" constituted one of five main themes.⁴¹ Of particular importance in the present context is the fact that NIB, where Bonow was a Board member, hosted a pre-conference in connection with the ICCE summit in Stockholm, to which a select number of international delegates were invited. The purpose of the pre-conference was to ascertain how Swedish aid funds could best be used in the field of correspondence education. Lars-Olof Edström, who served as a secretary at this meeting, worked for the private correspondence institute *Nordiska Korrespondensinstitutet* (NKI), but was also present in his capacity as NIB's educational advisor. When the new aid agency SIDA (the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency) formally replaced NIB only a few weeks after the conference, Edström continued in his position.⁴² At SIDA, where he became Head of the Education Division in 1972, Edström would play a key role in the Swedish-Tanzanian process of setting up the NCI in Dar es Salaam. The Australian educator Renée Erdos, who was one of the invited participants at the pre-conference, would eventually become the NCI's first director.

While it is well established that Sweden's official foreign policy became increasingly "active" during these years, the trajectories outlined above provide some insights into the changing conditions that made such a foreign policy possible by filling it with practical content. On the one hand there was a chain linking the ICA's conference in Stockholm in 1957, to the organisation's subsequent forays into technical assistance and the Nordic co-operative effort in Tanzania. On the other, there

39 Holmberg to the Board of the Nordic Tangyika Project, letter dated 29 May 1964, vol. 78, *Nordiska Tanganyika Projektet* (NTP), SNA; Marian Radetzki, Rune Forsberg and Ulla Jonsdotter, *Utan gränser* (Västerås: Vi skolan, 1968), 89–90.

40 The Consortium funded the CEC until 1967 with support from the inter-governmental Nordic Tanganyika Project. From 1967, the financial responsibility was shared between the Swedish, Danish and Tanzanian governments with contributions from the Nordic co-operatives. The funds appear to have been channelled through the Swedish Co-operative Center (SCC), which was charged with administering the project. P.M. ang. fortsatt bistånd på kooperasjonens område, memorandum dated 4 July 1966, vol. 79, NTP, SNA; "Agreement between the Government of Tanzania and the Governments of Denmark and Sweden on Co-operative Assistance to Tanzania," draft dated 22 November 1967, vol. 80, NTP, SNA.

41 Bunker (1998), 91, 94.

42 "Proposed Seminar on Correspondence Education: Planning Report of the SIDA Saltsjöbaden Conference 8–11 June 1965," Series F5E, vol. 1, Hermods, Malmö Municipal Archives (MMA); "Hur lösa u-ländernas utbildning?" *På fritid: Utgiven av NKI-skolan*, 4 (1965), 10. Edström would later become SIDA's Assistant Director-General, Head of the field office in Zambia, and then Sweden's Ambassador in Maputo.

were links between the ICCE's Stockholm conference in 1965 (dubbed "The UN of correspondence education" in a contemporary magazine article), the professionalisation of distance teaching as an instrument in the broader field of development, and the Swedish involvement in Tanzanian state-run correspondence education.⁴³ The actors that drew Swedish adult education into the aid rush thus included driven individuals such as Bonow and Edström who successfully facilitated and utilised the government's ongoing attempts to mould a new active foreign policy. They identified and articulated "lendable" national experiences that could be integrated into the government's rapidly expanding program of foreign aid, and thus in effect extended the field of adult education into the realm of Swedish foreign policy. A catalyst for their work was the shifting agenda of international organisations that were in the process of seeking to expand their own relevance, membership and influence in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Within these organisations as well as at the official inter-governmental level, the requirements and problems of "development" were actively being placed on the agenda by representatives of the Third World bloc. In this new postcolonial context, the parties went to great lengths to avoid anything that smacked of imperial domination.

Professionalisation: From general experience to specialised toolkit

From the perspective of the Nordic aid-providers, the multilateral context of world congresses and international organisations was felt to ensure that their contribution could not be accused of being paternalistic or colonial in outlook. In 1964 the Nordic Africa Institute in Uppsala, founded in 1962 and co-funded by the Nordic governments, arranged one of its first international seminars on the topic "Development and adult education in Africa." Its Swedish director argued that it was natural that the Nordic organisations working in the field of adult education "should have thought of making available their vast experience:"

It is perhaps right to assume that we in Scandinavia have something to give in this very field and that we are able to provide a few ideas. But it is necessary for us to keep clearly in mind that methods and ideas that once have worked in Scandinavia may, for various reasons, not work in Africa.⁴⁴

Such cautious rhetoric was common. The point was reiterated at an international seminar in Uppsala in 1968, when one of the objectives was to acquaint participants with "Scandinavian" methods of correspondence instruction while also allowing them to critically assess their "possible relevance" to African conditions.⁴⁵ This move to make national experiences internationally relevant while remaining sceptical of the possibilities of doing so was a central component in making them "lendable."

In the case of the CEC, the very fact that aid was provided through joint Nordic organisations was no coincidence. Although the sharing of the economic burden

43 "Korrespondensundervisningens FN: Världskonferens i Saltsjöbaden 1965," *På fritid: Utgiven av NKI-skolan*, 4 (1965), 8–9.

44 "Preface," in Carl Göran Widstrand, ed., *Development and Adult Education in Africa* (Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1965), 8.

45 Rutashobya, "Reporting on the Dag Hammarskjöld Seminar on 'The Use of Correspondence Instruction in Adult Education' 3rd May, to 7th June '68," F14, 75, SIDA-TAN, SNA.

certainly was a factor, the formation of a joint Nordic secretariat for the provision of aid to Tanzania, as well as the formation of a consortium of Nordic co-operative unions to fund the CEC ensured that the intervention was multilateral. Such aid was generally considered less problematic than bilateral aid, since the latter could always be suspected of coming with strings attached. Not only was the CEC by its very nature multilateral, but it could also be described as an institutional expression of the new development-oriented direction within the ICA. The legitimacy of the training methods deployed at the CEC did not lie in their ability to export Swedish educational ideals, but in the way they were seen to promote the movement's uniting principles. Arne Holmberg, soon to be director of the CEC, for instance conceded that there were significant historical differences between the co-operatives in developing countries and Western countries, yet he argued that in practice their members shared the same challenges: "Issues concerning how to run co-operative associations, about control, organisation, the involvement and capacity of staff and elected representatives seem to be the same everywhere, universal."⁴⁶ From this perspective Holmberg and his colleagues could legitimise their role as experienced co-operators rather than as specifically Swedish experts.

The establishment of the NCI offers further examples of the steps taken to make nationally grounded experiences lendable. The pre-conference in Stockholm sought to directly link prospective Swedish aid efforts to the existing professional agendas of practicing educators. The Swedish authorities then went on to play a key role in hosting the two international seminars on the theory and practice of correspondence education in Uppsala in 1967 and 1968.⁴⁷ Lars-Olof Edström toured Africa in preparation for these seminars, collating information and interviewing policy-makers in a number of countries. Representatives from these states were invited to Uppsala, and experts from Sweden, Australia, and the UK were brought in to give lectures. All these efforts can be seen as part of a general move to tone down the specific national traits of existing versions of correspondence education and begin to identify underlying models, or tools, that could be used to promote development. SIDA eventually went on to fund the NCI, the initial course-writing workshop, as well as seminars and conferences in Abidjan and Nairobi on correspondence education over the following years. At each stage, efforts were made to dilute the influence of the Swedish funders. The seminars were planned in connection with the ICCE's conference which again gave the Swedish project an internationalist objective. The new Institute was placed under the leadership of the Tanzanian authorities, and each Swedish technical expert had a Tanzanian counterpart. SIDA funded a course-writing workshop in Dar es Salaam under the leadership of Edström prior to the opening of the NCI, and twelve of the Tanzanian participants were selected to write the correspondence courses for the Institute. Three of them were also to be employed as teachers in the new institute.⁴⁸

Swedish development practitioners in Tanzania might initially have seen themselves as "good Samaritans" but, as cited above, within only a few years most of them

46 Arne Holmberg, "Kooperativ upplysning i u-länderna," *Vi vill*, no. 2 (1963), 15.

47 Although the seminars were officially hosted by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, the boundaries between the foundation and SIDA were porous.

48 Erdos, "National Correspondence Institution 1970–1975," June 1975, F14, 76, SIDA-TAN, SNA, 67.

had come to consider themselves a “necessary evil.” This was both a cause and outcome of the professionalisation of development cooperation that was taking place. In 1968 the co-operative movement established its own free-standing body for its development projects, the Swedish Cooperative Center. At the same time SIDA began moving away from project-oriented aid to country programming, the latter intended to give the recipient countries more influence over how to use the funds. In the early 1970s SIDA was consequently restructured into sector divisions which concentrated the in-house technical expertise, while new country units gathered officials specialised on the conditions of each aid-receiving country.⁴⁹ A comparison between the preparations for the CEC in the first half of the 1960s and NCI in the second half provides an illustrative example of this professionalisation process in the context of educational aid. From the CEC’s inauguration in 1964 until 1969, Arne Holmberg was director, and his right-hand man was Rune Forsberg, both recruited from the national Secretariat of KF.⁵⁰ Neither Holmberg nor Forsberg spoke Swahili when they arrived, and neither had any professional experience of working outside Sweden. Even prior to his arrival in Tanzania, Holmberg and the adjacent Co-operative College’s British director Frank Howarth agreed that the CEC had to prioritise the production and distribution of correspondence courses.⁵¹ Forsberg was put in charge of writing the Centre’s first correspondence course in English, after which it was translated into Swahili by staff at the College.⁵² It is striking how the CEC’s courses were seemingly designed and launched with a minimal amount of preparatory research or theoretical reflections on the process of teaching by correspondence in the rural East African context. Short on staff, high on enthusiasm and with huge demands to meet in Tanzania’s rapidly growing co-operative societies, Holmberg and Forsberg virtually began producing course letters directly on arrival in Moshi. Considering that they both completely lacked previous experience of Tanzania, it is safe to say that they adapted Swedish course material to an unfamiliar context on a largely intuitive basis.

In the next few years this method of immediate immersion was all but abandoned. “Correspondence education in developing countries” became a field of expertise in its own right and NIB/SIDA found itself at the centre of this transnational development which, in part, it had itself helped set in motion. While Holmberg and Forsberg were producing their first courses, the ICCE turned its attention to the theory and practice of correspondence education in the developing countries at its Stockholm conference. In 1966 Edström argued that adult education had to be related to the everyday life of the students in “a deeper sense” than simply adapting the contents of the courses from abroad. “As long as the African student receives an education which is deeply rooted in foreign culture, his environment will be at odds with what he learns.”⁵³ The Uppsala seminars in 1967 and 1968 continued this pro-

49 Elgström (1992), 50, 60. Radetzki, Forsberg and Jonsdotter (1968), 38.

50 Holmberg’s and Forsberg’s respective CV:s (both undated) can be found in vol. 78, NTP, SNA.

51 Howarth to Bonow, letter dated 1 November 1963, vol. 78, NTP, SNA; “Rapport över studie- och kontaktresa 1–15 augusti 1964, dated 20 August 1964, vol. 78, NTP, SNA, 1.

52 “Översikt av verksamheten 1964, läget vid årsskiftet och planerna för 1965,” dated 26 December 1964, vol. 78, NTP, SNA, 2, 4; “Annual Report 1.7.66–30.6.67,” dated 20 July 1967, vol. 78, NTP, SNA, 2.

53 Edström (1966), 33.

fessional specialisation, focusing as they did on correspondence education in African countries. They resulted in two anthologies, based on the lectures given at the seminars, which brought together a range of experienced correspondence educators who had begun to turn their attention to the challenges of development.⁵⁴ One contributor to the seminars and their publications was the Australian Renée Erdos, who at the Stockholm conference was elected president of the ICCE. At this point she had limited professional experience of working in developing countries, but in the wake of her UNESCO-publication *Teaching by Correspondence* (1967), she was employed by UNESCO as Head of Correspondence Study at the Teacher Training College in Francistown, Botswana. From there she was recruited by SIDA to head the new NCI in Dar es Salaam in 1971.⁵⁵ Thus by the time her second UNESCO book was published, *Establishing an Institution: Teaching by Correspondence* (1975), she, like Edström, had become an authoritative figure in the new subfield of correspondence education and development.

Erdos' UNESCO books and much of the Uppsala seminars focused on the logistics and institutional set-up of correspondence teaching. A series of different blueprints and illustrated workflows were produced in these years, reflecting just how much more technical educational aid had become by the end of the 1960s. Mass education demanded elaborate organisational designs for planning the production of materials and handling student correspondence. The complexity and scale that this systemic approach to correspondence education aimed at was very different from the operation that had begun at the CEC under Holmberg and Forsberg in 1964. If the latter two can be likened to enthusiastic missionaries, then Edström and Erdos were more like consultant engineers. "Showing by doing" was replaced by "advising" and "facilitating," course writing replaced by suggesting methods, formulating theories and hosting workshops.

Clearly the involvement of Nordic professionals did have some influence on Tanzanian education policies and institutions. The original Plan of Operation for the NCI, the key document on which Swedish funding was based, for instance included descriptions of correspondence education that Swedish adult educators would feel completely at home with. "The principle will be upheld that the student learns only when actively engaged in solving problems" and correspondence course would at times be run as "study-circles."⁵⁶ Although these methods were not exclusive to Sweden, it is fair to argue that the fact that Edström helped write the Plan of Operation was a factor in shaping the new institute's direction. If nothing else such recognisable educational ideals must have made it attractive for SIDA to fund the project.⁵⁷ Later, when a World Bank funded research team studied Tanzanian co-operative movement's "self-help approach" it even listed among the problems that the content

54 *Studies in Adult Education in Africa: A Selection of the Papers Presented to the Dag Hammarskjöld Seminars in 1967 and 1968 on The Use of Correspondence Instruction in Adult Education: Means, Methods and Possibilities* (Uppsala: Dag Hammarskjölds minnsefond, 1969); Lars-Olof Edström, Renée Erdos and Roy Prosser, eds., *Mass Education: Studies in Adult Education and Teaching by Correspondence in Some Developing Countries* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1970).

55 Kevin T. Livingstone, "The work of Renée Erdos," *Distance Education* 7, no. 2 (1986), 301–6.

56 Institute of Adult Education, University of Dar Es Salaam, "National Correspondence Institution: Plan of Operation for the first five years" (undated version), 77, F14, SIDA-TAN, SNA, 7–10.

57 C.f. Simensen (2010), 64.

and the instructional materials “sometimes carried an inappropriate Scandinavian bias because of the large role played by Scandinavian technical assistance experts in helping to prepare them.”⁵⁸ However, such instances aside, the precise extent of the Nordic “impact” on Tanzanian education is difficult to ascertain since the attributed national origins of its characteristics tended to open to interpretation. As has been pointed out in the literature, one recurring purpose for seeking to export national systems and practices is to legitimise their position at home. This was true also when forging solidarity-based partnerships. KF with its ageing membership base was particularly eager to brand its efforts in Tanzania as de facto Swedish to the domestic public. To its members, KF explicitly described the correspondence courses in Moshi as based on a Swedish template.⁵⁹ According to one Swedish Resident Tutor at the Institute of Adult Education the radio campaigns co-produced by the CEC were initiated by “Swedes in particular,” and the method had been entitled “Radio Study Groups” in order to “not unnecessarily provoke our British colleagues with our Swedish concept ‘study circle.’”⁶⁰ Another participant in the campaign however, a Canadian at the Institute of Adult Education, described such organised listening groups as international phenomena and highlighted the Canadian experience as perhaps the best known.⁶¹ At the same time, from the Tanzanian government’s perspective, this form of education through dialogue “fits the Tanzanian ideology of development” as defined by TANU.⁶² This simultaneous claims-making made the lending and borrowing process attractive to all parties involved in the new development-centred partnerships. The acceptance of several historical origin-narratives was what made it possible for the nationalistic proponents of staunch Tanzanian self-reliance to rely on Nordic support while, at the same time, KF could promote its “Africanised” adult education in Sweden as evidence of a successful “Swedish” model.

Appropriations: Political education

The members of the Tanzanian political and administrative elite that took over at Independence, writes Andreas Eckert, “shared the conviction, inherited from their British predecessors, that they alone knew the solutions for the manifold problems of the young nation-state.”⁶³ A key part of its “African democratic socialism” was the

58 Philip H. Coombs and Manzoor Ahmed, *Attacking Rural Poverty: How Nonformal Education Can Help* (Baltimore/London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 84.

59 Radetzki, Forsberg and Jonsdotter (1968), 97.

60 Sundén (2000), 9; 102. The ascribed “Swedishness” of study circles had shifted over time, see Anne Berg and Samuel Edquist, *The Capitalist State and the Construction of Civil Society: Public Funding and the Regulation of Popular Education in Sweden, 1870–1991* (Cham: Springer Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 141.

61 Budd L. Hall, “Wakati wa Furaha: An evaluation of a Radio Study Group Campaign,” unpublished report produced within the Institute of Adult Education, University of Dar es Salaam, Spring 1972, F14, vol. 79, SIDA-TAN, SNA.

62 Hall, “Wakati wa Furaha: An Evaluation of a Radio Study Group Campaign,” unpublished report produced within the Institute of Adult Education, University of Dar es Salaam, F14, vol. 79, SIDA-TAN, SNA, 6.

63 Andreas Eckert, “Useful Instruments of Participation? Local Government and Cooperatives in Tanzania, 1940s to 1970s,” *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 40, no. 1 (2007), 108, 110.

role of co-operatives. Under the new TANU regime there was a proliferation of elitist, state-supported co-ops, and the mismanagement of most co-operative societies led to a massive state intervention in 1967, when democratic control by the members was transformed into bureaucratic control by the state.⁶⁴ Yet it had been a staunchly democratic grassroots co-operative ideology which had led the Nordic co-operatives and aid authorities to Tanzania in the first place. From their perspective, the co-operative movement was seen as a necessary organisation of free peasants and workers for building a democratic society from below. In KF's correspondence institute Brevskolan's correspondence course *Afrika fritt* ("Africa Free," 1961), the co-operative movement's governance structure was held up alongside the trade unions and Christian missionaries as a key component in Tanganyika's strong democratic tendencies. Nyerere was described as Africa's most democratic leader.⁶⁵ This idealised view of what the movement really should be remained strong throughout the 1960s and 1970s.⁶⁶ At the same time, the Swedish government's support to "progressive" Third World governments such as Nyerere's intensified during this period, and much of its development aid became quite explicitly motivated on political grounds. As Paaskesen has shown, while the Tanzanian state became increasingly centralised and authoritarian in the 1970s the CEC inevitably became an enabler of TANU's "top-down" policies rather than the peasants' and workers' emancipation.⁶⁷

In 1967, the same year as the government took full control of the co-operatives, the CEC began giving courses that consisted of sixteen radio programmes and listening manuals. In each primary society, groups of approximately 10 farmers were to discuss the co-operative themes raised in each broadcast, prompted by the instructions that were supplied in the accompanying leaflet.⁶⁸ The experiences of the 1967 campaign would soon be applied on a national scale in collaboration with the government and the Institute of Adult Education. The most extensive campaign, *Wakati wa Furaha*, was launched in 1971 to commemorate the ten-year anniversary of Tanzanian independence. Conceived within the Institute of Adult Education, it was said to be the largest radio study group campaign in Africa. It was estimated to have reached an audience of around 40,000, and blended elements of organised listening group and study group education. It consisted of radio programs, organised listening groups with trained group leaders, a text-book and points for discussion. The CEC contributed its considerable experience of organising study group work, and provided its existing organisational structure of about 1,200 groups. The objective of the campaign was purely political. The purpose was to "create a deeper sense of national awareness" and highlight Tanzanian achievements since Independence.⁶⁹

The political role of aid-funded education became even more explicit in the case

64 Eckert (2007), 114.

65 Lars Eriksson, *Afrika fritt* (Stockholm: Brevskolan, 1961), 104.

66 E.g. Holmberg, "Memorandum to the Presidential Commission of Enquiry," dated 9 June 1966, vol. 79, NTP, SNA.

67 Paaskesen (2010).

68 Kaguraki, "The Co-operative Education Centre, Moshi, and Radio Education," dated 21 September, 1967, vol. 85, NTP, SNA, 5.

69 Budd L. Hall, "Wakati wa Furaha: An evaluation of a Radio Study Group Campaign," unpublished report produced in Institute of Adult Education, University of Dar es Salaam, Spring 1972, F14, vol. 79, SIDA-TAN, SNA, 5, 8–10.

of the NCI. As SIDA officers saw it, educational reform in Tanzania was inseparable from both the government's development policy and TANU's propaganda. "Correspondence education constitutes a part of Tanzania's adult education programme, which plays an important part in the country's development efforts and is a central part of the country's political ideology."⁷⁰ Although they formally were apolitical civil servants, the quote suggests that employees at SIDA largely shared the government's conviction by the 1970s that if a recipient country pursued a socialist agenda then the probability increased that Swedish foreign aid would attain its objectives.⁷¹ Consequently the significant privately owned, market-oriented section of the Swedish correspondence education sector was deemed irrelevant in the aid context. According to the ruling ideology of African socialism, the market was a vehicle of stagnation and exploitation, and the existing private correspondence courses offered in Tanzania were roundly criticised by both the Tanzanian government and its Swedish counterparts. Edström, who had himself previously worked at a private correspondence institute, concluded in his report from Africa that "few fields of education have suffered so heavily from commercialisation and profiteering as correspondence instruction."⁷² Nyerere criticised the very notion of education having a "market value," a claim that as it so happened constituted a recurring theme in adverts for correspondence schools in the Swedish press.⁷³ Discussing the different meanings of liberation, the president directed his criticism at the idea that education would be emancipatory for the individual. A man in isolation could be neither liberated nor educated, he argued. "It is individuals that are educated. But they are educated by their fellows, for the common purpose of all members of society."

[The] antithesis of education is still too often the effect of what we call education in Africa—and in Tanzania. There are professional men who say "My market value is higher than the salary I am receiving in Tanzania". But no human being has a market value—except a slave [...] [I]n effect they are saying "This education I have been given has turned me into a marketable commodity, like cotton or sisal or coffee."⁷⁴

Instead of providing education that was a market commodity, the NCI's Plan of Operation therefore stated clearly that Institute's correspondence education was to serve the ongoing state-driven, and thus TANU-led, efforts to build a new society in Tanzania. From the start the most prioritised course was therefore one originally called "National Policies and Development," more commonly referred to as "Politi-

70 "Stöd till korrespondensinstitutionen, Tanzania – Ny byggnad," dated 22 July 1974, F14, vol. 77, SIDA-TAN, SNA.

71 Elgström (1992), 57. On the politicization of civil servants in the field of foreign aid during the 1960s, see Gunnar Åselius, "Revolutionen under kristallkronorna: Den svenska utrikesförvaltningen och 1968," in *Estland och Sverige – en lång historia: konferensrapport från De Svenska Historiedagarna i Tallinn 2015* (Bromma: Historielärarnas förening, 2016), 120–22.

72 Lars-Olof Edström, *Correspondence Instruction in Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia and Uganda: Experiences, Needs and Interest: A Report to the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation* (Uppsala: Dag Hammarskjölds minnesfond, 1966), 28. See also Institute of Adult Education, University of Dar Es Salaam, "National Correspondence Institution: Plan of Operation for the first five years" (undated version), 77, F14, SIDA-TAN, SNA, 2.

73 Husz and Glover (2019).

74 "President Nyerere's speech on the Dag Hammarskjöld Seminar on Education," Dar es Salaam, 20 May 1974, F14, vol. 87, SIDA-TAN, SNA.

cal Education." When the first course-writer's workshop was held in Dar es Salaam at the NCI, the Tanzanian Minister of National Education, Chedial Mgonja, laid out the government's view of the purpose of its education policy: "Political Education is a star that guides all our plans of Adult Education," he proclaimed. "All other branches of knowledge such as agriculture, commerce, mathematics and science should be written and taught on the lines of our national policy." According to the Minister, the course-writers at the workshop were to ensure that Tanzanian adult education became "a tool with which to build Socialism and Self-reliance."⁷⁵ The writing of the course was therefore placed firmly in the hands of the political elite and its designated civil servants. TANU-officials were actively involved in its contents, asking for extensive revisions of the first drafts, and officially approving the final version and accompanying radio scripts prepared by the Swedish Radio Tutor.⁷⁶ Having entered Swedish foreign policy through the expanding field of development aid, Swedish adult educators now found themselves working as technical experts in the service of an increasingly authoritarian state. At the same time, many of them remained convinced that democracy in Sweden had been built on adult education institutions autonomous of the state that had helped forge a democratic society from below.

An outcome of a process of lending and borrowing between equal partners was that Swedish adult educators could use their involvement to re-imagine the very policy they were making lendable. In 1969, while closely involved in the preparations for the NCI, Edström published a book intended to stimulate domestic Swedish debate entitled "Reform the adult education system now!" (*Reformera vuxenundervisningen nu!*). In the foreword he explained that the Uppsala seminars had taught him to look at the Swedish system with new eyes. Sweden, he had realised, had been isolationistic in its views on adult education.⁷⁷ Both developed and developing countries faced the same challenge of coping with rapid, comprehensive change. Citing his own work published in connection with the Uppsala seminars, he explained that all societies had to enhance their "absorptive capacity," and this could not be reduced to the economic perspective of Theodore Schultz's and Arthur Lewis's theories about human capital. A political and social perspective was equally necessary argued Edström, and the part of the education system that was most readily mobilised "in the service of change" was adult education. This led him to the examples set by Guinea's President Sekou Touré and Tanzania's Julius Nyerere. With admiration he explained that governments like theirs "strive to mobilise and engage the masses to participate in social, political and economic development."⁷⁸ For Edström, the experience of translating his expertise as an educator into that of an aid worker, provided him with an applicable model which could be introduced not only in countries like Tan-

75 "Speech given by the Honourable C.Y. Mgonja: The Minister of National Education during the meeting of the correspondence course organisers at the Institute of Adult Education Dar es Salaam on 8th December, 1970," F14, vol. 75, SIDA-TAN, SNA.

76 Erdos, "A Workshop for Correspondence Course Writers" (draft), dated 11 December 1970; F14, vol. 75, SIDA-TAN, SNA; "Möte mellan IAE och DAO hos S-G Henricsson," dated 5 January 1972, F14, vol. 76, SIDA-TAN, SNA; Erdos, "National Correspondence Institution 1970-1975," June 1975, F14, 76, SIDA-TAN, SNA, 67, 77.

77 Lars-Olof Edström, *Reformera vuxenundervisningen nu! En överblick och ett debattinlägg* (Uppsala: Verdandi, 1969), 8.

78 Edström (1969), 43.

zania but in Sweden as well. Drawing on the notion of equal partnership to its full conclusion, he argued that the state-led ideological basis which Nyerere and Touré formulated could in turn be disembedded and borrowed by Swedes. In the ongoing debates about the social and individual value of education, Swedish engagement in foreign aid introduced fresh arguments in discussions about domestic national policies.⁷⁹ Africanised adult education, as it were, could now be Europeanised.

Conclusion: The aidification of education

This analysis has offered a case study of how policy lending and borrowing were used in the establishment of new international relationships in the wake of decolonisation. Three related findings can be highlighted. One is the formative role of NGOs and international professional associations. They articulated development challenges and formulated potential solutions which the Nordic governments then incorporated into their expanding foreign aid agendas. Another is the rhetorical ambiguity that the actors involved used: at once owning and disowning policies: while much was made of “Africanising” education methods in Tanzania, there was a simultaneous tendency to frame them as essentially “Swedish” when communicating back home. These two points underpin a third, more general point that can be made: all the actors involved in some sense benefitted from the formation of partnerships through policy lending and borrowing. Aside from the Tanzanian government, which received funding and could pursue its ideological agenda, Nordic governments, cooperatives and professional organisations also stood to gain from playing their part in the ongoing aid rush. The pressing global development agenda offered new ways to gain political legitimacy, claim cultural relevance, and activate the grassroots. Getting involved was both considered a moral necessity and a strategic opportunity. At the same time it left no organisation unchanged.

Not only were the organisations changing through involvement in foreign aid, but so were the “contents” of their educational methods and practices. In the throes of decolonisation, Nordic declarations of Third World solidarity led to inventories of what, financial and rhetorical support aside, these countries actually had to offer their new allies in the global South. At this very practical level, the resort to a general ideology of goodness simply did not suffice. Rather, expanding on Svendsen and Svendsen’s argument, the present study indicates that whatever ideological production was going on at home, in practice there were few simplistic ambitions of directly “exporting” successful Nordic or Swedish “models.” Right from the start such visions were complicated by the hands-on challenges of working in international settings. Instead of outright “model export” it seems more fruitful to think in terms of the strategic identifying of adaptable national experiences. Through the subsequent interactions between individuals, NGOs and state authorities those experiences became re-contextualised, lent, transformed and borrowed. One outcome of those processes was that the resulting educational practices were often rhetorically re-nationalised and branded as essentially Swedish, Nordic or Tanzanian. However, all such epithets were always a simplification.

The dual dynamics of changing organisations and changing educational agendas

⁷⁹ For critical point about the oft-cited ideal of “mutual learning,” see also Dahlstedt and Nordvall (2011), 255.

were expressions of the aidification processes taking place throughout the world at this time. Within the emerging transnational field of *utbildningsbistånd* (“educational aid”) teachers, co-operative leaders and civil servants found themselves assuming new roles; as expatriates, technical experts and unofficial diplomats. They successfully established a platform for themselves within the new Swedish foreign policy direction, and in doing so they contributed to the professional urgency of, and international attention directed at, the government’s new activism in international affairs. Aidification connected NGOs, businesses, educators, government departments, and international organisations in new ways. It altered how organisations operated, added new policy objectives and demanded new professional competences. The aidification of adult education was inherently influenced by an ideal of partnership with the recipients of aid. On the one hand, transferring Swedish funds, expertise and experiences was therefore framed as a means to realise Tanzanian aspirations. On the other, the premise of self-reliance meant that not only was Tanzania to be in control of the transfer, but that the policies in the process in fact became essentially Tanzanian. It was in this context that education by correspondence was constructed to fit the mould; at once a Swedish/Nordic “speciality,” inherently democratic and admirably successful, *and*—paradoxically—also a problematically unique, parochial case which had to be extracted and transformed if it was to be of any use in the postcolonial world.

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The Development of Craft Education in Finnish Schools

Päivi Marjanen & Mika Metsärinne

Abstract • The purpose of this article is to examine the major changes Finnish school craft has undergone and explain these changes by using societal, pedagogical and subject-driven determinants. The main sources of this research include committee reports and national curricula. Research data was classified into five periods: craft for home well-being (1866–1911), craft for civic society (1912–1945), craft for independent hard-working citizens (1946–1969), toward equality craft (1970–1993), and unlimited craft (1994–2014). The analysis shows that school craft has steadily followed students', society's and the subject's different needs during these periods.

Keywords • craft, craft education, pedagogy, society, school history

Introduction

School craft was introduced in Finland in the late nineteenth century. From the very beginning, this school subject was called *Sloyd* in Nordic countries. The original creator of school craft was Finn Uno Cygnaeus, and the most well-known developer of Sloyd was Otto Salomon, who started teacher training in 1874 in Sweden.¹ Craft education methods expanded from there to all over the world.² The word Sloyd etymologically stems from the old Swedish word *slögh*, which stands for shrewdness, diligence, skillfulness and smartness, and the word *slögher*, denoting characteristics such as being handy, being deft, having professional skills and being skillful, experienced, and resourceful.³ “The word can be derived from the corresponding old Icelandic word with the original meaning being something like sleight, cunning, artful, smart, crafty and clever.”⁴ Nordic handicrafts gave guidelines for the development of a global discipline. Today, the names of subjects similar to Sloyd and craft have been

1 “When Salomon wrote about Sloyd he mainly meant woodworking for boys, but in his college there were also courses in textile work, home economics, drawing and modeling, gardening and physical education. Kajsa Borg, “What is Sloyd? A Question of Legitimacy and Identity,” *Journal of Research in Teacher Education* 8, nos. 2–3 (2006), 34–51.

2 Lazaro M. Herrera, *Cuban Sloyd: An Evolutional Approach, Theoretical Perspective and Empirical Contribution* (Turku: Åbo Akademi University Press, 1998), 71; David J. Whittaker, *The Impact and Legacy of Educational Sloyd: Head and Hands in Harness* (London/New York: Routledge, 2014), 83–104.

3 Annika Wiklund-Engblom et al., “‘Talking Tools’: Sloyd Processes Become Multimodal Stories with Smartphone Documentation,” *International Journal of Mobile and Blended Learning* 6, no. 2 (2014), 41–57.

4 Borg (2006), 36.

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changed to technology education or design and technology education at the school level internationally.⁵

In Finland, Sloyd changed from a folk culture to a school culture and finally to a science.⁶ The name of the school subject changed from Women's and Men's Handicrafts (1893), Girls' and Boys' Handicraft (1912) and Textile and Technical Work (1970) to Craft (1998). In this article, the concept of Finnish school craft is used to emphasise the philosophy of educative school craft and the meaning of the school subject—both of which are different from those of craft learning tasks and craft work outside the school environment.

The changing requirements for Finnish school craft have been described by using different kinds of explanation models.⁷ School reforms have been rationalised by invoking increased national and social responsibility, increased cultural democracy and level of further education, changes in the growing industrialisation of the economy and rising standards of living.⁸ Educational “isms,” demands for new professional qualifications based on industrial production and civil eligibility focused on society's educational demands, describe and focus on different fields of changes in curricula.⁹

The research questions presented in this research are as follows: What kind of major changes have Finnish school craft undergone over time? How can these changes be seen using Lahdes' curricula determinants society, subject and student? These research questions will be answered through an investigation of committee reports and curricula 1866 to 2014. Currently, the Finnish school system is at a crossroads. A new national curriculum was published in the spring of 2014. Goals for school craft emphasise process management and multi-materiality, which are important factors of the craft, design and technology education culture.¹⁰

David Whittaker has comprehensively described the history and internationalisation of Sloyd as a school craft.¹¹ A broad perspective of the method of Sloyd teaching

5 See e.g., Marc J. de Vries et al. eds., *Technology Education Today: International Perspectives* (Münster/New York: Waxmann, 2016).

6 Juhani Peltonen, “Slöjdkultur och slöjdpedagogik: En vetenskapsteoretisk betraktelse,” *Nordisk Pedagogik* 18, no. 2, (1999).

7 Sven Hartman, “Inledning,” in *Slöjd, bildning & kultur*, ed. Sven Hartman (Stockholm: Carlssons Bokförlag, 2014), 12–26.

8 See e.g., Erik Allardt, “Kansakoulu yhteiskunnallisena kehitystekijänä” [Elementary school as a social development factor], in *Kansakoulu 1866–1966*, ed. Antero Valtasaari, Antti Henttonen, Lauri Järvi, and Veli Nurmi (Helsinki: Otava, 1966), 130–48.

9 Different kinds of explanation models have been used to explain curriculum changes. See e.g. Christopher Pierson, *Beyond the Welfare State? The New Political Economy of Welfare* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991); Hannu Lehtonen, *Palkkatyöläistyminen, kasvatuksen yhteiskunnallistuminen ja sosiaalipolitiikka: Valtiollisen perusopetuksen synnyn kvalifikaatiotaustan tarkastelua* [Wage recruitment, socialisation of education and social policy: Qualification of the state basic education review] (Tampere: Tampere University, 1984), 6; Tuomas Takala, *Oppivelvollisuuskoulu ja yhteiskunnalliset intressit: Tutkimus kvalifikaatioihin ja koulutuskustannuksiin kohdistuvista intresseistä Suomen oppivelvollisuuskoulua koskevan koulutuspolitiikan päätöksenteon määreinä* [Obligatory school and social interests: Study on qualifications and interests in educational costs as the definition of educational policy decision making in the Finnish compulsory school] (Tampere: Tampere University, 1983).

10 *Perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteet 2014* [Finnish National Core Curriculum for Basic Education 2014] (Helsinki: Opetushallitus, 2014).

11 Whittaker (2014).

created by Otto Salomon and its impact on the development of similar disciplines in other countries have been studied by June Eyestone (1992).¹² From the perspective of the history of the school craft in other countries, e.g. Gísli Þorsteinsson and Brynjar Ólafsson have described Sloyd as a description of Iceland's handicraft development¹³ and Kevin Brehony has defined the English Froebel movement's turn to Sloyd.¹⁴ From the Finnish perspective Jouko Kantola et.al. have defined the history of Finnish school craft and its relationship with the corresponding subjects in other countries.¹⁵ Moreno Herrera has also studied the roots of Nordic sloyd and its contribution to international education.¹⁶ This article is the first article in English that deals with the history of Finnish school craft for both boys and girls. The research presents the major developmental changes in the subject, containing almost the entire history of school craft.

Research on curricula

The modern curriculum can be defined as an invention of modernity that involves forms of knowledge whose functions serve to regulate and discipline the individual.¹⁷ Curricula express the progressive hopes of democracy. They also express cultural and social practices that have changed over time and space. They embody principles that govern what is to be taught and what learning is to occur.¹⁸ According to Thomas Popkewitz, curricula provide rules and standards for how societies interpret individuals' roles in the world as productive members of that society. Curricula are also seen as a technology that directs how an individual is to act, feel, talk and see the world and the self.¹⁹ Overall, curricula are seen as normative documents that are created in a collective process with a focus on basic values, a conception of learning, goals and tasks and student growth, development and learning model defining processes.²⁰

The main contents of the curricula in Finnish schools have remained the same throughout the history of basic education, although differences can be observed in

12 June E. Eyestone, "The Influence of Swedish Sloyd and Its Interpreters on American Art Education," *Studies in Art Education* 34, no.1 (1992), 28–38.

13 Gísli Þorsteinsson and Brynjar Ólafsson, "Otto Salomon in Nääs and his First Icelandic Students in Nordic Sloyd," *History of Education* 43, no. 1 (2014), 31–49.

14 Kevin J. Brehony, "'Even Far Distant Japan' is 'Showing an Interest': The English Froebel Movement's Turn to Sloyd," *History of Education* 27, no. 3 (1998), 279–95.

15 Jouko Kantola et.al., *Through Education Into the World of Work: Uno Cygnaeus, the Father of Technology Education* (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylä University, 1999).

16 Lazaro Moreno Herrera, "Nordic Sloyd: Roots and Contribution to International Education." *Nordisk Pedagogik* 19, no. 2 (1999), 91–97.

17 Thomas S. Popkewitz, "The Production of Reason and Power: Curriculum History and Intellectual Tradition," *Curriculum Studies* 29, no. 2 (1997), 131–64.

18 Thomas S. Popkewitz, "Curriculum History, Schooling and the History of the Present," *History of Education* 40, no. 1 (2011), 1–19.

19 Popkewitz (1997).

20 Irmeli Halinen, Arja-Sisko Holappa, and Liisa Jääskeläinen, "Opetussuunnitelmatyö ja yleissivistävän koulutuksen uudistaminen" [Curriculum design and education reform], *Kasvatus*, no. 2 (2013), 187–94.

the guiding purposes of curricula.²¹ School subjects, which are elements of curricula, are made up of teachers and scholars attracted to differing factions and traditions within their subject's concern. These factions and traditions develop or decline as the subject evolves. School subjects can be divided into academic and non-academic subjects that have different statuses in education. The subjects represent the deep structures of curriculum differentiation at work within contemporary schools. According to Ivor F. Goodson, craft and overall practical subjects still have a low status.²²

According to Erkki Lahdes, curricula can be categorised into three groups based on the background determinants: society, subject and student.²³ These determinants form the theoretical framework in this study. A typical school curriculum includes the features of each determinant so that one of them is dominant—the main focus. A student-focused curriculum emphasises pupils' areas of interest, such as emotional development and creative expression, self-realisation and self-esteem. A subject-driven curriculum, however, focuses mainly on school subject orientation with an emphasis on cognitive objectives. Desired qualities include strong reading and writing skills. Curriculum content can be defined as different forms and conceptions of knowledge. A society-oriented curriculum highlights the importance of socialisation, work education and activities outside educational institutions. A society-oriented curriculum sees school as a key objective for the community and members of society. Curricula are a part of the value debate in society through which school craft also tries to respond to new and unforeseen challenges.

Method and source material

Studies in history may adhere to many kinds of historical narratives. Two of these are the historicist tradition and the linguistic tradition. The historicist tradition focuses on actors and events, and progress is a central motif in this epistemology. It has been characterised as the products of human actions in their socially constructed and developed world. The linguistic turn moved the focus for how the objects of the world are constructed. In curriculum research, this means the focus is on systems of ideas that enable objects to be understood.²⁴ The historical perspective for curriculum research tends to focus on teaching in schools, the organisation of teachers and pupils, the role of pupils and changes in contributions of schools to democracy through the structuring of social inequalities.²⁵ This particular research, presented in this article, falls into the linguistic tradition because the aim is to make visible how systems of ideas are introduced and changed over time. Research focuses on changes in one specific school subject and the implications of such changes for the intended student

21 Erja Vitikka, *Opetussuunnitelman mallin jäsenmisy: Sisältö ja pedagogiikka kokonaisuuden rakentajina* [Outline of the curriculum model: Content and pedagogy as constructors of the entirety] (Jyväskylä: Suomen kasvatustieteellinen seura, 2009).

22 Ivor F. Goodson, *School Subjects and Curriculum Change* (London: Falmer, 1993), 3.

23 Erkki Lahdes, *Tavoitteoppimisen teoreettiset perusteet* [Theoretical basics of goal learning] (Turku: Turun yliopisto, A:33, 1974).

24 Popkewitz (1997), 131–64. According to Popkewitz linguistic tradition focuses on how systems of ideas change over time but also how that change is related to issues of power.

25 Popkewitz (1997), 131–64.

outcomes. Curriculum goals express the requirements and expectations for education and school subjects.

Popkewitz has stressed that historical change should be understood as the breaks and ruptures through which systems of ideas construct the objects of schooling.²⁶ It is essential to depict curricula development as a continuously renewing process. Pentti Renvall emphasises the demands of the historical way of thinking. Historical thinking requires researching the period to be examined and thinking in the style of the people of the period. Researchers should not be satisfied with merely collecting historical information but should place it within a wider historical whole. Therefore, splinter information should be avoided. Explaining historical information is an attempt to tell us why the past exists as such and what significance it has for the future.²⁷ The focus is on one school subject, but the analysis include common school goals as this helps the understanding of school's general set of values.

Goodson has warned researchers not to be satisfied with describing only ideological or theoretical hopes.²⁸ That is one reason why Lahdes' theoretical model was used in this research. This model was used to move beyond the changes in Finnish school craft by not only describing changes that have occurred. In this study, curriculum determinants are considered and selected from the general aims of Finnish school craft.

The main sources for this article were various curricula. At the beginning of the analyses, the aims of the documents were selected and categorised according to their curriculum determinants. The main sentences were chosen, and their meanings for school craft were analysed; those that were similar were combined. Then, they were analysed again and crystallised to describe major changes in Finnish school craft history (1866–2014). At the end of the analyses, these major changes were compared and discussed.

This study focuses on macro-level changes in one school subject, but changes in, for example, national-level curricula, are actively reinterpreted at the micro-level. They also interact and cause changes in subject factions, associations and communities. Table 1 shows macro-level changes in Finnish school education and curricula and committee reports that were used in this analysis.

26 Ibid.

27 Pentti Renvall, *Nykyajan historiantutkimus* [Modern history research] (Porvoo: WSOY, 1983).

28 Ivor F. Goodson, "Subjects for Study: Towards a Social History of Curriculum," in *Defining the Curriculum: Histories and Ethnographies*, ed. Ivor F. Goodson and Stephen J. Ball (London: Falmer Press, 1984), 25–44.

Table 1. The levels of review of curriculums and committee reports

	Important school changes	Curricula and committee reports for school crafts
1866	Primary school	Government regulation for primary schools 1866
1881	Craft model courses	Super Government circular letter of education service (1883) Committee Report 1893:10
1899	Schoolbook committee report	Committee Report 1899:10 Committee Report 1912:10
1925	Rural primary school	Committee Report 1925:14
1946	Actual primary school	Committee Report 1946:10 Committee Report 1952:3 Committee Report 1959:9. Committee Report 1959:11
1970	Comprehensive school	Committee Report 1970:A4 Committee Report 1970:A5
1985	Comprehensive school curriculum	Basics of Core Curriculum 1985 Guiding book for teaching 1988
1994	Comprehensive school curriculum	Basics of Core Curriculum 1994
2014	Comprehensive school curriculum	Basics of Core Curriculum 2014

Craft for home well-being (1866–1911)

The Finnish school system was built as a part of the process of state formation. There were many aims for the development of the school system.²⁹ Under the influence of liberalism, nationalism, philanthropy and societal changes, Finland provided education for children beginning in 1866 although the School Act of 1866³⁰ did not mandate municipalities to establish public schools, but dictated the criteria for state support. In the context of school craft in schools, nationalism was highlighted.³¹

According to Risto Rinne, a moral code prevailed in Finnish schools from 1866 to 1911.³² During this period, an ideal human was described with characteristics such as frugal, hard-working and energetic.³³ Children's orientation to work and work

29 See e.g. Johannes Westberg et al., "State Formation and the Rise of Elementary Education at the Periphery of Europe: The Cases of Finland and Turkey 1860–1930," *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 50, no. 3 (2018), 133–44.

30 Kansakoulusetus [The Elementary School Act] 11 May 1866, Helsinki: Kansallisarkisto.

31 Darja Heikkilä, "Käsityön ammatillinen opetus Suomessa 1700-luvulta nykypäiviin" [Vocational education of craft in Finland from the 18th Century to the present], in *Suomalaisen käsityö-oulutuksen vaiheita 1700-luvulta 2000-luvulle*, ed. Simo Kotilainen and Marjo-Riitta Simpanen (Jyväskylä: Kopijyvä Oy, 2003), 7–48.

32 Risto Rinne, *Suomen oppivelvollisuuskoulun opetussuunnitelman muutokset vuosina 1916–1970: Opetussuunnitelman intentioiden ja lähtökohtien teoreettis-historiallinen tarkastelu* [Changes in curricula for Finnish compulsory education in 1916–1970: A theoretical and historical review of the background and purposes of curricula] (Turku: Turun yliopisto, 1984).

33 Irma Sulkunen, "Naisten järjestäytyminen ja kaksijakoinen kansalaisuus" [Women's organisation and dual citizenship], in *Kansa liikkeessä*, ed. Risto Alapuro, Ilkka Liikanen, Kerstin Smeds and Henrik Stenius (Helsinki: Kirjayhtymä, 1987), 157–75.

equipment was considered important.³⁴ Women's and men's handicrafts were included in the school curriculum because of the efforts of Uno Cygnaeus. The first Finnish curriculum model was subject-oriented. Uno Cygnaeus described such goals in the Elementary School Act (*Kansakouluasetus* 1866).³⁵

Thanks to the personal efforts of Cygnaeus, craft was established among the subjects to be taught in elementary school. He became familiar with handicrafts especially through the works of Pestalozzi, Fröbel and Diesterweg. He realised the value of educational handicrafts during a tour of Fröbel's kindergartens and at the Wettlingen seminar in Switzerland. Cygnaeus especially admired that children were allowed to work by playing in kindergarten and were given plenty of space for creativity.³⁶ The establishment of the elementary school took place in the cross pressure of aims. According to Erik Allardt, Cygnaeus' motives were national, social and economic.³⁷ Cygnaeus presented the Philanthropic line, whose aim was to educate poor people and give them entrepreneurial and independent attitudes. The basis of this idea was not to offer higher education, but a Christian education and practical skills and educate children for their roles in the family and society.³⁸

School craft was designed in the spirit of Cygnaeus to meet the educational and practical needs of homes and society. According to Cygnaeus, the value of school craft is found in its alignment with the spirit of working-life education, in which abstract thinking is transformed into practical knowing. Women's and men's handicrafts were a part of training subjects that were aimed to train poor people to improve their living conditions through entrepreneurship and self-help. Cygnaeus' school reform did not only mean initiation of handicrafts. He strongly emphasised the moral and social aims of education. Betterment of the status of women, emphasis on education at home and the idea of general education for everyone were all core concepts of his program.³⁹ The goal of school was not higher education but a Chris-

34 Saara Tuomaala, *Työtätekevästä käsistä puhtaksi ja kirjoittaviksi: Suomalaisen oppivelvollisuuskoulun ja maalaislasten kohtaaminen 1921–1939* [From working hands to clean and writing: A confluence between Finnish compulsory education and rural children, 1921–1939] (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2004).

35 *Kansakouluasetus* (1866). Charlotte Lydecken (1892) and Lilli Törnudd (1920) used the term intention for teaching. Both have been successful pioneers of school craft in early years' education. Charlotte Lydecken, *Tyttöjen käsitöiden johtamisen ohjeita kansakouluja varten* [Instructions for managing girls' handicrafts for elementary schools] (Helsinki: WSOY, 1892); Lilli Törnudd, *Uusi käsitöiden oppikirja* [New schoolbook for crafts: Craft lessons for secondary school classes] (Jyväskylä: Gummerus, 1920).

36 Aimo Halila, *Suomen kansakoululaitoksen historia, Osa I: Kansanopetus ennen kansakoulua ja kansakoululaitoksen synty* [History of the Finnish elementary school, part I: Folk education before the elementary school and the birth of a elementary school] (Porvoo: WSOY, 1949), 252; Taimo Iisalo, *Kouluopetuksen vaiheita: keskiajan katedraalikoulusta nykyisiin kouluihin* [Stages of school education: From Medieval cathedral school to current schools] (Helsinki: Otava, 1988), 120–21.

37 Allardt (1966), 130.

38 Uno Cygnaeus, "Vastine tarkastuskomitean lausuntoon ja ehdotuksiin" [Response to audit committee opinion and proposals], in *Uno Cygnaeuksen kirjoitukset Suomen kansakoulun perustamisesta ja järjestämisestä*, ed. G. Lönbeck (Helsinki: Kansanvalistusseura, 1910), 347–49; Sirkka Ahonen, *Yhteinen koulu tasa-arvoa vai tasapäisyyttä? Koulutuksellinen tasa-arvo Suomessa Snellmannista tähän päivään* [Common school – equal value or equality? Educational equality in Finland from Snellmann to this day] (Tampere: Vastapaino, 2003), 110.

39 Cygnaeus (1910); Heikkilä (2003), 7–48.

tian education and practical skills.⁴⁰ School craft was aimed at increasing individuals' economic well-being and home and improving the welfare of the whole nation. In addition to the practical benefits of the subject, it was thought to inspire the soul.

Until the 1880s, primary school curricula were planned at the school level and differed greatly between schools. The Circular Letters of the Supreme Board of Education (*Koulutoimen ylihallituksen kiertokirje*, 1881 and 1883) emphasised that schools required annual schedules based on the subjects' pedagogical principles. Curricula were unified and were included with example models and patterns for school craft in 1881.⁴¹ A model series of boys' craft consisted of 70 model objects, 55 of which were woodwork. Girls were given their own model series in 1893 to help teachers' practical work in class. The model series was somewhat oppressive and was based on useful products. Products that were made in school favored local materials and needs. The girls' model series for town schools consisted of a 20-part product series. Six were for the lower grades of primary school, and 14 were for the upper grades. The series for rural schools consisted of 17 products.⁴² Generally, boys learned woodwork, and girls learned knitting and needlework.

For the first few decades, the goals, and especially the practice, of school craft were society-centric and focused on the basic skills that would help individuals complete everyday challenges and tasks. In addition to these practical aims that schools had for school craft, Cygnaeus emphasised the pedagogical spiritual value of school craft for everyday problem solving, activity, thrift and working skills.

One also has to remember the advanced educational student-centric aims of Cygnaeus, such as diligent and active citizenship. High-quality economic products and the process of making them were stressed as the aims of the subject. From a subject-driven point of view, school craft stressed mechanical skills, perseverance and patience. Compared to Lahdes' model, the aims were in balance although the effects of industrialisation were beginning to emerge at the end of this period.

Craft for civic society (1912–1945)

After the Finnish Civil War in 1918, it was considered necessary to expand the school system. While enrolment prior to the war had differed widely between regions, efforts were now made to enroll all school aged children. The expansion of the school was considered necessary to avoid events such as the Civil War. The idea was that school belongs to all social classes and genders.⁴³

40 Cygnaeus (1910).

41 *Koulutoimen ylihallituksen kiertokirje* [Circular letter of the Supreme Board of Education] (1881 and 1883). See also Jouko Kantola, *Cygnaeuksen jäljillä käsityöopetuksesta teknologiseen kasvatukseen* [Cygnaeus trail from handicraft to technology education] (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, 1997), 22.

42 *Koulutoimen ylihallituksen antama mallisuunnitelma naiskäsitöitten opetukselle kansakouluissa* 19 May 1893 [Circular letter regarding women's handicrafts in elementary schools, issued by the Supreme Board of Education].

43 Leena Koski, "Sivistystyön ihmiskäsitys: Villi-ihmisestä aikuiseksi yksilöksi" [The concept of humanity in education: From wild person to adult individual], in *Valistus ja koulunpenkki: Kasvatus ja koulutus Suomessa 1860-luvulta 1960-luvulle*, ed. Anja Heikkinen and Pirkko Leino-Kaukiainen (Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura, 2011), 159–83; Saara Tuomaala, "Työteliäiksi miehiksi ja naisiksi – mutta miten? Jatko-opetus 1900-luvun jakautuneessa Suomessa" [Into hard-working men and women – but how? Secondary education in divided Finland of the twentieth century], in *Yhteiskuntaluokka ja sukupuoli*, ed. Tarja Tolonen (Tampere: Vastapaino, 2008), 148–74.

The law on basic education came into force in 1921. The first official curriculum was published in 1925 and introduced school subjects with goals and content. It was flexible although its guidelines and subject content were highly specific. The curriculum followed the systematic subject-specific *Lehrplan Model* of Herbart. However, the curriculum was a recommendation, and not all teachers followed it. Therefore, lessons varied between schools.⁴⁴ Mikael Soininen, a school developer, based his objectives on values such as efficiency and usefulness.⁴⁵

The purpose of school craft was to respond to new state demands. Basic school had been developed especially for workers and small-scale farmers whose education had an important role in society. Ideas such as pupils' enthusiasm were visible in the goals set for schools.⁴⁶ After the First World War and the Finnish Civil War, schools were responsible for educating the working classes. This can be seen in the practical content of school subjects. Törnudd's Teacher Guide Book emphasised the idea that teaching should be adjusted to common people, which obviously refers to the society-centric aim of the prewar school to educate the working class for its role in democratic society.

According to Paula Tuomikoski-Leskelä, Finnish school craft had three themes: school work, general dexterity and educational handicrafts.⁴⁷ During this period, school craft was introduced with a new model series in 1912 and a new curriculum in 1925.⁴⁸ Large-scale, time-consuming sewing and knitting tasks that included clothes, for example, were replaced with smaller-scale versions, such as sewing dolls' clothes. Boys' handicrafts included woodwork, metalwork, painting and leatherwork.⁴⁹

School craft belonged to the group of art subjects, thus indicating that aesthetic goals were considered important. School craft was also thought to develop and diversify the senses and thinking skills, the importance of which Cygnaeus also stressed. Goals such as motivation to work showed that one main purpose of school craft was to educate pupils in practical skills that would help them in everyday life. The importance of school craft as an educational subject was already known, but the choice of tasks more closely followed the principles of a practical life and neglected to consider that handicraft instruction must be an intermediate piece of civilisation that develops the spiritual potential. Unfortunately, this aim was not realised in practice.⁵⁰

During this period, school craft products were still partly practical and useful in

44 Veli Nurmi, *Kansakoulusta peruskouluun* [From elementary school to comprehensive school] (Juva: WSOY, 1989).

45 Committee Report, *Maalaiskansakoulujen opetussuunnitelma* [Curriculum of rural elementary schools] (1925:14); Erkki Lahdes, *Peruskoulun uusi opetusoppi* (Helsinki: Kustannusosakeyhtiö Otava, 1982), 58.

46 Committee Report 1925:14; Lahdes (1982), 58.

47 Paula Tuomikoski-Leskelä, *Taidekasvatus Suomessa I: Taidekasvatuksen teoria ja käytäntö koulu-pedagogiikassa 1860-luvulta 1920-luvulle* [Art education in Finland I: Theory and practice of art education in school pedagogy from the 1860s to the 1920s] (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, 1979), 201–5.

48 Committee Report, *Kansakoulun käsityöopetus* [Craft teaching of elementary school] (Helsinki: Keisarillisen senaatin kirjapaino 1912:10); Committee Report (1925:14).

49 Ibid.

50 Lilli Törnudd, *Uusi käsitöiden oppikirja: Varsinaisten kansakoululuokkien tehtävät* [New school-book for crafts: Tasks of elementary school classes] (Jyväskylä: Gummerus, 1917), 1.

everyday life although the items produced included dolls and dolls' clothes, which link to subject-centric aims. The Committee Report on school craft was released 1912. It emphasised process in addition to product, which can be partly interpreted as moving toward student-centric aims. The aim was to guide teachers to offer more diverse processes on a smaller scale. One goal of school craft was to make products using different techniques.⁵¹ The target general dexterity changed to versatile dexterity.

After the Finnish Civil War, the Finnish school system moved in the direction of subject-centric aims, but these changes were not obvious in school craft. School craft was still based on practical values although society's demands and pedagogical and student-centric changes can be seen, at least at the theoretical level. New ideas in the Committee Report (1912) included the following: emphasis on student reflection and discovery in teaching. Goals focused on students' thinking processes in craft learning practices.

Craft for independent and hard-working citizens (1946–1969)

The economic structure of Finland changed after the Second World War. Services and industry offered new work opportunities in cities, and technological development demanded new qualifications.⁵² The committee set education for work, economic efficiency, vocation and country life, education for fellow citizens and education for human beings as educational goals.⁵³ New committee reports in 1946 and 1952 set economy education as a general goal regardless of school subject. School craft was categorised with practical aesthetic school subjects.⁵⁴ Rinne referred to the years from 1945 to 1970 as the Citizen's Code Period. Postwar sentiment and new political structures led to the increased importance of the role played by social education in the atmosphere of compulsory schools.⁵⁵

The second part of the Curriculum Committee's report on primary education (published in 1952) presented three main areas of study: school and home, school and home areas and school and youth work. These educational frames were aimed at teaching pupils the means for and stimulating their interest in cultural learning and activities.⁵⁶ The curriculum of 1952 was flexible, and it was meant to be a teacher's tool for work. During the postwar era, the main school innovator was Matti Koskeniemi. Within didactics he highlighted clarity, activity, life proximity and sociability in the spirit of nationalism.⁵⁷

Another noteworthy shift that occurred during this period saw the didactics and

51 Törnudd (1920), 2.

52 Committee Report, *Kansakoulun opetussuunnitelmakomitean mietintö I* [Report of the National School Curriculum Committee I] (Helsinki: Valtioneuvosto, 1946:10).

53 Nurmi (1989), 181.

54 Committee Report (1946:10); Committee Report. *Kansakoulun opetussuunnitelmakomitean mietintö II* [Report of the National School Curriculum Committee II] (Helsinki: Valtioneuvoston kirjapaino, 1952:3).

55 Rinne (1984); Erkki Lahdes, *Uuden koulun vaikutus Suomen kansakouluun* (Helsinki: Kustannusosakeyhtiö Otava, 1961), 221–22.

56 Nurmi (1989), 183.

57 Pertti Kansanen, *Didaktiikan tiedetausta* [The science background of didactics] (Helsinki: Yliopistopaino, 1990).

pedagogy of curricula no longer following previous pedagogical ideas but focused more on subject-separated learning.⁵⁸ Different learners and teaching methods were taken into account in the Committee Report of 1952, but the main goal of schools was to provide democratic citizens with qualifications for future society.⁵⁹ The Committee Report did not mandate any changes in the craft curricula.

Goals were focused on work, the economy, professions and the surrounding society. Overall educational aims, which emphasised independence, diligence, understanding and wisdom, were also school craft aims.⁶⁰ Tyne Valve stressed that school craft was meant to be practical and social. It should focus on practical, everyday skills⁶¹ and provide students with the skills necessary for everyday life, such as an appreciation of physical work, independence and frugality. By making things by hand, children were encouraged to respect working with their hands.

Alli Kallioniemi emphasised the importance of making an effort, when selecting production objects, to explain why these products are important and what the meaning of the product is to the pupils. This motivates children to work.⁶² This point could be why the theoretical background was given more attention in school craft. Skills learned in school craft were applied to various materials and purposes. Instead of making new products, maintenance work, such as patching and darning in textile craft and repairing and servicing machines in technical craft, were considered more important.⁶³ Products made at school were mostly practical products for the home, such as tablecloths. The goals and content of school craft were also practical and focused on home products and technical skills needed at home and in society.

Toward equality craft (1970–1993)

Finland changed from a poor agricultural society to an industrial and service society during the 1950s and 1960s.⁶⁴ In 1970, the curriculum was based on societal values such as equality and democracy. The main school goals were pupils' distinctive personalities and pupils as responsible members of society.⁶⁵ According to Rinne, an individual's code can be found in the 1970–1985 curricula. The first comprehensive school curriculum was not very clear as it consisted of two different documents, and the role and guidance value of these documents were considered contradictory. The 1984 curriculum appeared to have the same problems.⁶⁶

The learning goals of this era focused on subject-specific skills rather than gen-

58 Lahdes (1982).

59 Committee Report (1952:3).

60 Committee Report (1952:3); Tyne Valve, "Kansakoulun käsityönopetus koulukokonaisuuden osana" [School craft of the elementary school as part of the school's whole], in *Kansakoulun työtapoja III osa*, ed. K. Saarialho and Matti Koskeniemi (Porvoo: WSOY, 1955), 234–39.

61 Valve (1955), 234–39.

62 Alli Kallioniemi, *Käsityönopetus: Merkitys – tarkoitus – metodi* [Craft education: Meaning – purpose – method] (Porvoo: WSOY, 1950), 19.

63 Committee Report 1946:10.

64 Ahonen (2003), 22.

65 Committee Report, *Peruskoulun opetussuunnitelmakomitean mietintö I: Opetussuunnitelman perusteet* [Comprehensive School Curriculum Committee Report I: Curriculum basics] (Helsinki: valtion painatuskeskus, 1970:A4); Committee Report, *Peruskoulun opetussuunnitelmakomitean mietintö II: Oppiaineiden opetussuunnitelmat* [Comprehensive School Curriculum Committee Report II: Curriculum basics] (Helsinki: Valtion painatuskeskus, 1970:A5).

66 Rinne (1984).

eral skills.⁶⁷ Goals of school craft followed the prevalent general goals of the 1970s curriculum.⁶⁸ These general school goals had seven sections that included work by hand and practical skills. In this context, school craft supported the development of personality and mental health, aesthetics and ethical objectives.

Boys' and Girls' Handicraft was renamed Textile Work and Technical Work. The new name meant that the subject was no longer based on gender, but on materials. Genderless content of textile and technical work was among the general school goals.⁶⁹ Textile work emphasised artistic and technical design for manufacturing. Technical work emphasised expanding student's technological worldview and increasing the learning of new technological skills—electronic and computer-aided design (CAD), for example. A common feature was increasing the role of cognitive skills through implementation.

The development of a distinctive personality was one of the goals of the subject. School craft was considered a part of general education. Similar goals were presented in the 1985 curriculum. The school system gave school craft new diverse goals. Although individual everyday life skills played an important role, social skills and working skills were also mentioned. The school craft goals included the same skills that Cygnaeus mentioned in the 1800s, although more focus was placed on designing objects.

According to Lahdes, the Committee Report reflected the movement of schools toward a more student-centric approach.⁷⁰ School craft goals followed the same development. The value of school craft was based less on the production of everyday products than in previous periods. Overall, the meaning of school craft changed significantly. Pupils' choices, processes and creativity were emphasised in curriculum goals along with individualisation.

Unlimited craft (1994–2014)

The automation of society, changes brought by services, trade and internationalisation, created demand for a new curriculum. The state's normative role was decreased in schools, and they were given freedom, for example, to choose their daily working hours. Therefore, differences between schools increased.⁷¹ School-specific curricula varied considerably. The shortest curriculum for school craft had only 10 sentences of text.⁷² The differences between schools were significant, and teaching did not correspond to the goals.⁷³ The main focus was on joint school craft, but within the subject, an opposite transition increased with Textile Work and Technical Work.

During this period, general school goals emphasised sustainable development, cultural identity, multiculturalism, welfare promotion and civic education. At the same time, the number of school craft lessons was decreased, which proved problematic. School craft goals included appreciation of work and ecological, ethical, aes-

67 Lahdes (1974), 34–58.

68 Committee Report (1970:A4).

69 Seija Kojonkoski-Rännäli, *Ajatus käsissämme: Käsityön käsitteen merkityssällön analyysi* [The idea in our hands: The conceptual analysis of the concept of handicraft] (Turku: Turun yliopisto, 1995).

70 Lahdes (1982), 26–28.

71 Ahonen (2003), 158–200.

72 J. Mäki, "OPS – hops, hops!" [Curriculum – hops hops!], *Tekstiiliohjeet*, no. 4 (1993), 3.

73 Antti Hilmola, *Käsityön opetuksen, suunnittelun ja toteutuksen alkuperää etsimässä* [Looking for the origin of craft teaching, design and implementation] (Turku: Turun yliopisto, 2009).

thetic and economic aims. Teaching was implemented as thematic topics and projects, and the focus moved to technological work education and cultural spirit.⁷⁴ The constructivist conception of learning emphasised optimal learning choices and a positive desire to learn. School craft was included in the group of art and skill subjects. One theme was to integrate school craft and consumer education, which meant respect for the work and the material used.

During this period, school craft changed as Technical Work and Textile Work had been independent subjects until 1998 but lost their autonomic positions in basic education.⁷⁵ Technical Work and Textile Work together now formed Diverse Craft. In Diverse Craft, the same person carries out an entire craft production from beginning to end without being restricted by the old division.⁷⁶ The new core curricula in 1994 and 2004 were descriptive and gave teachers freedom to construct district- and school-level curricula. Thus, it was possible to make products using textile and technical work materials and techniques. In practice, Technical and Textile Work were taught separately because of a long-standing tradition, separate classrooms and teachers' previous education. During this period, it was still difficult to study school craft goals because of the differences between schools and districts. Nevertheless, technical and textile skills could be studied as the same discipline, although the results still showed differences.⁷⁷ The similarity of the skills is based on increasing students' self-directed learning,⁷⁸ which consists of different kinds of learning processes for example, in the framework of the exploratory production model.⁷⁹

Between 1994–2014, school craft textbooks continued to primarily emphasise technical skills although schools had strong autonomy to develop their teaching during the period of globalisation, large-scale technological changes and new technological skills. The textbooks focused on subject-centric skills and did not reflect the changes in school craft.

74 *Peruskoulun opetussuunnitelman perusteet* [National Core Curriculum for Basic Education] (Helsinki: Opetushallitus, 1994), 104.

75 Juhani Peltonen, "Katosiko tekninen työ Turun yliopistosta?" [Did technical work disappear from University of Turku?], in *Katosiko tekninen työ Turun yliopistosta? & Käsityön oppimisen innovointi*, ed. Mika Metsärinne and Juhani Peltonen, *Techne series A:11, Research in Sloyd Education and Craft Science* (Turku: Turun yliopisto, 2007), 17–33.

76 Cf. Päivi Marjanen, *Koulukäsityö vuosina 1866–1984: Kodin hyvinvointiin kasvattavista tavoitteista kohti elämänhallinnan taitoja* [School craft in 1866–1984: From the goals of home welfare to life management skills] (Turku: Turun yliopisto, 2012); Mika Metsärinne, *Suomen koulukäsityön neljä aikakautta opetussuunnitelmien ja teknisen työn oppikirjojen kuvauksena – kohti monipuolista koulukäsityön tutkimusta ja käytänteitä* [Four school sloyd periods of Finland by description of curriculums and technical work schoolbooks – toward multilateral school sloyd research and practice], *Techne Series, A:13* (Turku: Turun yliopisto, 2008).

77 See e.g., Mika Metsärinne and Manne Kallio, "Experiences of Classroom Techniques and Technology Learning Outcomes," *Design and Technology Education: An International Journal* 19, no. 3 (2014), 9–22.

78 Mika Metsärinne, Manne Kallio and Kalle Virta, "Pupils' Readiness for Self-Regulated Learning in the Forethought Phase of Exploratory Production," *International Journal of Technology and Design Education* 25, no. 1 (2015), 85–108.

79 Mika Metsärinne and Manne Kallio, "Theories of the Exploratory Production," *Australasian Journal of Technology Education* 4 (2017).

Conclusion

Finnish school craft underwent major changes throughout its history. Some researchers have warned about periodical history research. According to Goodson the description of history should place more focus on a constantly recurring process. Categorisation was used for this research to show the major changes during quite a long history of school craft. Categorisation also gave researchers the possibility to compare the aims of each period. The research results were divided into five periods of school craft. This type of categorisation was used in two Finnish studies that focused on textile and technical school craft. The same type of categorisation was used in our article, “How were teachers instructed to teach contents knowledge in craft?”⁸⁰ The previous inquiries provided a starting point for more in-depth study and linking determinant analyses in the various periods.

During the first period of Finnish school craft (1866–1911), one of the main goals was to develop civic virtues, such as morality. The aims of school craft were balanced with these religious and philanthropic aims that also guided the active entrepreneurial mind. Cygnaeus understood the educational value of school craft and set other educational objectives for it, such as general dexterity, that also help in tackling everyday tasks and challenges. Cygnaeus’ aims for school craft were quite revolutionary for the nineteenth century. The content was particularly related to improve the everyday life of pupils by producing useful products. Teachers’ skills varied considerably, because the teachers had craftsmen backgrounds from various fields, and teaching objectives were lacking.

At the start of the twentieth century, the curriculum tradition turned to govern how children should be understood.⁸¹ Efforts to increase national identity and objectives focused on democratic citizens’ skills were evident in the Finnish curriculum and the subject-level aims of school craft. The idea for educating democratic citizens was partly related to the needs of the emerging industry. During the civil war in Finland, people split into two groups which left deep scars that appeared in training so-called supreme and ordinary people. The focus of school craft shifted during 1912–1945 slightly toward society-centric aims although the school system was, overall, based on a subject-oriented model. The practical values of school craft and its role in teaching practical skills needed in everyday life emphasised cognitive and academic skills. As a new learning material, metalwork product series were introduced in schools, which responded to the new labour market skills needed in the industry.

Research conducted by Hargreaves and Goodson shows that economics and demographics are the two major societal forces that drive the historical and generational periodisation of educational change over time.⁸² These effects were obvious for

80 Mika Metsärinne and Päivi Marjanen, ”Miten opettajia on ohjeistettu opettamaan koulukäsityön oppisisältöjä?” [How have teachers been instructed to teach school handicraft content?], in *Uudistuva ja uusiutuva ainedidaktiikka*, ed. Heini-Marja Pakula, Elina Kouki, Harry Silfverberg and Eija Yli-Panula (Turku: Turun yliopisto, 2016), 344–59.

81 Thomas S. Popkewitz, “Curriculum History, Schooling and the History of the Present,” *History of Education* 40, no. 1 (2011), 1–19.

82 See e.g., Andy Hargreaves and Ivor Goodson, “Educational Change Over Time? The Sustainability and Non-Sustainability of Three Decades of Secondary School Change and Continuity,” *Educational Administration Quarterly* 42, no.1 (2006), 3–41.

curricula in Finland from 1946 to 1969. After the Second World War, focus moved to work-life orientation, which is part of society-centric aims. New subject goals were still taken into consideration, although the theory of craft and design was also given more attention. At the time of industrialisation, the content of the subjects of school craft, especially in boys' craft, was differentiated and specialised almost as vocational training. Contents such as mechanical and electrical engineering and professional design are good examples. School craft began to carry out many kinds of technological learning tasks that were needed to learn more theoretical knowledge. The teaching of school craft met the needs of society. This is likely one reason why it is said that there are two different kinds of skills in craft education: so-called practical hand skills and theoretical technological skills.

The role of curricula changed in the 1960s and 1970s. At the same time, economic values and the language of curricula were emphasised in curriculum work as professional groups were replaced by commercial and political groups.⁸³ Finnish comprehensive school, which started in the 1970s, were based on values such as equity and the equality of the genders. Student-centric objectives focused on school, and pupils' choices, processes and creativity were emphasised. Education in Finland moved toward student-driven premises. Rapid urbanisation and the decline of smallholders in rural areas changed the structures of Finnish society. The curriculum was reformed into a new kind of social model. The curriculum of the 1970s partly changed the function of school-based work. School craft developed in the direction of subject matter teaching. New content was included, among other changes. For example, new electronic works, plastic works and CAD were introduced in the 1980s. In 1974, the education of handicraft teachers was also transferred to universities and in 1994, an individual's main subject up to the master's degree level. Increased research showed that the production of handicrafts by using technology would prepare pupils in a deeper and individual way to understand the functions of technological systems. In this respect, the research provided broader information for school craft, by making handicrafts learned technical know-how with theoretical knowledge, inventiveness, as well as a good work attitude together with learning the information needed in learning processes.

Goodson has stressed that the third industrial revolution, a massive technological transformation, caused changes in school curricula.⁸⁴ The most recent period in Finnish school craft, unlimited craft (1994–2014), was based on a constructivist conception of learning. The goals of the curricula were descriptive. In addition, Technical Work and Textile Work were combined under one subject. Today, the main goal of school craft is to encourage learners to set production goals from their own life-world to achieve meaningful instrumental learning. In this way, learning is internally valued and motivated behavior. Nevertheless, its practical aims tend to remain the same.

Curriculum determinants were considered and selected from the curriculum objectives and school craft teaching material for this article. Student-driven curricula

83 Ivor F. Goodson, "Context, Curriculum and Historical Knowledge," *History of Education* 43, no. 6 (2014), 768–76.

84 Ivor F. Goodson, "Patterns of Curriculum Change," in *International Handbook of Educational Change*, ed. Andy Hargreaves, Ann Lieberman, Michael Fullan and David Hopkins (New York: Springer Science, 2005), 231–41.

focused mostly on students’ interests. The intention of school craft in this case is to support pupils to take up craft as a learning hobby. Subject-driven curriculum determinants focus on content-stressed aims. Knowledge-based content consists mostly of product and material objectives, although it is possible to find cognitive objectives such as textile knowledge. A society-oriented curriculum stresses the general society-centric aims of school craft, such as the importance of socialisation and work education.

Table 2. The major changes of determinants according to era

	Society	Student	Subject
Craft for Home Well-being (1866–1911)	Home well-being for society Poverty removing, Philanthropy	Inspiration of the soul Moral education Problem solving	Practical skills for everyday life
Craft for Civic Society (1912–1945)	Growing in civil society Working skills	Thinking skills Enthusiasm Aesthetic	Products for everyday life
Craft for Independent and Hard-Working Citizens (1946–1969)	Raising a self-employed and working citizen Democracy	Economical thinking Aesthetic/ Technical procedures Physical work appreciation	Working with hands Practical school crafts Practising techniques
Towards Equality Craft (1970–1993)	Equality Membership for society	Mental health Ethics Planning	Freedom of choice Genderless contents Design
Unlimited Craft (1994–2014)	Well-being promotion Cultural knowledge	Self-initiative and ingenuity Ecology	Envisioned based exploratory production

Determinants of curricula, society, subject and student, were a change to detect during Finnish school craft history. In the early years, the main role of school craft was to help people survive in everyday life. School craft supported common people during difficult periods, especially in the nineteenth century and after the Finnish Civil War and the Second World War This can especially be seen in in the society-centric goals that focused on work and surviving economically in everyday life. Individual, student-centric aims such as developing the character and personality of the pupil were evident throughout the various curricula in some way. Goals such as leisure-time interests and enthusiasm were mentioned in many curricula. These goals relate strongly to pedagogical ideas. They also show the value of school craft to individuals. Making specific products and learning everyday skills were not as important values as previously. Students’ personal well-being through making by hand by learning new technologies for their own life-world and future studies was noticed. This is especially visible during the last two periods, 1970–1994 and 1994–2014. One

likely reason for the emphasis on such aims was increasing leisure-time. Strong subject-centric determinants were the most difficult to find in Finnish school craft curricula. Although subject-centric goals were highlighted in different ways in different periods, the goals have had an instrumental value during the general educational history of school craft. This is an important factor in explaining why school craft has remained part of the curriculum. Learning and teaching materials made it possible to see this change. Students' and teachers' textbooks provided a clearer understanding of the content and focus of the subject.

According to Goodson (1993), changes in school subjects must be viewed in light of the tensions of sub-groups and traditions. These groups within the subject influence and change boundaries and priorities. The need for the subject to be viewed as a scholarly discipline impinges on the promotional rhetoric and the process of subject definition, most crucially during the establishment of the subject and discipline. Goodson gave an example from a debate about craft and technology as a way of reinstating practical curricula that have missed this point. However, there may be a disconnect between high-status academic and theoretical technology education that stands in contradiction to objectives that are more practical. Tensions between sub-groups within the subject focused on school craft's practical and educational value. The main dilemma was, should school craft be more practical, support everyday life and have a strong work orientation, or should school craft be more educational. This dilemma was stressed in particular during the 1946–1970 period. The biggest tensions in school craft today exist between design and technology education. These tensions arose especially after textile work and technical work were joined together as one school subject: craft. The same kind of the development, which is related to the gender distribution of the subject's perspective, has occurred in similar subjects internationally.

This study of Finnish history of school craft in the context of school changes provided the possibility to analyse the goals of school craft over the long history of the subject. Although Lahdes' model has been mainly used in the context of common school changes, the model was applicable to school craft history. The analysis showed that school craft has always steadily followed students', society's and the subject's needs. The most common aims during the whole history of school craft were linked to the development of meaningful and useful skills for everyday life.

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From *Ingenium* to *Virtus*: The Cultivation of Talent in Seventeenth Century Dissertations from Uppsala University

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Abstract • This article explores the problem of innate, natural talent vs acquired skill, knowledge, and virtue in dissertations from Uppsala University around 1680. These texts have never before been studied. It discusses questions such as: how did Swedish academics of the period conceive the relationship between *ingenium* (innate potential) and (acquired) virtue or knowledge? Which teaching methods did they advocate? How do the texts relate to developments in seventeenth century society? The study uses a combination of contextual analysis and a ‘history of concepts’ approach to answer these questions. The analysis reveals that the Swedish dissertations respond to contemporary debates (involving well-known authorities such as Vives, Huarte, Erasmus, and Comenius) and that they were affected by the immediate context: the growth of the early modern state and the social mobility which accompanied that growth. Education is described in Renaissance humanist terms, with a clear affinity to moral philosophical concepts such as virtue and habituation. The learning process described is analogous to the acquisition of moral virtue and education itself is to a large extent legitimated with reference to moral socialization. The educational ideas put forward balance discipline and playfulness, and represent a relatively democratic view of the distribution of human capabilities, showing a great trust in the potential of education. However, there is also a distinct stress on medical explanations of differences in individual talent.

Keywords • early modern education, *ingenium*, virtue ethics, humanism

In pre-modern societies, education was almost always a broader concept than a mere appropriation of knowledge. Its purpose was character formation: education meant teaching virtue.¹ However, virtue ethics and education shared a common problem. Knowledge, like virtue, was something man² acquired through education, practice and

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- 1 The sources for early education in the Classical world are limited, the most important being books I–II of Quintilian and *On the Education of Children* by (pseudo-)Plutarch. A classic, albeit idealistic, study of these ideas is Werner Jaeger, *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture*, vol. 1–3, transl. Gilbert Highet (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1965 [1939]). Teresa Morgan has shown how such educational ideals were (and were not) put into practice; *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- 2 In the primary sources used in this article, the education discussed must be presumed to be all-male. Other writers, notably Comenius, *Didactica Magna*, in Johannes Amos Comenius, *Didactica Opera Omnia* (Amsterdam, 1657), 42–44, did advocate education for girls as well. Schools for girls did exist in Sweden in the early modern period, but they were not publically funded, and information on them is scarce (see for instance Wilhelm Sjöstrand, *Pedagogikens historia*, II (Lund: Gleerups,

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habit. But this acquisition was not a creation *ex nihilo*. There was always some innate natural disposition, some basic intellectual capability necessary for achieving knowledge, just as there was an innate potential, the perfection of which Aristotle called virtue.³ In the seventeenth century, this innate potential was generally called *ingenium*.

The purpose of this article is to analyse a selection of texts discussing this problem of *ingenium*. I will try to situate these discussions within a social and political context in Sweden around 1680. I will investigate the following questions: how did Swedish academics of the period conceive the relationship between *ingenium* and virtue or knowledge? Which teaching methods did they advocate? What did their views entail for the role of education in society?

Methodologically, I will mainly use a contextual form of analysis, although the history of the concepts themselves and the philosophical tradition to which they belong will also be given due consideration.⁴ The material used for this study is a selection of dissertations published at Uppsala university from 1679 to 1685. They represent a small selection from a larger corpus of dissertations on educational theory and practice from Swedish universities in this period. This corpus has been largely ignored by previous research on educational history. Furthermore, the three texts chosen for this study are particularly interesting for contextual reasons: both the professor and one of the students were engaged in practical teaching with special relevance for the issues discussed (see below).

Research on early modern educational history has often had a critical point of view, describing both early modern schools and society as institutions of social discipline. This research has been strongly influenced by the works of Michel Foucault.⁵ The humanist curriculum has also been criticised for being much less ‘humanist’ in practice than it was in theory, as the ideals of character formation and building of *humanitas* were seldom realised in classrooms dominated by tedious study of Latin grammar and style.⁶

1965), 136). In the dissertations analysed below, the question of female education is not discussed. It seems reasonable to assume that the texts take it for granted that what they are describing is an exclusively male form of education, even though this is not explicitly stated. The Swedish *universities* were of course all-male institutions until the nineteenth century.

3 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1934), 1098a7–17. The idea of perfection became perhaps even more important in the subsequent tradition, as in Aquinas and other scholastic philosophers, see (e.g.) John Finnis, *Aquinas: Moral, Political, and Legal Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 104–10.

4 For contextual analysis, see for instance, Quentin Skinner: “The essence of my method consists in trying to place such [historical] texts within such contexts as enable us in turn to identify what their authors were *doing* in writing them.” *Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 7. For the history of concepts, see Reinhart Koselleck, “Begriffsgeschichte und Sozialgeschichte,” in *Vergangene Zukunft: Zur Semantik geschichtliche Zeiten* (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 2015 [1989]), 107–9. I agree with Mats Persson that conceptual history can be useful as a complementary method in intellectual history, and I also agree with his criticisms of Koselleck, as put forward in “Begrëppshistoria och idéhistoria,” in *Trygghet och äventyr. Om begreppshistoria*, ed. Bo Lindberg (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 2005), 14–34.

5 Some examples dealing with early Swedish material are Per-Johan Ödman, *Kontrasterernas spel: En svensk mentalitets- och pedagogikhistoria* (Stockholm: Prisma, 1998); Daniel Lindmark, *Uppfostran, undervisning, upplysning: Linjer i svensk folkundervisning före folkskolan* (Umeå: Umeå University, 1995).

6 The groundbreaking study is Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities* (London: Duckworth, 1986), which contrasts starkly with earlier accounts such as Eugenio Garin,

On the other hand, the last 20 years have also seen a renewed interest in pre-modern philosophies of education, following a resurgent interest in virtue ethics. However, this interest has not always had a historical perspective, and very seldom has it had a critical one.⁷ In a previous work, I have proposed to combine a historical study of virtue ethics with Bourdieu's theory of *habitus*. *Habitus* is itself a concept which is ultimately derived from scholastic moral philosophy, and Bourdieu's use of it is well suited to an analysis of early modern educational theories situated in the context of teaching practice.⁸

The concept of *ingenium* has, for the most part, been studied by literary historians, often with an interest in the theories about genius that were later developed, at least in part, from this concept.⁹ In this article, I will instead consider the concept from the viewpoint of the history of education and moral philosophy. As will become apparent, *ingenium* was a concept of much wider significance than the later term "genius" had and has today. It was central to questions of education and the place of education in society, questions widely debated in the seventeenth century as a consequence of rapid changes in forms of and institutions for education all over Europe, including Sweden. Here, Gustavus Adolphus himself argued that "every *ingenium* should be allowed to excel in that towards which it is inclined."¹⁰

Background: *ingenium* in the early modern period

In the early modern period, Renaissance humanism often stressed the infinite malleability of man and the limitless possibilities of education. However, this much discussed Renaissance view of man competed with other, much more pessimistic conceptions of human nature. Even within Renaissance humanism itself, there were dissenting voices.¹¹ Pessimistic views of human nature included those of the reformers, such as Luther, but also political thinkers such as Machiavelli and Hobbes.

Geschichte und Dokumente der abenländischer Pädagogik, I–III (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1964–1967 [1957]). Incidentally, the findings of Grafton and Jardine are strikingly similar to those of Morgan (on the Classical material).

- 7 E. g., Martha Nussbaum, *Cultivating Humanity: A Classical Defense of Reform in Liberal Education* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997); David Carr and Jan Steutel, *Virtue Ethics and Moral Education* (London: Routledge, 1999); Kristján Kristjánsson, *Aristotelian Character Education* (London: Routledge, 2015); Chris Higgins, *The Good Life of Teaching: An Ethics of Professional Practice* (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011).
- 8 Andreas Hellerstedt (ed.), *Virtue Ethics and Education from Late Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), 17–19.
- 9 See Paula Gambarota, *Irresistible Signs: The Genius of Language and Italian National Identity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011); Kristina Nordström, *Det sanna snillet: Genus och genius hos Thomas Thorild* (diss. Stockholm University; Göteborg: Makadam, 2014).
- 10 Karl Gabriel Leinberg, *Om snillevalet (Selectus ingeniorum) i vår äldre skollagstiftning* (Helsingfors: Finska litteratursällskapet, 1884), p. 6 notes that this discussion is visible from ca 1580 onwards, but otherwise focuses mostly on the eighteenth century; Sjöstrand (1965), 135–36, 184, 189, 204–5, 208, 232, 257–58; quote, "låta vart ingenium excellera i det som det inklinerar till" at p. 232.
- 11 See for instance Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and its Sources* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), 169–181, Douglas Biow, *On the Importance of Being an Individual in Renaissance Italy: Men, Their Professions, and Their Beards* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 57. Geoffrey Herman Bantock, *Studies in the History of Educational Theory*, vol 1 (London: Allen & Unwin, 1980), 26.

The discussion of variations in human talent (*ingenium*) can be traced back to antiquity. Roman rhetorician and teacher Quintilian discusses the relation between innate talent and acquired skill in his *Institutio Oratoria*, that is, in the context of rhetorical education. Some people obviously speak well without formal training, Quintilian says, so do we really need it? The answer to this question is balanced: nature is a prerequisite, and the speaker does not only need a talent for study, but also a strong voice and other natural abilities. However “this in itself does no good without a skilled teacher, persistent study, consistent and numerous exercises in writing, reading, and speaking.”¹² Quintilian admits that it is important for the teacher to observe the differences in talent (*discrimina ingeniorum*), as different boys are more or less suited to different types of study. However, because his ideal is an orator with an all-round education, a greek *enkyklios paideia*, this does not matter much: a good orator must learn everything, like the athlete in the *pankration* must know how to fight in every possible way. Everything which is perfected by art has its origin in nature, “but the most proficient [orators] owe more to instruction than to nature.”¹³

Erasmus of Rotterdam is similarly optimistic. In the *De Ratione Studii*, he claims that he in a short time would be able to bring youths to a reasonable level of eloquence, if only they were not entirely lacking in talent.¹⁴ In *De Pueris Instituendis*, Erasmus describes man as created by nature for acquiring knowledge, and education as a source of both happiness and moral virtue. Although man’s reason is a divine gift, God also “left the greater part to [be developed by] education.”¹⁵ Most famously, Erasmus says: “believe me, human beings are not born, they are made.”¹⁶ Erasmus, then, represents the optimistic view of education which was such an important part of the Renaissance.¹⁷ Erasmus’s works, not least his mirror for princes, *Institutio Principis Christiani*, were very influential in the Scandinavian countries, his writings being some of the most important sources of Renaissance ideas in Northern Europe.¹⁸

The contemporary and friend of Erasmus, Juan Luis Vives, was one of the most important early modern figures to discuss the problem of *ingenium*.¹⁹ He did so at

12 “haec ipsa sine doctore perito, studio pertinaci, scribendi legendi dicendi multa et continua exercitatione per se nihil prosunt.” Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 2001), proemium, 27; also 2:13:15. I should also add that Baltasar Gracián’s use of the concept of *ingenium* seems related to those discussed here, although Gracián’s is highly idiosyncratic; Emilio Hidalgo Serna, “The Philosophy of Ingenium: Concept and Ingenious Method in Baltasar Gracián,” *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 13:4 (1980).

13 “consummatos autem plus doctrinae debere quam naturae,” Quintilian (2001), 2:8:1–15. *Enkyklios paideia*, 1:10:1.

14 “modo dentur ingenia non omnino infoelicia,” Erasmus Roterodamus, *Opera Omnia*, vol I:2, ed. Jean-Claude Margolin (Amsterdam: North Holland, 1971), 146.

15 “maximam partem reliquit institutioni,” Erasmus (1971), 28.

16 “homines, mihi crede, non nascuntur, sed finguntur.” Erasmus (1971), 31.

17 Bantock (1980), 54–55.

18 Andreas Hellerstedt, “Cracks in the Mirror: Changing Conceptions of Political Virtue in Mirrors for Princes in Scandinavia from the Middle Ages to c.1700,” in *Virtue Ethics and Education from Late Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Andreas Hellerstedt (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018); Sebastian Olden-Jørgensen, “Hvad er et fyrstespejl?,” in Johann Damgaard, *Alithia: Et dansk fyrstespejl til Christian IV* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Forlag, 2003); Sebastian Olden-Jørgensen, “Johann Damgaards Alithia (1597): Genrehistorie, teksthistorie og idehistorie: Omkring et dansk fyrstespejl til Christian 4.,” *Fund og Forskning i Det Kongelige Biblioteks Samlinger* 45 (2006).

19 Hidalgo Serna argues that Vives, like Gracián, built a philosophy of *ingenium*. There is some truth in this, in my view, but Hidalgo Serna is slightly overstating his case. These ideas were widespread,

length in *De Tradendis Disciplinis*, which took the discussion one step further. Vives argues unequivocally that different academic subjects require different mental abilities. These abilities depend fundamentally on temperament. Some people naturally have sharp observation, some have good judgement, some can distinguish different elements separately, some see things as a whole. Some have a well-balanced intellect, and can perceive everything correctly in one glance. But these different abilities are not always found in the same person. However, it is possible to determine what type of study is appropriate for each individual, and thus direct schooling accordingly, so that students are not forced to do anything against their inclination—“Minerva unwilling” (“Invita Minerva”).²⁰ Vives goes on to describe how this may be organized in practice. He recommends that schoolteachers meet regularly to discuss their pupils’ abilities and the direction their studies should take:

The boy should remain in the school for one or two months, so that his *ingenium* can be explored. Four times every year, the teachers should convene in a secret location, where they may speak and deliberate amongst themselves about the *ingenia* of their [pupils]: and they should apply each of them to that type of art, for which he seems fit.²¹

Vives recommends arithmetic in particular as a tool for revealing quicker or slower talents.²²

Slightly less well known, but of major importance in the history of education, was Spanish medical doctor Juan Huarte’s argument in *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias* (1575)²³ that education should be adapted wholly after innate individual and national characteristics resulting from differences in bodily temperament. He bluntly argued that it was impossible for a man to excel in more than one area, and that it was imperative that everyone find the occupation towards which they were “*aptum natum*.”²⁴

As Henning Mehnert has shown, the “deterministic humoralism” of Huarte was attacked by Jesuit educational writers towards the end of the seventeenth century. These writers refused to reduce man to a product of mere physical preconditions.²⁵ Among the most prominent of the opponents of Huarte was the Jesuit Antonio Possevino, who, among other things, was the papal diplomat assigned with the (failed)

had roots in Classical rhetoric, and were not incompatible with scholastic Aristotelianism. Compare Emilio Hidalgo Serna, “‘Ingenium’ and Rhetoric in the Work of Vives,” *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 16, no. 4 (1983).

20 Juan Luis Vives, *De Tradendis Disciplinis*, in *De Disciplinis Libri XII. Septem de Corruptibus Artibus; Quinque de Tradendis Disciplinis* (Leiden, 1636) 406–7, 437, 448–58; Erasmus (1971) also admits that pupils should not be forced “*adversus Minervam*,” “*invita Minerva*,” 45, 67.

21 “*Maneat puer in pedagogio unum aut alterum mensem, ut ingenium illius exploretur. Quarter per annos singulos in locum aliquem secretum magistri convenient, ubi inter se de ingeniis suorum sermonicentur, ac consultant: & ei quenque applicent arti, cui quenque idoneum videbunt.*” Vives (1636), 437.

22 Vives (1636), 458.

23 Translated into latin as *Scrutinium Ingeniorum pro ijs, qui Excellere Cupiunt* (I have used the edition of Leipzig, 1622).

24 Huarte (1622), 3; he did admit that more than one type of ingenium could be combined in one man, although this meant that they would not be “*emine[n]te in gradu*,” 8.

25 Henning Mehnert, “Der Begriff ‘Ingenio’ bei Huarte und Gracián,” *Romanische Forschungen* 91, no. 3 (1979), 274.

task of reuniting Sweden with the Catholic Church in the 1570s. Later on, he worked actively to build Jesuit schools in Poland. In his *Cultura Ingeniorum*, Possevino argued from a premise of human dignity informed by Counter-Reformation Catholicism and Renaissance humanism. He describes the search for truth as the most worthy of pursuits leading to the highest virtue and bringing man closer to God.²⁶ While admitting that it is important to understand that individual talents vary and to direct schooling accordingly, he argues for a form of equality on religious grounds. God grants everyone the capacity they need to fulfil their duties in whatever walks of life they find themselves. God does not grant everyone everything, but neither does he exclude anyone from free will and the path to salvation.²⁷ In particular, Possevino argues directly against Huarte (and in more secular terms) that skills in language and “speculative science” are often found in one and the same individual. Where Huarte had claimed that Spaniards could not learn Latin well because their natural *ingenium* was suited for theology but not language, Possevino argued that Spain simply lacks proper schools and that Spaniards just do not study hard enough, while also providing historical examples of individuals of Spanish descent who were skilled in both areas.²⁸ Similarly, another great educational reformer of the age, Johann Amos Comenius, argued that everyone should basically receive the same education (he famously argued that everyone should learn everything), but that different types of talent require different forms of education, or different teaching methods.²⁹

Rebecca Bushnell has argued that Renaissance humanism neither tried to shape every individual into one universal ideal humanity, nor did it claim that we are all unique individuals. Instead, humanism commonly identified different “types,” and in doing so could work to “reify” differences (of estate, gender, age, etc.) and reinforce social hierarchies, while she also admits that the teacher’s power over his students was limited. The fact that the individual nature was thought of as resisting the teacher’s efforts could therefore work as a form of resistance to power as well.³⁰ However, as we have seen, the differences between individual theories were significant: humanism was not a uniform movement. There was also development over time, as determinism gained ground during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.³¹ Consequently, the seventeenth century inherited an intricate problem in educational theory. What was the balance of power between inherited talent and acquired skill and knowledge? And how exactly was raw talent (*ingenium*) developed into skill and moral virtue?

26 Antonio Possevino, *Cultura Ingeniorum: Examen Ingeniorum Ioannis Huartis Expenditur* (seventh edition, Cologne, 1610), 10–12; Possevino uses language reminiscent of Pico della Mirandola’s *Oration on the Dignity of Man* in describing man as positioned in the center of the world, free, and not far below the angels (p. 12); Interestingly, Comenius (1657), chapters 1–6, also starts off with similar statements on the dignity of man (to be fulfilled through education), man as the crowning glory of creation, etc.

27 Possevino (1622), 34–35, 42.

28 Possevino (1622), 50–51, 55–56. In another context he concedes that Italians are characterised by their extraordinary “judicium,” the Spaniards on the other hand by their “alacritas ingeniorum & gravitas,” only to counter this with the impeccable statement that one observes in all of them the same great piety; 138.

29 Comenius (1657), 44–48.

30 Possevino (1622), 114–17.

31 Mehnert (1979), 271–72.

The Swedish context

The material I will study needs to be put into a more immediate context. Seventeenth century Sweden was characterized by a societal structure somewhat different from other European countries at the time. The free peasants were numerous and they were represented in the *Riksdag* (parliament). They were in a (relatively) strong political position. Furthermore, the nobility, while at times very strong politically, were too few to monopolize all posts in the bureaucracy and officers' corps. With the rapid expansion of a modern state, and with accompanying demands for professionally trained jurists and civil servants, the seventeenth century opened up many opportunities for well-educated men of non-noble origins. Among those who took advantage of such opportunities, most had their roots in the burgher estate, while sons of prosperous peasants would more often advance socially through the church. A few made spectacular careers. Among them we find a number employed as royal tutors. Johan Skytte, the son of a burgomaster, became the preceptor of Gustavus Adolphus and was made a baron; Edmund Figrelius (ennobled as Gripenhielm), the son of a pastor, was a professor at Uppsala and a diplomat and secretary in the service of Charles X, and became the preceptor of the crown prince (Charles XI); Gripenhielm's disciple at Uppsala university, Erik Lindeman (Lindschöld), like Skytte the son of a burgomaster, was the preceptor of the illegitimate son of Charles X before he became the governor of another crown prince (Charles XII) and was made a count; Nils Gyldenstolpe, who replaced Lindschöld as governor, was the son of professor Michael Wexionius (ennobled in 1650).³²

Andreas Norcopensis, the praeses (i.e. chair or supervisor) of the dissertations analysed here, had a similar background to the men given as examples above. Nordenhielm, as Norcopensis was known after his ennoblement in 1686, is famous in Swedish historiography as the preceptor of the crown prince Charles (subsequently king Charles XII). He worked under the direction of the prince's governor, the aforementioned Erik Lindschöld. The educational material Nordenhielm and the prince used are equally famous. Just as Johann Amos Comenius suggested in *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, Charles drew pictures of animals and wrote their names in Latin and Swedish beside them.³³ Nordenhielm was provided with a detailed *Instruction* (1690)³⁴, held to be the work of Erik Lindschöld. Comparing the dissertations with this instruction provides an opportunity to study educational ideas of the period in some detail, and in close connection to contemporary educational practices of very different kinds.

As professor at Uppsala, Norcopensis presided over a large number of dissertations (88). The subjects range from the nature of sound to suicide³⁵, but issues of

32 Andreas Hellerstedt, "Praeses and Praeceptor: A Late 17th-Century University Dissertation as a 'Mirror for Princes,'" in *Early Modern Academic Culture*, ed. Bo Lindberg, KVHAA Konferenser, 97 (Stockholm: Vitterhetsakademien, 2019).

33 Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm, MS KB D761 (Notes of the crown prince Carl and his teacher Nordenhielm from the years 1688–1692); Johann Amos Comenius, *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, ed. Lars Lindström (Stockholm: HLS Förlag, 2006), 21.

34 Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm, MS KB D 730: INSTRUCTION Huru then Kongl: Maijß: Troo Man och Secreterare af Staten samt hans Kongl: Högheetz, Printz CARLS Praeceptor, Edell och Wällbördig Andreas Nordenhielm uthj hans Kongl: Högheetz Uptuchtelse och Undervijnsning sig hafwer ath rätta. Gifwen STOCKHOLM d 29 Martij Åhr 1690.

35 See Peter Sjökvist, *The Music Theory of Harald Vallerius: Three Dissertations from 17th Century*

moral philosophy and politics are most common. Questions of education also feature quite prominently, and can be seen as a natural part of the chair of rhetoric which Norcopensis held. The three dissertations studied here are thus only a part of a larger number of texts, including titles such as *De Academia*, *Phoenix et Achilles*, etc. The texts I have chosen are entitled *De Educatione Liberorum* (On the education of children), *De Praeceptore et ejus Officio* (On the teacher and his duties) and *De Modo Acquirendi Virtutes* (On how to acquire the virtues).³⁶

Virtue ethics and *ingenium*

Despite covering slightly different topics, the three texts share many common ideas and viewpoints. Most importantly, two key concepts, or rather two clusters of concepts, are central to them. The first of these is the system of Aristotelian virtue ethics, which still influenced university teaching on moral philosophy in Sweden in the late seventeenth century.³⁷ The second is a less systematic set of ideas about human *ingenium*, which has been outlined above. These two sets of ideas represent opposites within human nature, such as it was conceived at the time. Virtue was those character traits or dispositions which we acquire, and thus represent our potential for improvement, or even an ideal humanity. It is the optimistic side of seventeenth century anthropology. *Ingenium*, on the other hand, was that which we cannot change, our natural pre-disposition. In that sense it was more negative, as it represented the limitations of mankind, and of the individual.

Douglas Biow has recently re-examined the classical issue of notions of the individual in the Renaissance and he turned his attention to the importance of notions of that special something, the extraordinary talent, which (in their own eyes at least) distinguished famous artists, writers and other professionals during that period. It served to make them unique individuals:

[...] a number of the practitioners who turned to authorship in the Italian Renaissance were keenly aware that some people will be good at acquiring an art and some people will not, so that no matter how hard or diligently they work at it, an innate magical something, the mysterious raw talent of “ingenium,” was ultimately required to allow a person to make that leap from being a dutiful learner to becoming a remarkable practitioner within a profession.³⁸

Sweden (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2012); Erland Sellberg, ”Berömmelse i döden: Om det rationella självmordet,” in *Utopin i vardagen: Sinnen, kvinnor, idéer: En vänbok till Elisabeth Mansén*, ed. Jenny Leontine Olsson, Anna Ohlsson, Ylva Söderfeldt and Jonas Ellerström (Lund: Ellerströms, 2014), 235–60.

36 Andreas Norcopensis/Carolus Malmenius, *De Educatione Liberorum per Tres Priores Aetates* (pro gradu; Stockholm, 1685), Andreas Norcopensis/Johannes Krutenius, *De Praeceptore et ejus Officio* (pro gradu; Uppsala, 1681a), Andreas Norcopensis/Jonas Bierchienius, *De Modo Acquirendi Virtutes* (pro gradu; Stockholm, 1679). They also share many ideas with other of Norcopensis’ dissertations which I have studied in Hellerstedt (2018b) and ”The Absolute Hero – Heroic Greatness and Royal Absolutism in Sweden 1685–1715,” in *Shaping Heroic Virtue: Studies in the Art and Politics of Supereminence in Europe and Scandinavia*, ed. Stefano Fogelberg Rota and Andreas Hellerstedt (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

37 Bo Lindberg, ”Virtue and Duty: Academic Moral Discourse in Seventeenth Century Sweden,” in *Virtue Ethics and Education from Late Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Andreas Hellerstedt (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018).

38 Biow (2015), 86.

The university dissertations proceed from the then commonly held view of human life as divided into seven separate ages. Of these, the three earliest are relevant to questions of education: *infantia* (from birth to ca 7 years of age), *pueritia* (ca 7–14), and *adolescentia* (ca 14–25). *De Educatione* makes it clear that this division is not universal among pedagogues. Using it seems to be motivated more by pragmatism (it was the most well-known division of human life familiar to the audience and readers). The tri-partite division is coupled with an idea of a progressive differentiation of education, because each stage has its own particular *ingenium*, to which the teacher must take due consideration. Thus, it is the second age “which brings with it those powers, which can respond to the efforts of teaching,” although it is also stressed that it still is very important to respect the tenderness of this age.³⁹ The ideas on the specific nature (*ingenium*) of the different ages of man are similar to those of both John Barclay and Comenius, although none of them uses a seven-stage division. Barclay divides man’s life into four stages (youth being divided in two, *pueritia* and *adolescentia*), while Comenius divides youth into no less than four stages, with corresponding schools: *Gremium Maternum*, *Ludus Literarius* (*Schola Vernacula*), *Schola Latina* (or *Gymnasium*) and *Academia* (including *peregrinationes*); thus Comenius uses the same terms as the dissertation mentioned above, but adds *juventus* as a final stage following *adolescentia*.⁴⁰

It is well-known from studies of early modern school practice that discipline was often harsh.⁴¹ There are also many examples of such discipline being strongly favoured in literature on education and the up-bringing of children in the early seventeenth century.⁴² The foundation for this reasoning was to a large part the theological dogma of original sin. In the three Norcopensis-dissertations, we encounter quite a different standpoint, although man’s fallen nature is not in any way denied. This is in line with many humanist educators, such as Quintilian and Erasmus, who both argued against the use of physical violence.⁴³

In *De Educatione* we read that studies (*literae, studia humaniora*) can be toilsome and sometimes boring, especially for those who are not accustomed to them. But this only means that teaching should be practiced using “play and enjoyment” (“*lusu & oblectatione*”) rather than “harsh punishment” (“*dura castigatione*”). This will attract the students towards their studies rather than fill them with disgust for them. This view may be borrowed from Comenius’ *Didactica Magna*, although this is not

39 “[...] haec aetas eas secum afferat vires, quae discendi laboribus respondere possint [...]” Norcopensis (1685), 20.

40 A much more ambitious dissertation for which Norcopensis was the praeses, *Gubernacula Imperii Togati*, includes several references to Barclay’s *Icon Animorum*; Andreas Norcopensis/Hemming Forelius, *Gubernacula Imperii Togati*. Ex Flor. lib. I. cap. 2. §. 4. [...] (Stockholm, 1681b); John Barclay, *Icon Animorum or The Mirror of Minds*, ed. Mark Riley (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2013), chapter 1; Comenius (1657), 165; Possevino also describes different classes and teachers suited for students of different abilities, Possevino (1622), 111.

41 Ödman (1998).

42 Englund, ”Böj ditt barns hals: Adlig barnuppfostran och skolning under stormaktstiden,” i *Barn i slott och koja* (Skövde: Västergötlands turistråd, 1986), especially 47–50; Englund focuses on education among the nobility, and adds only in passing that new educational ideas challenged the older strictness, a strictness which Englund connects with the reformation.

43 E. g. Quintilian (2001), 2:4:10; Erasmus, *De Pueris*, Erasmus (1971), 54–63.

acknowledged. In fact Comenius is never mentioned.⁴⁴ The idea to make studies more appealing using games was common in the humanist tradition. It was closely related to the question of individual *ingenia*. Similar expressions are also found in Possevino (who is referenced), who wishes that “& lusus ipse eruditio sit” by the use of letters of wood such as St. Jerome advocated, and that other “honest amusements” (“jocis honestis”) should be used which excite the pupil’s talents (“excitentur ingenia”).⁴⁵ Indeed, the idea that play or games could be a part of education can be found in several Classical and Renaissance educational writers. Plato seems to advocate play in education in *Laws* 643B-C. Quintilian presents his teaching methods as a form of *lusus* several times.⁴⁶ Vives says that while play (*ludus*) is a form of recreation, it can also be used for educational purposes: “they should speak Latin when playing, and according to the rules of the game, penalties should be incurred for those who speak in their mother tongue.”⁴⁷ However, Comenius systematised the idea that learning should take the form of a game, especially in *Schola Ludus*, a collection of constructed dramatical dialogues. The prologue to that work is in effect a treatise on the school as play or game. In this work, Comenius wishes to show “how all schools can be turned into play.”⁴⁸

This is also true of the *Instruction* for the crown prince’s education, in which the teacher is similarly advised to plant a desire for learning languages in the prince. To avoid letting him get fed up with Latin grammar, “Tabulae compendianae” should be used. The preceptor should see to it that the prince always has “Tabulas Chronologicas and Geographicas” in his chambers, so that he may learn geography “as if by playing.”⁴⁹ Both the *Instruction* and *De educatione* as a whole, however, argue for striking a balance between on the one hand too strict and harsh forms of discipline, and on the other an excess of love, which only nurtures vice.⁵⁰

The thesis put forward by Vives and Huarte, that individual talent should determine academic specialisation, was very influential in seventeenth century Europe. It is clear that this view is well known by the authors of the dissertations. They stress that it is important to observe the specific talents of the students and their natural inclinations (“ingenii dona, animique naturales propensiones”), as these vary very much from one individual to another. The teacher is advised to first examine the “disease” and its causes before he administers his medication, just like a physician: the teacher should examine the *ingenia* of his students and entice the power of their talent before he begins teaching them.⁵¹

44 Norcopensis (1685), 20–21. Comenius, *Didactica Magna*, in Comenius (1657), 79, 83.

45 Possevino (1622), 76, 91, (quotes at p. 76). Quintilian has letters of ivory, Quintilian (2001), 1:1:26, Erasmus, *De pueris* adds cakes baked in the form of letters, which the pupils can eat, Erasmus (1971), 70.

46 Quintilian (2001), 1:1:26; also 1:1:20, 1:1:36, 1:3:10–11; Erasmus develops the same idea in *De pueris*, Erasmus (1971), 66–73.

47 “Latine inter ludendum loquentur, statuta illi poena ex ratione ludi, qui patrio sermone erit usus.” Vives (1636), 503.

48 “Quomodo Scholae omnes in Ludos verti possent.” John Amos Comenius, *Schola Ludus*, in Comenius (1657), [viii–ix].

49 *Instruction*, 14, 16, 18. The *Instruction* shows many similarities to Erasmus, *De Ratione Studii* in particular.

50 Norcopensis (1685), 31–32, 33–36. Possevino (1622), 97–98 also advocates a “mediocritas” of freedom, although perhaps more from fear of heresy (a fear that permeates that work).

51 Norcopensis (1681a), 11–12.

The starting point, in other words, is the distinction between the gifts with which we are born and the knowledge and skills we acquire during the course of our lives. After the fall, man is like a ship without a captain: we are unable to control our desires. Within man a battle is being fought between reason and “our depraved desires.”⁵² This battle is particularly intense during youth. Children and adolescents do not understand their own good and are naturally inclined towards evil, the dissertations state.⁵³ This sentiment is clearly reflected in the *Instruction* as well. In fact, young princes are even more prone to give in to the temptations and weaknesses of youth, as a result of their exposed position.⁵⁴

Education, however, can work as a counterweight, balancing the limitations of man’s (evil) nature. Interestingly, the dissertation *De Educatione* develops this position using arguments from natural law, with a direct reference to Pufendorf’s *De Jure Naturae et Gentium* (published in Sweden in 1672). Parents are obliged by the law of nature to care for their children, and thereby save them from the misery of their natural state, it is argued.⁵⁵ The result of the counterbalance is virtue, in turn defined in commonplace fashion as mastery of the passions through the exercise of reason, as explained in *De Educatione*,⁵⁶ and developed at length in *De Modo Acquirendi Virtutes*. One’s actions should be directed by *recta ratio*, that is, adhere to the right measure or mean, whereby the passions are held in check.⁵⁷

According to the dissertations, a “seed” of virtue is considered to remain in man, despite the inherent depravity (*pravitas*) of mankind after the fall. This seed is the material with which education has to work. Like man’s natural sinfulness, the seed of virtue is something with which we are born (“a nativitate inhaerentia”). It is what makes us able to distinguish good from evil. However, this ability is severely diminished (by original sin), and seldom bears fruit without being awakened by an appropriate education (“*commoda excitentur educatione*”).⁵⁸

The plant metaphor often associated with Aristotelian virtue ethics⁵⁹ is prominent in all the dissertations as well as the *Instruction*. Education is cultivation: if the seed is not sown in good, well-worked soil, and the plant not watered, it will fail. A description gathered from Pseudo-Plutarch is only one of several variants of this metaphor: as in agriculture, where not only seeds, but good soil and a skilled farmer is needed, virtue requires a good nature (in the student), a good teacher, and good precepts.⁶⁰ In this particular version, the seeds are the precepts, and not the good nature of the student. In fact, seeds, soil and hard work seem to be thought of as being

52 Norcopensis (1685), 3.

53 Norcopensis (1685), 3–4, 12–13, Norcopensis (1681a), 3.

54 ”många vägar och tillfällen [...] thäri genom förnähme Herrars, och serdeles Furstars och Konungars barn kunna blifwa förledde och utj sine unga Åhr brachte till Öfwermod och Egensinnigheet [...]” *Instruction*, 2–3.

55 Norcopensis (1685), 13–15; the reference is to Samuel Pufendorf, *De jure naturae et gentium libri octo* (Lund, 1672), 4:2, §4.

56 With a quotation from dutch philosopher Adrianus Heereboord’s (1614–1661) ethics reason is described as a king, against whom desire rebels. Norcopensis (1685), 5.

57 Norcopensis (1679), 11–14.

58 Norcopensis (1685), 5.

59 Hellerstedt (2018a); see also Comenius, *Didactica Magna*, in Comenius (1657), chapter 5.

60 Norcopensis (1679), 6; similar wording in Norcopensis (1681a), 2.

required in both student and teacher. As we will see, virtue and *ingenium* are just as important in the teacher as it is in the student.

It is also important to begin early, as children are particularly malleable and impressionable. With a Swedish proverb, the necessity of laying the foundations at an early age is stressed. The child is like a young plant, which is best formed as it shoots from the root: "Bend the branch while it is still pliable."⁶¹ The notion that children and adolescents are particularly impressionable is founded on Aristotelian epistemology and Galenic theory, both of which were commonplaces at the time.⁶² From Aristotle comes the notion of the human soul as a "tabula rasa"—a term which only later became associated with John Locke's philosophy. Aristotle's view was similar, but in many ways also more complex than Locke's. Aristotle was, to an extent, an empiricist. Man gains knowledge from the generalization from sense experience. When Comenius uses Aquinas' expression "there is nothing in the intellect which was not first in the senses," it is this Aristotelian form of empiricism he is associating himself with.⁶³ Of particular interest to the present context is the way in which the sense information is thought to be impressed on us. The choice of the wax tablet-metaphor is no coincidence; in fact, it gives an important clue to how sense perception and understanding are thought to work in this paradigm. If the modern (Descartes' or Locke's) views primarily consider sense perception and ideas to be a question of images (in our mind), Aristotle seems to think of perception, at its most basic level, as a kind of touch. Furthermore, sense organs become "like" the object perceived in the process of perception: they receive the forms of objects, but not their matter. Thus, in my view, it helps to take the image of the wax being impressed upon by an external object quite literally. This metaphor seems to be relevant to much more than just the issue of sense perception, or even epistemology. In fact, in *De Anima*, Aristotle describes the unity of soul and body (form and substance) as such as the unity of the shape of wax and the wax itself.⁶⁴

The wax-metaphor needs some qualification. In the dissertation *De Educatione* this is done by building on the modern Dutch philosopher Heereboord. Using Aristotelian terminology, the dissertation stresses that man is born with certain basic mental capabilities; we are not in a simple way a clean wax-tablet. Instead we have a *potential*, which needs to be *actualised* through the use of our intellectual faculties, and it is only "[...] in this respect of actual cognition, in which the soul is called an erased tablet [...]."⁶⁵

61 "Wridh wedian medan hon är miuk." Norcopensis (1685), 23; this is very similar to Erasmus, *De Pueris*; Rebecca W. Bushnell, *A Culture of Teaching: Early Modern Humanism in Theory and Practice* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1996), 95.

62 Norcopensis seems to have been quite open to new ideas, such as those of Descartes, whose system was surrounded by a great deal of controversy in late seventeenth century Sweden; see Sjökvist (2012). In the dissertations on politics and moral philosophy I have studied however, there are no significant traces of Cartesian philosophy.

63 The expression is found in the preface to Comenius's *Orbis* (original German edition of 1658); Comenius (2006), 18.

64 Thomas J. Slakey, "Aristotle on Sense Perception," *The Philosophical Review*, 70, no. 4 (1961), 470–84. Pseudo-Plutarch, *The Education of Children, 3e–f, Moralia*, vol 1 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927) uses a similar image and Possevino (1622), 75 uses the wax metaphor as well, as does Erasmus, *De Pueris*; Bushnell (1996), 95–96.

65 "[...] hujus actualis cognitionis respectu, anima dicitur tabula rasa [...]." Norcopensis (1685), 6–7.

The characteristics of the matter which education seeks to shape are not unimportant. However, it is not because the child is matter without form that it is receptive to education. That would, strictly speaking, be impossible. Aristotelian psychology explains why man in general is dependent on the senses for knowledge. The Galenic theory of the four humours provided the explanation as to why children are particularly impressionable. Children were thought to be characterised by a cold and moist temperament, and consequently they were soft and malleable. With age, man would dry up and harden.⁶⁶ The fact that children are impressionable and malleable in this way is apparently something of a double-edged sword. It does facilitate learning, but it also makes young minds particularly receptive to vice and sin. Coupled with long standing Christian teachings on original sin, it is not surprising that children were considered more receptive to negative impressions.⁶⁷

But it is clearly not only a question of preventing moral vice. To awaken the student's talent (his *ingenium*) is considered important in the *Instruction* for purely intellectual reasons as well. In his exercises with the prince, Nordenhielm is instructed to see to it that he constantly discusses and reflects on the texts read "so that [his] *ingenium* and *judicium* may thereby be sharpened and awakened."⁶⁸ Consequently, the aim of education is to put this innate foundation in a correct form of activity, to awaken or entice those gifts of nature which are there, as it were, sleeping, in man.⁶⁹ We do not achieve virtue from nature unaided, but through "daily habituation, frequent exercise"; as habit of course is as a "second nature."⁷⁰

This means that whoever wishes to excel in something, whether it be mathematics, logic, drawing or military bravery, should exercise his *ingenium* in those actions, which result in a stance (*habitus*) corresponding to that particular virtue (or skill). Those who wish to be brave should simply perform brave actions: "For such as the actions are, so will the stance generated by them be: from good actions a good stance, from bad actions the opposite." In short, habituation (*assuefactio*) is the immediate cause of virtue. Because this means a frequent repetition of morally righteous actions, learning and education should be directed towards this purpose.⁷¹ It is difficult to determine exactly how many actions are sufficient to obtain virtue—this varies according to the individual's *ingenium*—but a person who abstains from bodily pleasures *gladly* is clearly temperate, while the person who does so only *with pain* is still intemperate; a forced virtue is no virtue at all.⁷²

This view, then, seems to underline the need for repetition. To modern eyes, it might seem odd that moral goodness should be taught in the same way as playing an instrument or learning to write, but such metaphors are very prominent in the material. In fact, Julia Annas, a philosopher and expert on Classical virtue ethics, has taken up this point as characteristic of virtue ethics, calling it the "skill analogy."

66 Possevino (1622), 34–35.

67 Norcopensis (1681a), 5.

68 "så att ingenium och judicium därigenom må hwässas och upwäckas," *Instruction*, 22.

69 Norcopensis (1685), 7.

70 Norcopensis (1685), 9, 31, 25; Norcopensis (1679), 5.

71 "Quales enim sunt actiones, talis inde generatur habitus, à bonis quidem bonus, à malis autem contrarius." Norcopensis (1679), 10.

72 Norcopensis (1679), 14–15.

However, Annas also points out that virtue-as-skill in this sense does not exclude intellectual reflection.⁷³

In more general terms it may be expressed like this: the goal of education is to awaken the pupil's intellectual capacities and thereby make possible the reign of right reason over the passions. Furthermore, wisdom is in itself one of the virtues, but the individual virtues are dependent on one another. A learned man without good morals is like a soldier without a sword, and such learning is like an empty treasure chest.⁷⁴

Education in service of the state

Despite the lofty declarations of education as a shaping of moral virtue, the education discussed in these texts is legitimated through utility for the state.⁷⁵ This is hardly surprising when considering the context in which they were written. The period in question coincides with the introduction of absolutist rule in Sweden (traditionally dated to 1680). The development of the early modern state with a concomitant increase in legislation, professionalised and expanded bureaucracy, and a general trend of regulation and intervention, not least into the private morality of individual subjects, is a common theme in seventeenth century historiography.⁷⁶ The authors of these dissertations repeatedly underscore the need for education in appropriate political virtues. The person who will be serving the fatherland must have experience and be trained in political prudence. But the relation is also the reverse: in yet another Aristotelian echo, the state is described as a *seminarium* in the original sense of the word (nursery garden, seed bed). For it is the state which enables the growth and flourishing of virtue.⁷⁷

The dissertations point out that the raw material is not evenly distributed among the subjects, but it is of the utmost importance that the state makes the most of them. Thus, human *ingenia* are a resource, which the state must exploit. However, it cannot be harvested if it has not been well cultivated, and so the state must nurture and care for this resource if it wishes to benefit from it. And this requires knowledge of these talents. The role of the teacher as a talent scout thus becomes an important one. It is during adolescence (*adolescentia*, 14–25 years) an assessment can be made of individual *ingenia*, and it is possible to make the adolescents choose those studies to which nature leads them, “because nature is its own judge” as one of the dissertations

73 Julia Annas, *Intelligent Virtue* (Oxford Scholarship Online, 2011), especially chapter 3.

74 Norcopensis (1985), 25–26. This echoes Quintilian (2001), proemium, 9, 13, 18.

75 As is often the case in this period, it is difficult to distinguish between what we in modern terms would call state and society; most often, *res publica* can be interpreted as being both, which is also in line with then-current political theories, such as Pufendorf and Hobbes, both of which were used by Norcopensis (see for instance Norcopensis (1681b)).

76 Significant studies on this subject include Sven A. Nilsson, *De stora krigens tid: Om Sverige som militärstat och bondesamhälle* (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1990), Jan Lindegren, “Den svenska militärstaten,” in *Magtstaten i Norden i 1600-tallet og de sociale konsekvenser*, Rapport til den XIX nordiske historikerkongress Odense 1984, bind 1 (Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag, 1986), and more recently, Joachim Scherp, *De ofrälse och makten: En institutionell studie av riksdagen och de ofrälse ståndens politik i maktodelningsfrågor 1660–1682* (Stockholm: Stockholm University, 2013).

77 Norcopensis (1685), 8–11 and 23–24.

interestingly puts it.⁷⁸ This is why parents who force their children to certain studies make a grave mistake, if this is done, as the saying went, “*invita Minerva*.” “For as talents are different, so talents are also differently inclined.”⁷⁹ One talent is appropriate for service within the church, another for the civil service, one for war, another for peaceful studies, one for music, another for crafts or manual arts, and so on. Each of them should be directed towards that which his nature inclines him to: “For whoever follows the inclination of his nature performs his duties successfully.”⁸⁰

There are certainly those who should be dissuaded from school and academic studies altogether, but this is only proper for those who show “obvious signs of stupidity and difficult talent.”⁸¹ This is important, because some show a slow and tardy *ingenium* to start with, but are able to improve themselves significantly and should therefore be handled with patience, so that they do not lose hope. Even those who may not have what it takes to reach the very summit of learning may at least do better. Furthermore, those who have a strong desire for studies may, despite being somewhat slow, compensate for what nature has denied them through hard work.⁸²

These differing talents are also important in understanding virtue ethics. We have seen how man was considered to be born with a certain individual nature or talent, but that he must also cultivate this nature through training, habit, education. Which of these is more important is still unclear. And how exactly does this happen? First, it is stated repeatedly that “some claim” that virtue is given once and for all by nature. This view is at one point connected to the stoics, perhaps not entirely fairly.⁸³ It is likely that this discussion rather aims at those debates that were so important during the beginning and middle of the seventeenth century, when virtue was discussed in connection with the legitimate grounds for noble status.⁸⁴ The dissertations do not give any support to the view that there is any form of natural inequality, for instance among the estates. This is entirely in line with modern natural law, as in Pufendorf or Hobbes, according to whom estates would be an artificial institution, and not natural. Thus, it is claimed that virtue is not a direct consequence of our nature (our temperament). However, this nature does *incline* us towards certain virtues and vices, makes us suited for learning certain things, and so on.⁸⁵

This does not mean that some are good by nature, while others must struggle to be so. On the contrary, it is those who have the most extraordinary gifts and sharpest talent who have the greatest need for education. Just like the fattest soil can be overgrown with weeds if neglected, an extraordinarily talented individual will turn into the worst kind (of sinner) if his education is neglected. The good man can be better,

78 “*quoniam natura sui ipsius est iudex*,” Norcopensis (1985), 27.

79 “*Ut enim varia sunt ingenia, ita ad varia propendent*.” Norcopensis (1685), 27, Norcopensis (1681a), 12.

80 “*Quisquis autem sequitur inclinationem naturae suae, is felicius negotium absolvit*.” Norcopensis (1685), 27–28, quote, 28.

81 “*aperta stupiditatis & ingenii difficilimi signa*,” Norcopensis (1679), 15, similarly also, p. 12.

82 Norcopensis (1679), 15–16; Possevino (1622), likewise recommends patience with those who are slower, 92.

83 Norcopensis (1681a), 5, 9.

84 Discussed at length in Peter Englund, *Det hotade huset: Adliga föreställningar om samhället under stormaktstiden* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 1989).

85 Norcopensis (1681a), 4.

but the one who is not so excellent can be corrected and sharpened by education.⁸⁶ Clearly, the reasoning is the same whether the issue is acquiring knowledge or moral virtue; the processes hardly seem distinguishable at all. It is in our power to develop the seeds we possess through our bodily temperament, even though that temperament as such cannot be changed.⁸⁷ Once again it seems that an optimistic view of human nature co-exists with the Lutheran doctrine of man's sinfulness. What is perhaps more worthy of note, however, is the fact that the Galenic medical system seems to be at least as important here. The medicalisation of education is the most distinctive feature of this discussion.⁸⁸ It also seems that this view of individual talent lends itself to an elitist interpretation, although this is an elitism based on individual talent rather than profession, wealth, inheritance, or social status.

It is interesting to consider the question of the education of kings against this background. Similar ideas on the student's individual *ingenium* can be found in the Instruction, as has already been noted. In contrast to contemporary panegyric, extraordinary intellectual talents are by no means taken for granted in the royal student. On the contrary, it is evident that the document considers the possibility of a prince struggling with those academic studies that he by this time *had to* undertake to manage the duties of a modern absolute monarch. As has already been mentioned, the preceptor is repeatedly admonished to ensure that the royal student is not bored and tires of his studies. Nordenhielm is to direct the prince's studies "according to his condition, and the nature of the high office," but also so as to avoid "the boredom and disinclination for studies, which might easily creep into the mind of His Royal Highness, if one were to burden him too much at first with such unpleasant grammatical exercises instead of pleasant, enjoyable, and useful historical tales" such as children in general, and the prince in particular, prefer.⁸⁹ Such historical studies should be led by the preceptor in such a way that they may "be held to be a play and enjoyment" by the crown prince.⁹⁰

The teacher's *ingenium*

So far, we have considered the views on education in these dissertations mainly from the viewpoint of the student. They have much to say about the teacher as well. In doing so, they tell us that university education could occasionally be quite close to professional teaching practice in the seventeenth century, even though this was perhaps not normally the case. *De Praeceptore* was defended by the student Johan (Johannes) Krutenius, who according to the title page was "*Scholae Trivialis corrector designatus.*"

86 Norcopensis (1681), 8–9, similarly in Norcopensis (1679), 3; an almost identical expression is found in Possevino (1622), 71, but also in Erasmus' *Institutio*; Bushnell (1996), 99.

87 Norcopensis (1681), 4–7.

88 Medicalisation is often assumed to be a development of the modern (i.e. nineteenth century) world, but the term fits well in an early modern context as well. Compare, for example, Stephen Petrina, "The Medicalization of Education: A Historiographic Synthesis," *History of Education Quarterly* 46, no. 4 (2000), 504.

89 "effter hans wilckor, och det höga Embetetz Art och egenskap;" "den Leedsamheet och det mißhag till studia, som lättel: kunde insmyga sig utj hans Kongl: Högheetz sinne, om man wille beswärä honom alt för myckit i förstonne med sådane obehagelige Grammaticalska Underwijsningar i stället för angenähme, lustige, och nyttige historiske berättelser," Instruction, 17.

90 "hällas för een Leek och Lust," Instruction, 19.

He was, in other words, already designated co-teacher at the trivial school in Uppsala, presumably already working as a teacher when he defended this dissertation. The subject matter has obvious bearing on his present and future profession. Most likely it is the words of Krutenius the practicing teacher we hear when we read that the work of a teacher is laborious: he must lecture, listen, repeat, admonish, punish, and so on, “as anyone who has taught in trivial schools can testify.”⁹¹

Professor Norcopensis was also—to use the terminology of the dissertation itself—both *praeceptor publicus* and *praeceptor privatus*. Furthermore, educational theory was a subject of the highest relevance to many of the students. A large part of them were at this time sons of clergymen who would in turn become ministers after their studies. For them, the teacher’s profession was a potential career, even though it did not perhaps have the status of a parsonage.

Moreover, it is interesting to note how the dissertations seem to avoid rather than confront the issue of private versus public education. In fact, no distinction is made between them, although it is briefly mentioned that others discuss them separately.⁹² It is diplomatically stated that young boys should be given private instruction in parallel with their public schooling, as this prevents them from living in idleness, but also because they can thereby learn the ways of the region in which they will be serving the state.⁹³

In *De Praeceptore*, the duties of the teacher are deduced from the etymology of the word *praeceptor*. They are divided in three: in essence, the teacher should prescribe, prevent and prohibit (although the actual etymology is not as straightforward as that). This means that he should both direct and order the studies and perform the duties of a parent in the parent’s absence, shaping his pupil’s character through example, encouragement, correction and discipline.⁹⁴

Most importantly, and once more illustrative of the parallels between virtue ethics and formal schooling, the teacher must be such as he wishes the student to become. He must, first and foremost, teach by his own example.⁹⁵ Young people more than others follow the examples of others, and they require a firm hand. Therefore, it is more important that the teacher is an honest, honourable man than that he is learned. Thus, virtue ethics is of central importance to the teacher just as it is for the student. The purpose of education appears to be equated with virtue: “For what is more sweet to a good nature, than following in the footsteps of his teacher and shaping his ways after his example?”⁹⁶ This is dependent on the impressionability of youth: because they are so malleable it often happens that one can observe the vices of the teacher in the students, as in a mirror.⁹⁷

91 Norcopensis (1681a), 8–9.

92 Norcopensis (1681a), 3–4.

93 Norcopensis (1685), 23–24.

94 Norcopensis (1681a), 3–4.

95 Norcopensis (1681a), 4–5.

96 “Nam quid dulcius bonae indoli, quam magistri sui vestigia insistere, atque ad ejus vivum exemplum mores suos formare.” Norcopensis (1685), 23.

97 Norcopensis (1685), 5–6. Possevino (1622), 77, holds that it is more important that the teacher is “fide Catholicus” than that he is learned. The mirror metaphor is used by Pseudo-Plutarch (1927), 14a.

The word education (*educatio*) comes from the Latin for “lead,” which fits nicely with the idea of the teacher as an example. The teacher’s act of leading is described as an Ariadne’s thread leading through the labyrinth of vice to the road of virtue.⁹⁸ The metaphor is perhaps most prominent in the *Instruction*, which describes itself as a “banister” (*ledestång*) and a “guideline” (*ett Rättesnöre*) for the preceptor, and it urges the prince to follow “every good path” (*all good wäg*) and avoid being wayled (*wille stigar*).⁹⁹ It is stressed that the teacher must master the method of teaching, and that a good teacher is methodical. Unfortunately, the specifics of this method are not given in any detail. However the word “method” is used as a synonym for “road” (“*ratio*,” “*methodus*,” “*via*”); a good teacher should be able to show the way to learning, and it is better to show the right way at once than to be able to return the students to it when already lost. Furthermore, it is important that the teacher excels in both the generals and the details. The impression is one of leading the students step by step.¹⁰⁰ The method can therefore be understood as a form of guidance. Such a method would be closer to the practice of a private teacher than a lecturing professor.

The teacher should also be learned in those subjects he will be teaching, so that a “blind does not lead the blind.” This is connected to the issue of individual talent, which is applicable to the teacher as well. For instance, one of the dissertations lauds the old Persian custom (as described by Plato) of having one teacher for each of the cardinal virtues.¹⁰¹ As the teacher must be attentive to students’ individual gifts, one must also be very thorough in selecting teachers—everyone is not suited for this profession.¹⁰² But neither is everyone fit to teach everything. If one’s knowledge is proper only for teaching younger children, one should not try and fail in working on higher levels. Such a teacher will often do a better job and enjoy it more than one who is more learned, the dissertation adds.¹⁰³ In fact, this is a general problem: a teacher who possesses an all too “sharp ingenium” might react with anger at his students’ sloth and ignorance, and this would be unjust.¹⁰⁴ Interestingly, learning and good morals are not enough, although they are, as we have seen, very important. The teacher must also possess a certain “aptness for teaching” (*aptitudo ad docendum*). He should have a talent for the profession and a natural authority with children, so that they learn gladly and successfully.¹⁰⁵ Here, perhaps more than anywhere else, the dissertations do come close to that slightly deterministic view of natural talent espoused by Vives and Huarte.¹⁰⁶

98 Norcopensis (1685), 7–8. Ariadne’s thread is also the metaphor used for the right teaching method in bishop Gezelius’ preface to the Swedish edition of Comenius’ *Orbis* (1682); Comenius (2006), 24; it is also found in Erasmus, *De Ratione Studii*, Erasmus (1971), 111. The road as metaphor for moral virtue has many older roots, in both Greek philosophy and the Bible.

99 *Instruction*, 2, 5.

100 Norcopensis (1679), 7–8.

101 Norcopensis (1681a), 9.

102 Norcopensis (1679), 4–5.

103 Norcopensis (1679), 7–8.

104 “*acuto ingenio*,” Norcopensis (1679), 9.

105 Norcopensis (1679), 9.

106 It also contrasts with Quintilian who argued that the very best teacher will be an excellent teacher for young children as well as more advanced students; Quintilian (2001), 2:3:1–12.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we can affirm that virtue ethics was central to the views on education presented in the dissertations from Uppsala university towards the end of the seventeenth century. The Aristotelian definition of virtue, which states that virtue is a good in itself, which simultaneously has good effects¹⁰⁷ and that virtue is “nature perfected and brought to its height”¹⁰⁸ is the philosophical basis for the weight put on moral philosophy in these pedagogical ideas. A good education does indeed bring knowledge, but, above all, it shapes good human beings through an activity, which disposes us towards virtue by habituating us in acting well. These ideas on the cultivation of one’s individual *ingenium* are a moral philosophy turned into education. This is only natural, as Aristotelian virtue ethics was to a large degree always already an education turned into moral philosophy. This view also greatly influenced educational classics like Quintilian and Vives, who in turn influenced the authors of these dissertations.

The discussions of individual *ingenia* in pupils can also be seen as reflecting contemporary social developments. The educational system in seventeenth century Sweden was to a large part created to serve the requirements of a new form of state and a new society. The state administration had a great need of competent civil servants. In the era of Lutheran orthodoxy, higher levels of education among clergymen were required. In the bourgeois professions and the rapidly expanding armed forces, mathematics, science, and practical skills were in greater demand. As has been pointed out before, this led to a greater need for educational differentiation, and this differentiation was also reflected in great reforms of schools, gymnasia, and universities in the course of the century. As a result, it is clear that education could be a powerful vehicle of social mobility. The debate over *delectus ingeniorum* was a recurrent theme in Swedish educational history in the seventeenth century.¹⁰⁹ The material dealt with here has shown very clearly that teachers on different levels in the system were intended to serve as a form of gatekeepers, selecting talents and directing them to such studies as they thought appropriate.

Just like literary historian Rebecca W. Bushnell, I would like to emphasise the double nature of early modern (humanist) education: it was full of paradoxes and balancing acts. It wished education to be both play and work, both free and regulated, both subjection and liberation. With Bushnell, I would also describe early modern humanist education as a tool, which could and was used for widely different purposes, and not a coherent ideology.¹¹⁰ The dissertations I have discussed seem to me to represent a socially progressive rather than conservative set of ideas in that they seem very useful for legitimating new relations of power and influence: They argue that, at least in theory, everyone can better themselves morally and intellectually through education. Few were selected for this education, but for those who were it could lead to the highest offices in church and government.

107 Norcopensis (1681a), 1–2.

108 “perfecta & ad summum perducta natura,” Norcopensis (1681a), 2.

109 Sjöstrand (1965), 204–5, 208, 232, 235–36, 257–58, 268–88.

110 Bushnell (1996), 17–20, 44, 73–76, 82–83, 114–27. In Bushnell’s excellent work, the complex relationship between James VI (I) and his tutor, the celebrated poet and political writer Buchanan, serves to illustrate these contradictions in a striking way.

The modern element in these texts is the medical model used to describe, analyse, and explain differences in talent, in both teachers and pupils. Bantock has argued that the seventeenth century was characterised by a general development towards greater differentiation in education, in tandem with increased differentiation in society at large. This was the reason behind the break with Renaissance humanism. It created “individual autonomy and personality differentiation” as a result of a differentiation of social roles, in his view.¹¹¹ But, as we have seen, it also entailed a degree of medical determinism, which was a part of a general development towards determinism following the scientific revolution. And while this development could sometimes mean that the scope for social mobility was widened, the texts also bear witness to a wish to survey, judge, and control raw talents, as an important resource of the state.

¹¹¹ Bantock (1980), 3, 20, 27, 46, 54–55, 58, 62, 64, 106–12, 191–193, 205–6; quote on p. 3.

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Book Reviews

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Dissertations

Annika Wickman

Filmen i försvarets tjänst:

*Undervisningsfilm i svensk militär
utbildning 1920–1939*

[Film in the Defence Forces' service: Educational film within Swedish military training, 1920–1939]

Stockholm University (PhD diss.)
2018, 248 pp.

In the 1910s and 1920s, film was a new, cutting-edge media technology. It was not only immensely popular with the crowds that filled the palace-like cinemas of the period. Film also attracted the attention of all kinds of dreamers and visionaries—including teachers and educationalists. In Sweden, not least some military officers were enthused by the potential of using film as part of military training.

In a ground-breaking study, media historian Annika Wickman demonstrates how these officers saw film as a modern, rational and efficient teaching media that could save both time and material resources, as for example large-scale military manoeuvres could be caught on film and thus re-used for demonstration in military classrooms all over the country. Moreover, enthusiastic officers believed that the power of educational films went far beyond such practical demonstrations. Film could

be used to narrow the educational gap between the rural and urban youth, educate young men about their common fatherland, and improve national integration and patriotic motivation among the conscripts.

Already in the 1910s, makeshift cinemas were in operation in Swedish military garrisons. They screened both fiction and non-fiction films, primarily in order to entertain the soldiers and fight boredom during off-duty hours. In Germany, however, film was purposefully used as part of military training as early as 1912. The First World War forcefully brought film into military settings all over the Western world, mainly as a way of entertaining the troops and maintaining morale during the nerve-racking trench warfare. Yet the production of military training films also picked up speed during the war in forerunner military powers such as Great Britain, France and the USA.

The first proposals to use film as a regular part of Swedish military training were made during the First World War. Developments picked up speed in 1920, as a group of Swedish officers interested in film founded an association for the production and distribution of military training films. This new association, *Armé- och Marinfilm* (Army and Navy Film, AMF), would over the years see most Swedish military units joining its ranks and using the association's extensive film rental services.

The activities of AMF and the films

it produced are the object of Annika Wickman's 2018 dissertation in film studies, *Film in the Defence Forces' service: Educational film within Swedish military training 1920–1939*. Through a broad empirical survey of visual as well as printed and archival sources, Wickman traces the discussions and activities among film-interested Swedish officers, as well as the uses of educational films within Swedish military training through the period between the First and Second World War.

Over time, AMF acquired a vast library of more than 7,500 films. The association was deeply involved both in the production and international exchange of military training films. The AMF made new films tailored to the needs of Swedish military units, but also imported films from, for example, Germany and France, and exported Swedish military film to other countries. The AMF productions of military training films were commissioned and financed by the national military authorities, but otherwise the association was organised as a private-sector production company.

Wickman positions her study as part of the media history of the armed forces, as well as the vibrant research on “useful cinema” or “films that work” within the discipline of film studies. This includes research on how film has been used by organisations for various internal purposes such as staff training or civic education. Wickman does not, however, position her work as part of the history of education, although this could have been another fruitful contextualisation. Neither does she therefore discuss the military educational films as part of a wider context of how film was used for educational purposes in Sweden in the period. Only in the concluding chapter is it mentioned that the educational films produced by *Svensk Filmindustri*

(Swedish Film Industry, the major Swedish corporation for production and distribution of film since the 1920s) were yearly seen by four million viewers around 1930. This phenomenon, it seems, is still waiting for closer exploration by historians of education.

Wickman's analytical interest is rather in the organisational and technical conditions of military film production. The four main chapters of the dissertation focus on the actors around AMF and their stated objectives, the production process of its military educational films, the practices of showing and viewing film in the military classroom, as well as the visual semantics of a large selection of AMF films.

The most fascinating chapter, from the point of view of educational history, is perhaps Wickman's masterly reconstruction and analysis of the screening practices used in the military classroom. Mainly on the basis of texts printed in AMF's own magazine, she is able to reconstruct how military classrooms were adapted for screening, the challenges and restrictions posed by projector technology, and the interaction between the teaching officer and the moving pictures. The normal practice in the 1920s was evidently that the teacher would pause the film at short intervals, in order to explain the frozen image on the screen. Films were thus rather educational aids to lecturing than an independent teaching media. In the 1930s, however, a shift took place towards screening whole films without interruptions and the teacher commenting only after the film. As Wickman concludes, the agency of the military teacher was increasingly restricted as he had to adapt his teaching to the film, rather than the other way around. At the same time, increasing efforts to standardise military teaching through centralised

planning worked in the same direction.

Wickman's treatment of the contents of the military films is, however, somewhat bewildering to this reader. She has viewed and analysed 80 films out of the 634 films from the interwar period in the AMF archive, focusing on those most relevant for a study of military training films. Yet she pays little attention to the subject matters and educational purposes of the films. She does not seem interested in what topics were typically taught by means of film or what skills, knowledges or attitudes the films were intended to teach to the viewers. Instead, her chapter on the contents of the military educational films focuses on the visual elements in the films, such as the graphic design of the text plates, the use of diagrams and graphics, the visual representation and cropping of bodies and faces, or how the pictured soldiers related to the camera.

An interesting detail mentioned in the book is that the chief of the General Staff, Bo Boustedt, disapproved of plans to make propaganda films intended to boost patriotic motivation among the conscripts. In a letter to the AMF, written in 1931, Boustedt claimed that due to their individualistic national character, Swedish conscripts were suspicious of any manipulative efforts from the authorities. Only films that had no obvious intention of guiding the viewers' thinking in a certain direction could have a genuine influence on Swedish audiences, he argued. If this was a wide-spread attitude among the Swedish military leadership, it might explain why the films produced by AMF seem to have been either documentary films about festive military events and major manoeuvre exercises, or very technical training films instructing the viewers in the execution of different military activities.

Another bewildering element in this dissertation is its handling of theory. As the author frankly declares, the initial empirical survey of the sources was made without any particular theoretical framework. Neither does the structure of the book or the bulk of the analysis seem to have been guided by any explicated theoretical model. Which works just fine: Wickman has done an impressively broad and thorough empirical groundwork in order to tell the important and hitherto untold story of AMF and the educational use of film in the armed forces.

Yet as an apparent afterthought, or a bow to the formal requirements of doctoral dissertations, a theoretical discussion has been suffixed to each main chapter. These theoretical sections make use of Gilles Deleuze's and Félix Guattari's concept of assemblage (Fr. *agencement*), meant to guide our understanding of "situations as fields of tension with different active forces." The concept supposedly draws attention to how the activities surrounding military training films connected with, or avoided, assemblages such as military bureaucracy, military training practices, state government or the commercial film business. Wickman further deploys a classification of assemblages, developed by Thomas Nail, as either *nomadic* (non-hierarchical, innovative, autonomous and expansive activities), *territorial* (creating order through sorting, separation and distribution), *state-related* (centralising, hierarchical, standardising) or *capitalist*.

The analytical potential and fruitfulness of this framework in this particular context remains unclear. As applied in this study, it seems to add little to a common-sense historical understanding of society as consisting of interacting and overlapping institutional sectors. In

places, an overly rigid application of the theoretical concepts even seems to distort Wickman's valuable empirical findings. For example, one theoretical section claims that it was in the nature of the state assemblage to restrict and regulate activities around the military film. Yet actually, as Wickman interestingly shows and discusses in her highly commendable empirical analysis, the Swedish state not only *enabled* these activities by funding them but also actively chose to place them outside the state apparatus by delegating production and distribution to a civic-private association.

In the final analysis, Wickman concludes that it is difficult to assess to what extent film was actually used in military education in the period. Moreover, there are probably no existing sources that would allow an analysis of how the films were received by the conscripts or what educational impact they might have had. In practice, the production and use of film for purposes of military education in many contexts proved to be rather expensive and laborious. As so often has happened as new technology has been introduced in educational contexts, the most enthusiastic visionaries were disappointed. The practical implementation of their high-flying ideas proved impracticable and traditional teaching methods surprisingly tenacious.

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Ola Winberg
*Den statskloka resan: Adelns
peregrinationer 1610–1680*

Uppsala University (PhD diss.)
2018, 414 pp.

During the last decades, the interest in transnational contacts and relations has escalated within a wide range of academic disciplines. This can probably be explained by an interest in the effects of globalisation on contemporary society, but also by the internationalisation of higher education and research, which has led scholars to raise their eyes beyond the national borders and to engage in international collaborations on transnational relations. This development can also be seen in studies of early modern Europe. To some extent, it has been promoted by EU funding, where the study of European integration is a recurring topic.

Ola Winberg's doctoral dissertation *Den statskloka resan: Adelns peregrinationer 1610–1680* can be read as a contribution to that broad field of academic inquiry into international and transnational phenomena, although it is not explicitly inscribing itself into that particular domain. Winberg studies the educational travels of a number of young members of the Swedish nobility during the seventeenth century, so-called *grand tours*, *Kavalierstouren*, or *peregrinatio academica*. The focus of Winberg's study is the educational aspects of these travels in a broad sense, including not just theoretical studies, but the integrated package of acquiring theoretical knowledge, practical skills and courtly manners. The first chapter presents the three problems that the dissertation addresses: 1) contemporary opinions and discourses about the purpose and value of such travels; 2) how

these journeys were realised, in a very practical sense, focussing on preparations, financing, itineraries and the actual activities carried out during the trip; and 3) the return to Sweden, and ways in which it was used to promote career opportunities.

Winberg relates these educational journeys to a wider framework of state-building, a concept that has been used with some success in Swedish research on the early modern period, to problematise processes and agencies during this expansionist era of the Swedish state. This is the closest we come to a theoretical framework for the study, which is otherwise motivated by references to previous research.

Winberg maintains that previous studies in this area has focussed primarily on the traveller's theoretical studies, and in particular their visits to European universities. An outspoken aim of this study is to apply a more holistic perspective, incorporating the practical and non-academic activities that the young noblemen were engaged in, including both the established *exercitia*, such as riding, fencing, dancing and learning an instrument, and participation in diplomatic missions, refined social interaction in courtly settings and the experience of the culture of the European elite at for example French and Italian theatres and opera houses.

The investigated period is based on the political development of the Swedish state. Its start in 1610/1611 is motivated by the establishment of the Swedish Kingdom as a European great power under Gustavus Adolphus. Its end in 1680 coincides with the political upheaval in connection with the Diet that year, when Sweden took the first steps towards royal absolutism, and the crown's demand for travelled noblemen diminished as a result.

The study makes use of a wide selection of source material. For the analysis of the debates on the usefulness and advisability of travelling, a number of printed dissertations and orations are consulted, in combination with seven hand-written instructions for travellers. In the study of the actual itineraries and activities on-route, Winberg uses mainly travel journals, letters and account books.

After the first introductory chapter, the second chapter of the study deals with travel as a form of knowledge, and investigates the justification and critique voiced in relation to the educational trips of the nobility in Swedish sources. Winberg demonstrates that a central concept in this discourse was *prudentia*, which can more generally be translated as "practical judgement," but in this particular context should be interpreted as "political wisdom:" "the ability to realise acquired knowledge into practical political measures and proceedings." An equivalent term in seventeenth-century Swedish is *statsklokhet*, which we find in the title of the dissertation. This concept is strongly related to a set of skills and a capacity for judgment, considered necessary for serving the state at the highest level, for example, as an officer or a top-level civil servant – hence the connection with state-building processes. Winberg points out that this reveals a historical understanding of knowledge, which stresses the practical aspects and experience of a certain know-how and set of skills. These could only be acquired by practical training, interaction with others and re-enacted performances in different public social settings. The most important arena for acquiring such skill was the large, European metropolises. The framing of this particular notion of knowledge is the most impor-

tant conclusion in the chapter, and also sets the prerequisite for the following empirical enquiry into the foreign travels of the Swedish nobility.

The third chapter investigates the preparations for educational journeys in the seventeenth century. Winberg shows the extent to which the government was involved in the planning and to some degree also the funding of the journeys, even though the noble families themselves took the main responsibility. The recruitment of a reliable preceptor was an important part of these preparations, as was some propaedeutic studies, usually at Uppsala University, and also to some extent preparatory journeys within Sweden. In Uppsala, focus was typically on practical exercises rather than theoretical studies. The formalised valedictions, that is, ceremonies where the travellers bid farewell to prominent state officials, demonstrated the state's investment in these journeys.

Chapter four presents a survey with examples of how the travellers disposed of their time abroad. Winberg shows that stays at university cities made up a comparatively small part of the time abroad. Focus was instead on the great capitals, especially Paris and Rome. The travelling routes were highly standardised, and so were the activities performed at different destinations. Winberg pays attention to social differences among the noble travellers. He shows that the aristocratic families lead the way in establishing the routes and the forms of these travels, and that the destinations differed according to social differences. The longer stays in Italy were, for example, mainly reserved for the aristocracy, and served as a means of social demarcation. He also identifies some changes in itineraries and preferences during the period examined, such as the ever-increasing importance of Paris, and how

London emerged as a more and more important destination during the latter part of the investigated period.

In chapter five, the author explores the economics of the educational journeys: both the costs of an entire journey and the distribution of expenses on different activities and destinations. Thanks to a number of preserved account books from journeys, Winberg is able to give very detailed reports of the expenditures. He demonstrates the astonishing costs of an educational journey, amounting to at least 1,000 to 2,000 Swedish *Riksdaler* annually per person, and for the aristocratic families even up to 5,000 per year. Since the noble families' fortunes mainly consisted in property and yields in kind from those properties, the travels often resulted in high debt. The stay in Paris was the most expensive one and could demand up to forty percent of the total expenses for a journey. A considerable part of those expenses was for clothing.

Chapter six provides a more in-depth analysis of what kind of activities the travellers devoted their time to, focusing on the most important destinations through a number of case studies. Winberg's case studies of a range of countries and cities provide very detailed accounts of how routes and activities were guided by local conditions and ideas about what kind of knowledge, skills and experiences different places could provide. They also reveal a high degree of standardisation, with travellers following similar trajectories according to already established patterns. Winberg argues that the combination of time and money devoted to different destinations and activities demonstrates the predominant importance of social interaction during an educational journey. This also explains the enormous expenses for dresses, not

least in Paris, since they were a necessity for participating in court activities or attending ambassador's audiences.

In the seventh chapter, Winberg demonstrates the significance of a well-planned and grandiose return from the educational journey. This was very costly, again not least due to the expenses for clothes. It was important to use the momentum and exposition that the journey and the return offered to obtain a prestigious and lucrative position. The travellers' interest in attention was matched by the authorities' interest in debriefing the travellers about their journey and hearing a report about what they had learned and experienced.

The eighth and last chapter presents the conclusions of the entire study. First, Winberg refutes claims in previous studies that the journeys during the latter part of the investigated period could not be considered useful for the realm, arguing that this reflects a too narrow view on the purpose of activities such as for example dance and other *exercitia*. Still, Winberg can point to changes in the latter part of the investigated period, where the self-interest of the noble families seems to have become more prominent. This reflects changing attitudes to which kind of skills were considered useful. In the early decades of the seventeenth century, theoretical studies, moral stature and sober observations of political and military circumstances were deemed more important. Towards the middle of the century more emphasis was put on courtly manners, rhetorical esprit, elegance and the ability to entertain the ladies. Consequently, the stay in Paris became increasingly important, as a result of the deliberate staging of Paris as a cultural and political centre during the regime of Louis XIV. According to Winberg, these developments can be explained by an escalating competition

between noble families from the mid-seventeenth century and on, as a result of the large number of new families that were raised to nobility during and after the Thirty Years War. The author points out that this tension between theoretical studies and practical "learning-by-doing" (to use an anachronistic term that Winberg, perhaps wisely, avoids), reflects the contemporary notion of travelling as a specific kind of knowledge.

Ola Winberg has written a rich and extensive study, abundant in detail and intriguing empirical examples. The condensed summary above, outlining the main threads of argumentation, does not adequately represent the dissertation as a whole. It can actually be discussed whether it is really the condensed results and conclusions of this study that make up its main assets, or rather the path to those conclusions, the chain of intriguing, detailed case studies running through the chapters. That ambiguity can be traced in the study itself. A comparison of the short abstract, the summaries and conclusions presented in the Swedish main text, and the English summary at the end, reveals that they present slightly diverging accounts, or at least different emphasis, concerning what is the main focus and the main results of the study. This arguably indicates that this is a study guided by the large source material that has been gathered, rather than by a selection of precise research problems.

That said, I want to stress that Winberg's command over this vast and diverse source material is impressive. The author demonstrates remarkable language-skills, a keen eye for noteworthy details and a capacity to organise the large and complex material into a coherent and convincing narrative. It could be

argued that this study could have been even more stringent. It could have been more rigidly regulated by a set of sharp, theoretically contextualised research questions, and a sterner selection from the empirical material, presenting only evidence needed to answer those questions. And, judged from a specific set of criteria, stressing logic consistency, organic form and avoidance of redundancy, it could also be argued that this would have resulted in a scientifically stronger study.

Still, such a study would also lose a lot in comparison with this one. Much of the attraction of this dissertation and, in fact, its usefulness for future scholars, lies in its wealth of detail and the large number of case studies – travellers and traveller’s activities – that are introduced and carefully described. This quality would have been lost in a more rigorous study. Winberg’s dissertation, in fact, offers the basis for such more focused investigations.

The overall framing of the study in relation to state-building processes and the transformation in attitudes and practices that Winberg points to, is mostly convincing. That said, those results are not surprising in relation to previous research. The reward from reading this study lies instead in the rich and elaborate accounts for the traveller’s activities and routes, presenting a narrative which is not only illuminating for understanding important aspects of early modern society, but also quite entertaining. It is marked by convincing interpretations of the source material and an accurate attention to interesting particulars.

From an intersectional perspective, it could be remarked that for example women and members of the lower strata of society are mostly absent from this study (apart from as prostitutes and temptations, or servants). This is not un-

expected considering the topic, but still could have deserved some reflection.

A study of the seventeenth-century Swedish nobility introduces a world which is on the one hand deceptively familiar, on the other perplexing and alien. This is a challenge that any historian has to face. It is not entirely clear how Winberg relates to that problem, partially because there is no explicit statement relating to the very principles of historiography guiding the project. His approach appears somewhat eclectic and *ad hoc*, sometimes using the trope of recognition, and sometimes rather pointing to the alterity of world-views and actions. This is apparent also in the choice of terminology. In some contexts, Winberg is carefully choosing terms with a historical resonance – especially so, it seems, in connection with for example political or fiscal aspects. In others, the terminology appears more anachronistic, not least so within what could be described as the domain of cultural history. One example of the latter is the use of the term “aesthetic.” Introduced first by Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten in the mid-eighteenth century, it is an obvious anachronism in this study. This may seem as a purist objection. Of course, seventeenth century society dealt with artefacts, experiences and judgement practices with close affinities with what is today in everyday discourse understood by “aesthetic” (which is, by the way, wildly different from what Baumgarten intended). However, in that period a much wider family of objects and practices were included in discourses on beauty and taste, and those discourses were guided by very different criteria. During the period examined in Winberg’s study, these discourses moreover went through an interesting renegotiation, in the tension between rule-based activi-

ties on the one hand, and aristocratic notions of taste and the elusive quality of *je ne sais quoi* on the other.

A more penetrating problematisation of these discourses and their conceptual history would not only have deepened the historical inquiry, it could also have supported and enriched one of Winberg's main arguments, that of the close integration of theoretical and practical, socially based activities in contemporary views on knowledge and education.

Ola Winberg's dissertation on educational travels in the seventeenth century is a good read for anyone interested in early modern society. As has already been stressed, its strong points lies in history as story-telling, in the very large empirical material the author has traced and made available, and in the solid and competent way in which this material is treated. He has offered us a treasure chest of interesting case studies, useful and enlightening for students and scholars interested in the period and in the wider field of cultural history.

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Lina Spjut

Att (ut)bilda ett folk:

Nationell och etnisk gemenskap i Sveriges och Finlands svenskspråkiga läroböcker för folk- och grundskola åren 1866–2016

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Lina Spjut's PhD dissertation *To Educate a People: National and Ethnical Communities in Elementary School Textbooks from Sweden and Finland 1866–2016* aims at analysing the ways

that school textbooks in Sweden and the Swedish-language part of Finland have been reproducing ethnic and national identities over a long time period, 1866–2016. She chooses three school subjects; geography, history and civics – and the *prescribed imagined communities* that has been formulated there, adapting a well-known concept by Benedict Anderson.

The analysis puts a special weight on the relations between what has been considered “Swedish” and “Finnish”, and the parallel study of Sweden and Finland makes a very good departure point for understanding the historical construction of Swedishness. In Sweden, the majority Swedish culture has been so dominant that it has turned into something natural, that seldom is mentioned explicitly. Today, Swedishness is often described as being only a category of national citizenship, that is, to be an inhabitant of Sweden. Thus, Swedishness is often considered as something non-ethnic and non-cultural, while only minorities in Sweden are described as ethnic communities. Thereby, Swedishness is often presented as something “above” the level of ethnicity, and only national in the ‘Western’ French-revolution way as in the common (but false) dichotomy between good/Western civic and bad/Eastern/ethnic nationalism. The hesitation to speak of ethnic Swedishness within Sweden is to a large degree fuelled by a fear that such a discourse would largen the gaps between the majority culture and national minorities. However, it is worth to ask whether such a dichotomy to the contrary strengthen that binary opposition between post-ethnic majority Swedes and ethnic “others.”

In Finland, the status of Swedishness is very different. Long into the nineteenth century, the Swedish language

dominated in the elite and in official business, even though it was the mother tongue of only a minority. During the birth of modern nationalism, however, the Finnish language became hailed as the true expression of Finnishness, and it was also adopted by many intellectuals that had been Swedish-speaking until then. After that, the status of the Swedish language has declined. It is still the mother tongue of some five per cent of the population, and legally it is equal with Finnish as one of the country's two official languages. Despite most Swedish-speakers belong to the middle and working classes, Swedish remains often associated with a traditional elite.

The position of the Swedish language has been under constant debate, and right-wing Finnish nationalists still aim at dethroning it from its equal status with Finnish. In the Swedish-speaking continuity, there is a widespread feeling of defensiveness and of being misunderstood. Swedish-speaking Finns also complain of the widespread ignorance in Sweden, where many people actually are not aware that Swedish in Finland is a living language. Some Swedes tend, probably in a false and hyper-correct manner to pose as radical or anti-nationalist, to use the Finnish-language forms of major Finnish cities such as Helsinki or Turku, rather than their official Swedish-language forms (*Helsingfors*, Åbo), thereby following the logic of nationalism where there can only be one language in one nation state.

Spjut sets up as the overall aim of the dissertation to "contribute to a deepened understanding of the role of school textbooks in the fostering of imagined communities". This aim is operationalised by studying the ways such imagined communities are narrated through historiography, by what she calls an *asymmetric comparison*, since

she compares the majority community in Sweden and a minority community in Finland. She has also strived at identifying changes in the textbook narratives, and at understanding them in the context of the times when they were written. The starting point is 1866, since Finland in that year introduced regular primary education all over the country (which already then existed in Sweden). Rather convincingly, she argues that school textbooks more or less reflect the dominant ideas of their respective ages, since they have had to comply with curricula to be possible to sell on the market.

The explicit theoretical framework of the study is twofold. For the analysis of the production and reproduction of imagined communities, Spjut rests on theories about uses of history, which are regarded mainly as bearers of ideologies of different kinds. Since the study is situated in the education discipline, and she analyses school textbooks, she also applies curriculum theory. Apart from the comparative method, she also applies Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis (CDA).

In the empirical section of the book, Spjut presents her main results in five thematically organised chapters. First, she shows the ways that Swedishness and Finnishness has been constructed as different and partly overlapping categories; as nationalities, as races, as ethnicities, and as majorities or minorities. Here she also discusses to what extent such categories have been described as indigenous, or as something that has entered at later stages of history. Over time, it has not necessarily been portrayed as positive to be the "oldest" and "original" group within a territory. In nineteenth century Sweden, for example, the "Swedes" were generally described as relative late-comers in history, since they had – ac-

according to a dominant historiography of that time – conquered the territory from “inferior” cultures described as Sami and Finnish.

Not surprisingly, Spjut shows that there has been a much more open discussion about Swedishness and Finnishness in Finland than in Sweden, and that there is a more hidden discourse on Swedish ethnicity in Sweden – underneath an explicit discourse of Swedishness as something only relating to citizenship and nationhood.

In the second empirical chapter, Spjut analyses the ways that the birth of the Swedish and Finnish nation states have been described – particularly in the latter case. In history-writing, there has been a special focus on the ways Finland became part of the Swedish kingdom in the Middle Ages. Often that was described as a part of Swedish-led crusades toward the territory of what was to become Finland, which could either be interpreted as the triumph of Western civilisation, or as a form of Swedish imperialism or colonisation. For the Finland Swedes, it was early on necessary to prove that Swedishness had an older origin in Finland, in order to prove the group’s relative indigeneness, and to avoid Swedishness in Finland being formulated as a result of conquest from the West. Therefore, Finland-Swedish historiography also preferred to focus on the Viking Age (c. 800–1050), in order to prove such continuity from periods before the annexation of Finland into Sweden.

In a subsequent chapter, Spjut treats the historiography on the period from the thirteenth century to 1809, when Finland was an integrated part of the Swedish kingdom. There, she highlights some interesting differences between Sweden-Swedish and Finland-Swedish history-writing. Pro-Finnish actions

that were considered nationally undermining in Sweden, have been described as patriotic in Finland, for example. In this part, Spjut also underlines the tendency in Sweden-Swedish historiography – all over the time period – to treat Finland as a foreign country, anachronistically projecting the national borders onto the centuries before 1809. Such tendencies are not hard to find in contemporary Sweden-Swedish treatments of that time period. For example, migrations across the Gulf of Bothnia from Finland to present-day Sweden are regularly treated as examples of international migration. To add to that, events in Finland are rarely described at all in Sweden-Swedish historiography.

The chapter about how history after 1809 has been presented is a little more heterogenous. Something that makes the analysis by necessity more diverse, is the fact that Spjut to a large extent studies narratives on events that were more or less “contemporary” in older textbooks, but more clearly “historical” in newer ones. She treats a set of quite disparate events such as the Finnish Civil War, the Second World War, and the post-war immigration of Finnish citizens to Sweden. As in the previous chapter, there is a general tendency in Sweden-Swedish textbooks not to discuss Finland and Finnish–Swedish relations at all, while the Finland-Swedish textbooks have Finnish–Swedish relations as a constant red thread.

The last empirical chapter is also rather disparate. Its common denominator consists of treatments of Finnishness through history in present-day Sweden. The bulk of the analysis concerns *Finnish-speaking* phenomena in that territory, for example peasants that migrated across the Gulf of Bothnia during the early modern period, but also the Finnish-speaking minority in the

northern-most part of present Sweden, which in the latest decades has been constituted as a separate ethnicity – the Tornedalians with a particular language, Meänkieli. Spjut also discusses the treatment of groups with descent in present-day Finland that has migrated into Sweden in later stages of history. Here, she also touches upon the Swedish-speaking Finns that have migrated to Sweden, which is a very “hidden” group at least in a Sweden-Swedish setting – for example, there is no clear-cut word for describing that group.

Generally, Spjut shows that all these examples, in line with other examples mentioned above, are relatively absent in Sweden-Swedish historiography. If Finns (at least the Finnish-speaking ones) are mentioned, they have been “othered” in various ways. They have often been exoticized, and described with stereotypes connected to Finnishness, for example being silent and macho. In other cases, they have been lumped into a general category of “immigrants” separated from “real” Swedes.

In her concluding chapter, Spjut underlines the relative silence about matters concerning Finnishness within Sweden, a tendency that has not been less apparent after the 1960s, when the last remnants of explicit ethnic discourses vanished. Before that, it was common to discuss differences between Swedes and Finns in a manner that more or less belonged to the field of racial biology, differing between Germanic and Fenno-Ugric peoples. After that, there is a persisting implicit or “silent” Swedish nationalism that is explicitly civic-national, but Spjut convincingly argues that it is in effect ethnic and often racist as well. In these discussions, Spjut adds to what has already been underlined in many recent research efforts in other disciplines and other examples.

Her results prove to be distinct, since she put two different ways of narrating ethnic Swedishness side by side: one that has always been explicit (the one in Finland), and one that is increasingly implicit (in Sweden).

Spjut also demonstrates the persistent ambivalences within Finland-Swedish historiography. It has almost always been loyal to the Finnish national project, but with a particular emphasis on ethnic Swedishness. Largely, Finland-Swedish historiography echoes the Finland-Finnish one, but with some noteworthy differences. For example, there has been a larger interest in the Viking Age, since that has always been framed as something particular to Scandinavian-language groups. Similarly, the Finland-Swedish historiography has been more focused on Scandinavian and Nordic relations within history, than the Finnish-language historiography.

With such a large study that Spjut has undertaken, of a long time period and with a vast amount of source materials, it is easy to propose and discuss alternate approaches. For example, had the results become different if Spjut had chosen other school subjects to study than she did? For example, textbooks within the subjects of Swedish language and literature? Textbooks in the national language and literature have been shown to be important elements of national identity construction – in the former case not least in order to promote discourses on geography and history. In the present case, it would also be interesting to see to what extent “Swedishness” has been differently narrated in literature rather than historiography. This is an interesting issue, not least since it has been common in Sweden to include Finland-Swedish authors in the Swedish national canon,

for example Johan Ludvig Runeberg, Zacharias Topelius, and Tove Jansson.

Concerning the positioning of the study within a larger research setting, it is understandable that Spjut emphasises previous research on textbooks and their identity-producing aspects, since it is a dissertation in education. Perhaps though, a stronger emphasis could have been placed on earlier research on historiography as such, since Spjut's study is just as much a contribution to nationalism and memory-making studies, as one to educational history and/or curriculum studies.

I have also some remarks on the theoretical-methodological setup, in which Spjut makes a hierarchical difference between the dissertation's "framework" (*ramverk*), that is placed above the dissertation's "theory" (*teori*). The former is said to consist of curriculum theory, while the latter is identified as "theories on the uses of history" (*historiebruks-teori*, a particular Swedish concept which may preferably be conceptualised as *memory studies* or *heritage studies*). It is truly an unusual step to introduce a level above that of theory. However, I cannot see in what ways either level is more or less abstract or general than the other. Rather, both play more or less the same role in the actual investigation. In reality, they are two parallel theoretical horizons, and that is very well so.

Below "framework" and "theory" comes "method", which (as was mentioned earlier) is divided into a) critical discourse analysis and b) "comparative method." The latter is presented in a common-sense manner; Spjut makes comparisons between Sweden and Finland, between different time settings, and between three school subjects. The critical discourse analysis is only occasionally implemented in the actual empirical investigation, illuminating cer-

tain discursive patterns in the material. Still, it is questionable to what extent this method actually contributes further to the results. Not the least, the signum of critical discourse analysis, namely the third step where the discourses should be explained by a larger analysis of ideologies in a non-discursive social, political and economic context, is more discussed than actually accomplished.

I also have some other remarks on the theoretical and methodological setup. One is that *implicit* expressions of imagined communities are said to be illuminated with the help of concepts from uses of history theory, while the *explicit* ones are said to be analysed by critical discourse analysis. I have a difficulty understanding why not both explicit and implicit expressions might be analysed through both uses of history glasses and with a critical discourse analysis, albeit in different ways.

However, Spjut is far from alone in this; such remarks on the theoretical and methodological apparatus could have been made to numerous other historical investigations. Luckily, the big strength of Lina Spjut's dissertation lies in her ambition and impressing empirical effort, and she has contributed with many new and deepened insights into the ways that Swedishness has been constructed on both sides of the Gulf of Bothnia.

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Helén Persson
*Historia i futurum: Progression
 i historia i styrdokument och
 läroböcker 1919-2012*

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Hur kan man skilja på olika nivåer av historisk kunskap, hur blir man bättre i historia och hur kan historien göras meningsfull på ett sätt som medger utveckling? Detta är bara några av de många frågor som Helén Persson inledningsvis formulerar i avhandlingen *Historia i futurum: Progression i historia i styrdokument och läroböcker 1919–2012*.

Syftet med avhandlingsprojektet beskrivs av författaren som en vilja att ”begripliggöra vari progression i ett enskilt ämne som historia består” (s. 18). Den teoretiska inramningen är både bred och ambitiös. Perssons uttalade strävan är inte bara att belysa frågan om progression ur en rad pedagogiska, historieveenskapliga och historiekulturella perspektiv; i avhandlingen formuleras också en normativ vilja att visa hur progression kan komma till stånd. Denna teoriutvecklande ambition uttrycks också i det som kan förstås som avhandlingens övergripande forskningsfråga: ”Hur kan ett historiemedvetande kvalificeras utifrån en syn på historia som ett ämne som omfattar såväl kunskap om det förflutna som tolkning och medvetande?” (s. 19).

Avhandlingens teoretiska ramverk bygger främst på Klas-Göran Karlssons och i viss mån Reinhart Kosellecks och Jörn Rüsens texter. Det faktum att projektet vilar på en klassisk kontinental-filosofisk grund får också följder för hur Persson väljer att närma sig frågan om vad som egentligen utgör kunskaper i historia. Frågan om progression betraktas inte som något som uteslutande låter sig förstås som en slags kognitivt additiv

förmåga. Värdet av att lära sig historia reduceras inte heller enbart till sådant som rör vetenskapliga kunskaper. Enligt Persson själv, handlar historiekunskapers kvantitet, kvalitet och relevans nämligen *också* om djupt mänskliga omständigheter såsom ”identitet, existens och moral” (s. 18). Avhandlingens ansats motiveras alltså till stor del med hänvisning till värden som vetter mot mänskligt liv och erfarenhet. Kunskaper i historia betraktas inte som ett objekt som existerar i sig självt; de antas tvärtom uppstå i mötet med en tänkande, tolkande och levande människa. Istället för att ta stöd av en över tid varaktig kunskapstaxonomi, så gör Persson följaktligen också tidigt klart att vårt bruk av historien, de sätt på vilka vi skapar, närmar oss och använder historia, är något som är i ständig förändring.

Genom att bland annat ta utgångspunkt i en egen modifiering av Jensens historieundervisningskategorier, samt i avvägningen (pendlandet) mellan ett genetiskt och genealogiskt perspektiv på historien, så driver Persson tesen att interaktionen mellan förflutenhet, nutid och framtid kan förstås i en trappstegsmodell bestående av: 1. Faktakunskap, 2. Tolkning och 3. Medvetande. De teoretiska ambitionerna stannar emellertid inte vid att söka beskriva progressionen ur en renodlat ämnesteoretisk synvinkel. Med avsikten att därtill också kunna diskutera progressionen ur ett inlärningsorienterat perspektiv, skissar Persson också tidigt i avhandlingen fram grunddragen i tre pedagogiska teorier: konstruktivism (Piaget), socialkonstruktivism (Vygotskij) och fenomenografi (Marton).

Avhandlingens empiriska material består av styrdokument för historieämnet (1919, 1935, 1955, 1962, 1969/1970, 1980/1981, 1994, 2011) för såväl folkskola/grundskola som läroverk och gym-

nasium, samt därtill ett urval av läroböcker i historia från motsvarande perioder och skolsammanhang. Även om detta material på intet sätt är utforskat, så beskriver Persson (med hänvisning till den teoretiska inramningen) det egna projektet som en ”pionjärstudie” (s. 21). Den uttalade normativa ansatsen innebär att det snarare är utsikten att kunna säga något om progression i historia, än möjligheten att dra slutsatser om det empiriska materialet som sådant, som utgör avhandlingens huvudsakliga syfte. Detta vägval sätter också sina avtryck i avsnittet tidigare forskning. Den relativt korta beskrivningen av forskningsläget baseras främst på avhandlingens teoretiska referenser. De studier som på en mer empirinära grund närmast sig samma eller liknande material, behandlas däremot i vissa fall enbart som sekundärlitteratur (t.ex. Englund 1986), mycket kortfattat (Gustafsson 2017, Åström Elmersjö 2017) eller inte alls (t.ex. Spjut 2014, 2018).

Avhandlingens beskrivning av de empiriska resultaten kan sägas bestå av två övergripande delar. I den första resultatdelen undersöker Persson vilken syn på kunskapsutveckling som kommer till uttryck i 1900-talets och 2000-talets svenska styrdokument. Avsnittet består av en rad olika underavdelningar. Till att börja med undersöks exempelvis progressionen mellan grundskola och gymnasium. Vidare diskuteras styrdokumentens innehåll med avseende på begreppen, kvantitet, kvalitet och relevans. Därtill avhandlas historievetenskapliga, historiekulturella och pedagogiska aspekter av hur skolämnet historia framträder i olika tider. En del av resultaten känns igen från tidigare studier och avhandlingar. Medan undervisningsplanen från 1919 förknippas med en strävan att fostra en ny generation till sund fosterlandskänsla och god

samfundsanda, driver Persson likt flera av sina föregångare tesen att efterkrigstidens första undervisningsplaner (1955) framhåller vikten av kritiskt tänkande och en slags fredsfostrade balans i om-dömet. I linje med vad som vanligtvis anförts i tidigare forskning konstaterar Persson också hur ämnets innehåll med tiden breddas från ett lokalt och nationellt fokus till ett mer globalt perspektiv. Vidare pekar även hon exempelvis på hur det genomgående är kunskap om historia som tycks ges företräde i styrdokumentet och hur ämnet framstår som mer disciplinärt och tolkningsbart i högre åldrar.

I andra avseenden är slutsatserna emellertid mer nyskapande. I synnerhet gäller detta avsnittet där frågan om hur synen på dåtiden, i olika tider, har relaterats till olika föreställningar om samtiden och framtiden. I beskrivningen aktualiseras bland annat skillnader över tid i synen på huruvida (och i sådana fall vad och hur) vi kan lära av historien samt förändringar vad gäller samtidens betydelse för vår förståelse av historien. Vidare skildras ett historiekulturellt skifte; från en slags kollektiv samförståndsanda till ett ökat fokus på det för den enskilde individens privat bästa (private good). I detta avsnitt diskuteras dessutom huruvida undervisning i historia i första hand handlar om att gemensamt forma framtiden och förstärka förutgivna identiteter eller om att förbereda enskilda individer inför något öppet och oväntat. Även om en del av dessa resonemang tangerar teman som exempelvis Niklas Ammert (t.ex. 2014) och Tomas Englund (1986) redan tidigare berört, så framträder både en fördjupning och breddning av diskussionen om hur historiekulturella sammanhang speglas i skolans skiftande styrdokument. I 1960-talets kursplaner tyder exempelvis Persson in mer av genealogiskt for-

mulerade ambitioner än vad som tidigare varit brukligt. Därtill argumenterar hon för hur frågan om historisk kunskap med tiden blir allt mer beroende av frågan om perspektiv. Om förståelsen av samtiden varit utgångspunkt för de tidiga efterkrigstida styrdokument, så noterar hon därefter också ett större fokus på eleven och individens utveckling och lärande. Redan 1980 års skolreform, i sig en slags antites till de tidiga kursplanerna, förknippas med handlingsberedskap och för gymnasiet del (1981) formandet av dagens och morgondagens värld. Denna utgångspunkt blir enligt Persson därefter än mer framträdande i 1994 års ambition att förbereda elever inför en till synes allt mer osäker och inte längre given framtid. I hennes framställning framstår 2011 års kurs- och ämnesplaner härvidlag närmast som en slags syntes av tidigare styrdokument. Det genetiska och genealogiska perspektivet balanseras mot varandra. Syftet formuleras i termer av att förstå och förändra sin egen tid och med begrepp som historiebrik och användandet av historien, får ämnet enligt Persson karaktären av ett slags metaperspektiv. På en övergripande nivå är detta förstås en utveckling som även den beskrivits av andra. Här blir dock denna tendens särskilt tydligt knuten till frågan om skolämnet historias syfte och mening och frågan om samtidens historiekultur.

I den andra resultatdelen behandlar Persson hur den franska revolutionen skrivs fram i ett antal läroböcker. Urvalet av texter kan beskrivas som punktvisa nedslag runt åren närmast de styrdokument som granskats i den del som berört kursplaner. Läroboksundersökningen består av färre underavdelningar än studien av styrdokument. Böckerna avhandlas kronologiskt under rubrikerna faktakunskap, tolkning och medvetande. När det gäller den första

delen, faktakunskaper, känns även flera av dessa resultat igen från tidigare studier (jfr t.ex. Ammert 2005, 2008, Danielsson Malmros 2012, Åström Elmersjö 2017). Persson pekar exempelvis på hur 1950- och 1960-talets läroböcker är mer avskalade och innehåller färre handlingar och fenomen än sina föregångare. De beskriver sakligt att saker hände, men ägnar betydligt mindre utrymme åt att söka *levande-göra* (jfr Persson 2017) vad som har varit. Överhuvudtaget diskuterar Persson avsaknaden av ett tydligt framskrivet relevanskriterium.

Vad gäller den del av läroboksstudien som svarar mot tolkningsbegreppet, blir Persson resultat åter mer unika. Här sätts också den redan inledningsvis framskrivna dikotomin mellan historia som vetenskap och livsvärld i fokus. Persson analyserar läroböckerna med utgångspunkt i en rad motsatspar såsom: distans och närhet, samtidsbundenhet och nutidsorientering, relativ och absolut giltighet, prospektivitet och retrospektivitet, komplexitet och enkelhet, abstraktion och konkretion, förändring och kontinuitet, förklaring och förståelse, genetisk och genealogisk orientering i tid, samt analytisk öppenhet och slutenhet. Den tredje och avslutande delen, som rör medvetandebegreppet, är betydligt kortare än de andra. Här redogör Persson bland annat för hur själva föreställningen om vad historia är, förändrats i läroböckerna över tid. Framförallt beskrivs en rad förskjutningar mellan ambitionen att förmedla en färdigförhandlad berättelse om vad som har varit, till möjligheten att lära sig något om samtiden och/eller om andra. Därtill noteras bland annat hur läroböcker skrivna av verksamma historiker i högre grad tenderar att framhålla betydelsen av perspektiv och historiesyn.

På det hela taget vill jag understryka att Perssons avhandling är synnerligen

läsvärd. På några ställen saknas visserligen referenser till det som anförs (t.ex. Kosellek s. 44, Klafki s. 46 och Popper s. 82). I något fall tycks delar av citat ha hamnat utanför citattecken (s. 45) och i till synes onödigt många fall refereras författare (t.ex. Collingwood och Ranke) via sekundärlitteratur. Avhandlingen är emellertid i övrigt välskriven och de korrektur-relaterade missarna framstår genomgående som få.

Att avhandlingen bygger på en bred ansats blir dock särskilt tydligt i den avslutande sammanfattningen. Den första hälften av denna del ägnas åt att diskutera vari progression i historia består. Svaret, i ett utvecklat historiemedvetande, motiveras här främst med hänvisning till de tre pedagogiska teorier som redan inledningsvis anförts. Det empiriska materialet, de granskade läroböckerna och kursplanerna, berörs först i den andra delen av sammanfattningen. Här tycks dock den huvudsakliga ambitionen snarast vara att kontextualisera de förändringar som redan tidigare iakttagits av andra forskare. I framskrivningen finns också en slags underliggande framstegsberättelse, i riktning mot de samtida styrdokumentens allt tydligare vändning mot historiemedvetandebegreppet.

Måhända är det också i anslutning till detta som den mest väsentliga invändningen gentemot avhandlingens utformning kan formuleras. Den kritiska läsaren kan ibland fråga sig om det inte är två avhandlingar som Persson skrivit. En avhandling, som på teoretisk grund, i en uttalad normativ anda och i utpräglat tesdrivande format, söker transformera Karlssons och Kosellecks texter till ett skolsammanhang. En annan avhandling som handlar om att analysera vilka idéer om skolämnets historias syfte och vilka historiekulturella influenser som framträder i

en rad olika skolsystem under nära på en hundraårsperiod av läroplansreformer och läromedel. Den i inledningen formulerade ambitionen att länka samman dessa båda delar är i praktiken inte självklar. Snarast skulle det gå att läsa avhandlingen som om svaret på frågan om vad i progression i historia består, egentligen skulle kunna ha besvarats utan att Persson valt att vända sig till det empiriska materialet. De mest centrala slutsatserna hämtas snarare i mångt och mycket i det som Karlsson redan tidigare skrivit om historiemedvetande. Liknelsen med den lilla flickan som uppfattar tid när hon jämför sin hand med farmoderns av rynkor fårade näve, liksom dikotomierna som driver tesen framåt i hela läroboksanalysdelen, är redan tidigare formulerade inom ramen för den historiemedvetandetradition som tagit form vid Lunds universitet sedan 1990-talet.

Den teoretiska inramningen är visserligen både välformulerad och i mitt tycke tilltalande. Behovet att utmana en alltför ensidig nedsippringsidé, och vikten av att framhålla historieämnets mänskligt existentiella dimensioner, är både lov- och önskvärda. Samtidigt kan jag inte låta bli att tycka att det är lite synd att det empiriska materialet därmed indirekt nedvärderas till ett slags bihang. I vissa delar framstår det som om källorna bara värderas mot det kunskapsideal som skrivits fram i inledningen. Flera av Perssons resonemang, i synnerhet de där hon kontextualiserar och söker förklara förändringar i styrdokumentet över tid, äger emellertid som jag ser det ett betydligt större värde än vad de nu tillskrivs. Om Persson dessutom lyft in mer av den tidigare forskning som redan behandlat detta material (jag tänker i synnerhet på Englund 1986, men också på flera av de senaste årens svenska t.ex. Selander 1988, Spjut 2018 och

nordiska t.ex. Lorenzen 2005 och Haue 2013) utbildningshistoriska läromedelsanalyser, så hade det kanske också funnits större utrymme att utmana en del av det som den teoretiska inramningen nu föreskriver. En i detta sammanhang central, men outtalad, invändning handlar exempelvis om det överhuvudtaget går att tala om ett mer kvalificerat historiemedvetande (jfr t.ex. Nordgren 2018) eller om ett styrdokument i sig kan sägas uttrycka ett (istället för att ge uttryck för någons) historiebruk?

Överhuvudtaget skulle hela utgångspunkten, att söka ett normativt givet svar på frågan om vad som utgör utvecklade kunskaper i historia, förstås kunna diskuteras. Istället för att söka komma fram till en lösning, hade det kanske kunnat vara väl så fruktbart att ytterligare fördjupa de komplexa relationer som genomsyrar flera av de avvägningar, dikotomier och motsatspar som Persson valt att lyfta fram. Om vi, vilket Persson själv öppnar för, verkligen erkänner historieämnets existentielliserande potential och dess möjlighet att i grunden störa och utmana förgivettagna idéer om vad som bör vara, måste vi kanske också erkänna att frågan om historieämnets syfte och mening ogärna låter sig fångas i mätbara trappstegsmodeller eller på förhand givna föreställningar om progression och kvalifikation. Vad som skapar mening, vad som får oss människor att i en existentiell mening bli till i mötet med berättelser om vad som har varit, är kanske tvärtom förknippat med ett mycket stort mått av oförutsägbarhet (Olson 2017). Måhända är det till och med just i utrymmet för det oväntade och i erkännandet av det osäkra och omätbara, som de verkliga förutsättningarna för en meningsfull historieundervisning kan finnas inbäddade?

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Lina Rahm
*Educational Imaginaries:
A Genealogy of the Digital Citizen*
Linköping University (PhD diss.)
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Computers are today often considered as media or as tools for creating economic growth. Still, questions about power relations and inequality cannot be excluded when considering digitalisation. Its effects on democracy and equality precede the internet. Sweden, as a politically conscious and constructive welfare state, has a long tradition of harnessing information technology as an instrument of societal development. In a probably typical Nordic way, digital policy is especially tightly linked to questions of education and democracy. Lina Rahm studies this theme in an interesting intersection of popular education, computer politics and digital citizenship. In her dissertation, Rahm focuses on digital citizenship, and how it is understood by a set of adult students at folk high schools (*folkhögskolor*) in their daily life.

Rahm's approach with an open definition of digital citizenship is well founded in Foucauldian method and her choice of theoretical framework. Exactly what digital citizenship is, is irrelevant for Rahm, while the important thing is that it exists and that it also has been considered desirable. As a matter of fact, digital citizenship is an important imaginary that has all kinds of implications for how education, society and digitalisation are conceived, and what is interesting to Rahm, is that this imaginary has been actively managed by the state and the labour movement. The digitalisation is a complex process and by digging into the different layers of approaches and actions

that have been taken over the last six decades regarding popular education, Rahm shows how information technology has come to be so closely connected to citizenship.

The dissertation consists of an extensive introduction (*kappa*), and four separate empirical studies, of which two had been published at the time of the publication of the dissertation. The overall research questions are three: How has the relationship between citizenship and computerisation changed over time? Why have these two phenomena been so closely related? How has this relation been perceived in the field of popular education? The dissertation is based on a wide range of source materials, ranging from policy papers and political speech to educational books and films. In addition, the above-mentioned description of actualised digital citizenship in popular education was done with empirical methods, based on interviews with adult students about their enactment of citizenship. A close reading of policy and educational materials from 1951 to 2018, with focus on sources from the 1950s, 1980s and the years between 2014 and 2017, has been done to distinguish different ideas and patterns of thought and to identify different historical stages in the problematization of digitalisation.

Rahm's dissertation presents a number of interesting findings. It is notable that the introduction of computers was first and foremost considered a societal issue in Swedish adult education. Besides teaching how to use computers and worrying about providing computer access in an equal way, there were, according to Rahm, above all far-reaching efforts to educate people about the effects of the computers and in the beginning especially workers on how to handle this development. Initially, dur-

ing the 1950s, digitalisation was seen as an opportunity and the main concern was the decrease of work opportunities that it led to. Later the aim of adult education was to give people critical understanding of digitalisation, as a development that needed to be actively governed. During this period active citizenship also within computerisation and participatory design were important elements in adult education. In the 1980s and 1990s, the rise in computer access was perceived as inevitable, and by the 2010s, the aim of adult education shifted from trying to control the development to educating the individuals who were "excluded," the digital drop-outs. As penetration of the digital culture approaches 100 percent in Sweden, individuals who are not connected are considered marginalised, defective as citizens.

Today, the ones who are perceived as problematic are, according to Rahm, firstly, people who are already outside society and who need to be included with digital/educational means, secondly people who do not want to be digital citizens and need to be motivated and thirdly, people, that are rare-users or wrong-users and simply do not use the digital technologies efficiently enough to be digital citizens. It is a pity, but understandable, that the author has excluded the big efforts done by the libraries especially during the last decade, in the education, support and motivation of these groups. Rahm correctly points out, that the understanding of these people as excluded or losers, is significant for how we imagine our society and citizenship.

The rich landscape of popular education and computer politics is described and analysed in an interesting and enlightening way in this dissertation. Important historical phenomena, like the

labour computer (*LO-datorn*), or the discussions and education about the threats of the computers in the 1970s, are given a revealing context that has bearings even today. Studying popular education as part of Swedish computer politics, and the important function of the sociotechnical imaginary as a governing tool, contributes to understanding digitalisation not only as an inevitable process, but a construct of our time.

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Edited collections

Merethe Roos & Johan Laurits
Tønnesson (red.)
*Sann opplysning? Naturvitenskap
i nordiske offentligheter gjennom
fire århundrer*

Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk,
2017, 538 pp.

Medan jag läser antologin dyker ett minne från min doktorandtid vid Lärarhögskolan i Stockholm upp. Ett år fick jag en rumskamrat från Sydkorea. Hon jobbade på en av Sydkoreas största dagstidningar och var i Sverige för att studera vår barnomsorg och förskola. Men hon gjorde annat också. Hon gick på Nobelfesten. Jag minns hur hon fascinerat återgav denna erfarenhet, och hamnade på förstasidan av sin tidning. – Ni märkliga svenskar, ni dyrkar inga gudar, utan vetenskapen, konstaterade hon efteråt.

Varför har naturvetenskapen en så stark ställning i Sverige och på många andra håll i världen? Det är lätt att besvara frågan med att det har med människans sanningstörst att göra. Men om san-

ning vore ett kriterium för att kunskap ska sprids så hade mänskligheten nog aldrig nått särskilt långt. Frågetecknet i titeln *Sann opplysning?* är därför väl valt för en antologi om naturvetenskapens långa och framgångsrika historia i den nordiska offentligheten de senaste fyra hundra åren. Kunskap lockar, fascinerar och ger nya perspektiv. Kanske i synnerhet naturvetenskap.

Detta blir tydligt redan i bokens första empiriska kapitel av Lise Camilla Ruud, Merethe Roos och Jørn Hurum, om *Geologica Norvegica*, en bok som trycktes 1657 och är den första boken av naturvetenskaplig karaktär som trycks i Norge. Boken behandlar jordskalv och processer i jordens inre. Jag kan bara föreställa mig hur dåtidens läsare, i en tid när böcker och läskunnighet ännu var en bristvara, mötte dessa förklaringar av naturfenomen, i en genre som blandar naturhistoria, teologi, folktro och diverse mer eller mindre fantasifulla förklaringar av processer i jordens inre.

Genom att läsa om denna bok om jordskalv öppnas jag för kraften i det naturvetenskapliga upplysningsprojektet, dess potential att befria människan från auktoritetens och teologins förklaringar. Samtidigt är det uppenbart hur dessa olika kunskapsområden och förklaringsdomäner flyter in i varandra under tidigmodern tid. Det var ännu inte tid att utmana kyrkan. Detta sker först några hundra år senare.

I Merethe Roos kapitel om naturvetenskapen i folkskolan under 1800-talet blir det tydligt hur de naturvetenskapliga författarna får jobba allt hårdare för att få ihop relationen mellan naturvetenskap och teologi. Dessa spänningar har jag själv undersökt i egna studier av 1800-talets naturkunnighet i den svenska folkskolan (Hultén, 2008). Hur Gud är en självklar utgångspunkt i läroböcker i naturlära under första halvan, men

närmast osynlig mot slutet av 1800-talet, då naturvetenskapen vunnit en helt annan kulturell ställning, som ”religionsstiftare snarare än som en ödmjuk uppriktad hållare av en äldre tro” (Eriksson, 1978, 203).

När jag läser Henrik Edgren skildring av hur *Läsebok för folkskolan* framställde naturvetenskapen under andra halvan av 1800-talet blir det dock uppenbart att relationen mellan teologi och naturvetenskap tog sig olika uttryck i olika genrer. Läsebok för folkskolan ramade in naturvetenskapen på ett helt annat sätt än de rent naturvetenskapliga läromedel jag studerade. I läseboken lever genreblandningen kvar längre. Edgren förklarar det med att naturvetenskapen ännu inte nått den uppdelning som komma skulle, men jag skulle vilja peka på att det handlar om just den genre som naturvetenskapen blir del av, något som blir tydligt i Svein Sjøbergs kapitel om ”O-fagssyndromet”. Orienteringsämnet införs i många nordiska länder mot slutet av 1900-talet i samband med införandet av allmän skola i Norden. I detta ämne blandas såväl naturvetenskap som samhällsvetenskap i vad som ansågs vara för eleven relevanta teman. Men som Sjøberg visar innehöll böckerna mycket lite fysik och kemi, endast knappt fem procent, och det som skrevs var både torftigt skrivet och ibland rent felaktigt. Till exempel får vi lära oss att den mat vi inte kan använda kommer ut. Detta ger felaktiga associationer, som att något försvinner på vägen. Materiens bevarande är en viktig princip inom naturvetenskap. Även om det inte är teologin som spökar i dessa texter så pekar det på kunskapens plasticitet i relation till vardagliga sammanhang och inramningar. Dessa torde inte enbart gälla grundskolan utan även högre skolformer liksom andra medier och kontex-

ter. Den naturvetenskapliga kunskapen uttrycks alltid i en särskild kontext, med konsekvenser för den kunskap som uttrycks, det framgår med all tydlighet i antologins 19 kapitel.

I Hans Henrik Hjermitsevs kapitel ”Kampen om folkeoplysning og populærvitenskap i Danmark 1850–1920” funkar bokens bredare ambition att beskriva den nordiska kontexten som bäst. Här är fokus inte bara något av de enskilda nordiska länderna, vilket i antologin huvudsakligen inskränker sig till Norge, utan även samspel och skillnader mellan i detta fall Danmark, Norge och Sverige. Bakom den nordiska ytan döljs djupgående nationella skillnader som kan kopplas till folkupplysningens olika karaktär och framväxt i relation till naturvetenskap i dessa länder sedan 1800-talet. Detta tema breddas till Finland i Mona Forskåhls kapitel om naturvetenskap och folkupplysning i finländsk press 1770–1910. Helt klart finns skillnader mellan finsk- och svenskspråkig press vad gäller hur naturvetenskapen omskrivs, och påverkan av censur blir tydlig under det ryska styret. Finland beskrivs som ståendes lite vid sidan om en nordisk och naturvetenskaplig folkupplysning.

Naturvetenskapen som politiskt projekt blir extra tydligt i Kerstin Bornholdts kapitel om hälsoupplysaren Carl Schiøts. Detta kapitel handlar om hur det som kan betraktas som oskyldiga, ”objektiva”, mätningar av fysiska egenskaper blir till antaganden om mer eller mindre hälsosamma kvinnokroppar och visar på rashygienens framväxt och uttryck i Norden 1920–1930-tal.

I Siv Frøydis Bergs text om *Populært tidsskrift för seksuell opplysning* (PT), en tidsskrift som startades i Norge men även hade spridning och redaktioner i Sverige och Danmark, får vi möta vetenskapen

när den är som mest politisk. Det hela startade med att läkaren Karl Evang åtog sig uppdraget att svara på läsarnas medicinskt relaterade frågor i frågespalten i *Arbeiter-Magasinet*. Det visade sig att det fanns en närmast omätlig kunskapsstörst på sexuallivets område, och Evang såg behovet av en tidskrift inom området och tog själv initiativ till att starta PT 1933. Samtida med Elise Ottesen-Jensen får vi också veta att frikännandet av PT för att sprida pornografi fick stor betydelse för inrättandet av Riksförbundet för sexuell upplysning, RFSU, 1933. Vetenskapsmannen som politisk agitator blir kanske som tydligast här.

Att områden som medicin och geologi täcks av antologin visar på hur redaktörerna arbetat med en bred definition av naturvetenskapen i offentligheten. Detta gäller även det tekniska området. I Olav Hamrans text ”Teknikk på museum” får vi följa utvecklingen av tekniska museet i Norge, från inrättandet 1914, efter modell av Deutsches Museum i München (från 1904), fram till idag. Det är en hastig resa i tiden och olika syften med museiverksamheten. Vi får följa utvecklingen av museipedagogiken och samspelet mellan inriktningen på museet och teknik- och samhällsutveckling under den här tiden. Inte minst märks inverkan av science center-rörelsen, som startar med Oppenheimers Exploratorium i San Fransisco 1969. Detta ger avtryck i det tekniska museets inriktning under 1980-talet. Idag har de ingenjörer som startade museet ersatts av teknikhistoriker och museumpedagoger.

Samspelet naturvetenskap och teknik kunde givits mer utrymme. Medicin, geologi och teknik hamnar i antologin alla under naturvetenskapens upplysningsparaply. Detta har historiskt varit som allra tydligast i relation till teknik, ett område som i sig bär på en intres-

sant blandning av praktiska och naturvetenskapliga kunskapstraditioner och där själva begreppet teknik i dess moderna mening faktiskt är en produkt av denna utveckling (Hallström, Hultén och Lövheim, 2013). Ingenjörsvetenskapens höga offentliga status handlar i hög grad om ett lyckat gränsdragningsprojekt i relation till såväl rätt sorts teknik som till naturvetenskaplig kunskap. Helt klart finns spänningar mellan de i antologin berörda kunskapstraditionerna som hade kunnat synliggöras och bidra till förståelsen av dessa områdets ställning i offentligheten.

Naturvetenskapens framväxt som kulturkraft är närmast oöverträffad. I antologin får vi följa detta genom naturvetenskapens apostlar, agitatorer och olika mediala uttryck. Fokus i antologin är på texter och genrer, men vi får också inblick i ett bredare textbegrepp, genom naturforskarmöten, exkursioner och politiska rörelser. Och inte minst via beskrivning av centrala institutioner för upplysningsprojektet; museerna och i synnerhet den allmänna skolans betydelse för naturvetenskapens starka kulturella ställning får inte underskattas. Möjligen att den mediala och institutionella bredden likväl kan kännas lite snäv vad gäller det senaste århundradet, jag tänker inte minst på explosionen av naturvetenskap och teknik i TV, tidskrifter och på internet under andra halvan av 1900-talet.

Naturvetenskapens framgångssaga är i antologin samtidigt en berättelse om den ökade spänningen till det kulturella finrummet. Man kan i sammanhanget undra i vilken genre *Sann Upplysning?* själv befinner sig? Den är en tydligt akademisk produkt riktad till human- och samhällsvetare. Antologin skriver fram – inte naturvetenskapen i sig – utan kunskapen om det naturvetenskapliga kunskapsområdenas framväxt, som del

av en humanistisk akademisk bildning. Det är ett viktigt bidrag.

Antologin kan varmt rekommenderas, inte minst den avslutande sammanfattningen av Sverker Sörlin, som med hjälp av bland annat cirkulationsbegreppet och nordiska perspektiv lyfter antologin ytterligare en nivå.

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Monographs

Henning Hansen
Modern Reading: Swedish Book Consumption during the Late Nineteenth Century

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University of Norway
2017, 313 pp.

Henning Hansen's *Modern Reading* examines the consumption of the book and reading habits in Sweden during the late nineteenth century, and is part of a larger project, the Scandinavian Moment in World Literature (SC-

ANMO). With particular emphasis on the 1880s, Hansen's study is particularly concerned with what people in different areas of the population were reading in the Modern Breakthrough period, a moment of rupture in Scandinavian literature, which moved away from romanticism towards realism and included several key social debates such as secularisation, women's rights, and wider social criticism.

According to Hansen, "In many cases, the decision to leave out the subject of the audience and readers comes down to a lack of available information," which is why his study offers a new perspective for Scandinavian book consumption. In order to capture the reading habits of the "great masses," Hansen chose sources that reveal the individual book consumption habits of an average reader. His selection includes tens of thousands of lending and sales records from three institutions that played an important role in the dissemination of the book: a parish library, a commercial lending library, and a bookshop. Given that archival sources of the three institutions Hansen chose have never been the subject of a study, in addition to their rare ability to link specific books to identifiable individuals, his work provides a significant contribution to Scandinavian book history.

The book is divided into eight chapters with the introductory chapter presenting the research question, methodological approach, and the current state of academic literature on the Modern Breakthrough and book markets in the Scandinavian context. The second, third and fourth chapters provide background for the nineteenth-century book market with attention to demographic changes, literacy, and industrialization followed by an outline of the three institutions from which Hansen drew his

primary source material. Finally, the consumption trends in each institution are developed with analysis on the popularity of different genres. Chapter five examines the findings from the book consumption analysis while chapter six focuses this analysis on Modern Breakthrough literature. The seventh chapter is interested in the limitations presented by language, seasonal reading, and economic conditions with a focus on certain kinds of readers whose reading habits were controlled or questioned, such as women or children.

Despite the rarity of the sources and the quantity of information they provide, the sources themselves pose some methodological issues that Hansen addresses, such as the large quantity of data; however, some questions still remain. For example, as all of the institutions are from the South-Western part of Sweden, how might geographical distinctions between North and South have impacted broader reading trends? Hansen also noted that parish libraries were a crucial source of reading material for people in rural areas and that these libraries catered to their parishes' specific needs, such as agricultural books for farming areas and fishing books for coastal areas. However, it is not entirely evident that we can sufficiently draw larger conclusions about reading habits of rural people throughout Sweden from a single parish library if even two parish libraries did not contain the same books. Despite these challenges, Hansen rightly addresses the limitations his sources pose and mitigates these constraints.

Hansen thoroughly outlines his sources and solidly situates his data and analysis firmly within the socio-economic conditions that affected consumers' reading choices. His work acknowledges the importance of gender, class,

marital status, and age as categories of investigation, bringing greater nuance to the study of nineteenth-century readers. It is especially appreciated that while there is a chapter dedicated to members of the population whose reading was monitored (e.g., children) Hansen frequently incorporates these readers throughout the book providing an important level of nuance which is often lacking in larger studies; for example, he notes that in Gumpert's bookshop only one in twelve magazines targeted at women were actually purchased by them, indicating that many women's husbands purchased their reading material for them (p. 147), or that women independently holding their own accounts doubled in 1880s (p. 185). The author gives a big-picture analysis of larger trends in book consumption in the specific genres outlined, but the large scope of the work does not prevent him from providing a more "personal" element of reading by selecting certain people as case studies, such as Sophie Elkan, a historical writer and customer of Gumpert's bookshop.

The book could have benefitted from a different organisational structure, as at times the thread of the argument seems muted and fragmentary, particularly between chapters 2–4 where the author focuses on describing the reading habits at each institution and does not address the Modern Breakthrough again until the sixth chapter. Transitions between different sections could also be improved to maintain the cohesiveness of the ideas presented as well as more examples of readers' impressions of what they read to give added depth to the mainly quantitative approach.

Overall the work is logically and clearly presented with thorough grounding in a rich body of empirical data. The data collected on reading habits of dif-

ferent social groups serves as an excellent source for further research and the book would benefit graduate students and experienced scholars alike conducting historical research into reading and print consumption. Undoubtedly, this book is a valuable contribution to the history of the book and book consumption in the nineteenth century.

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