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EDITORIAL

Notes from the editorial team

Henrik Åström Elmersjö (on behalf of the editorial team)

The history of the *Nordic Journal of Educational History* began pretty much exactly 10 years ago with the fifth Nordic Educational History Conference, held in Umeå in the fall of 2012. Starting up a new journal is very challenging. Perhaps especially so in a publish-or-perish climate where researchers are pushed to publish their findings fast, and in high-impact journals; where they need reflective, high-quality peer review and editing, and therefore—understandably—turn to established journals with their manuscripts. These challenges for a new journal are also part of the reason it took one and a half years, until the spring of 2014 for the first issue of the NJEdH to be published. However, the research community really came through for this journal by submitting excellent articles early on, even though they did not know the quality of peer review, editing or future impact of a publication in this journal. Because of that trust we can now, after 10 years, really say that the NJEdH have upheld both the high quality that Nordic researchers in the field of educational history deserves, as well as a good reputation among those researchers, and beyond. This is also evident in the great—and growing—interest in the journal and in the number of manuscripts submitted. We would like to thank everyone who contributes to the further growth of our journal. The NJEdH was started by Nordic researchers in the field of educational history, and it is still upheld and maintained by this network of scholars who are submitting manuscripts, acting as part of the editorial board, taking on the responsibilities of peer review, or simply continuing the discussion on educational history at conferences and seminars, not only in the Nordic countries, but all over the world.

This issue includes seven articles with the first being an invited reflective overview on the concept of educational space, written by Jeroen J.H. Dekker. This is a new idea from the editorial team to invite specific researchers, who have made a significant contribution to the field, to write these kinds of reflective articles. The other six articles span at least part of the width of the Nordic scholarship on educational history, perhaps with a slight focus on the second half of the twentieth century. However, one of the articles, written by Jakob Evertsson, discusses the dissemination of wall charts as an instructional technology in Swedish elementary schools from

1861 to 1910. An article written by Anna Larsson covers the career of the subject *heimatskunde* (*hembygds-kunskap*), or home geography, in Swedish schools from the inception of the subject in 1919 to its abandonment in 1980. Johanna Ringarp contributes an article on the organisation of Swedish for Immigrants, the subject taught to immigrants as part of the political goal of establishment in society and in the labour market. Jonathan Lilliedahl's article on school finance reform highlights the relationship between local policy and major finance reforms through a case study of a Swedish municipal school. The national filters of class consciousness in Yugoslav history textbooks of the 1960s and 70s is the topic of Mersija Fetibegovic's article, and finally, Jukka Kortti discusses radical reforms to Finnish higher education in the 1970s and how these reforms were met by university professors.

As always, the review section is also filled with interesting discussions on recent studies in the field of educational history, from the Nordic countries, and elsewhere.



Educational Space in Time: Reflections on Limits and Options for Educational Ambitions in History

Jeroen J.H. Dekker

Abstract • This article studies educational ambitions in the context of the time-bound limits and possibilities offered by the educational space in order to better understand people's educational mindsets and behaviour across time. The concepts of educational space and educational ambition, as well as their application across time, are elaborated by distinguishing four indicators that appear to determine the limits and conditions of the educational space in the history of early modern and modern Europe. These are the demographic situation, the socio-economic circumstances, the power balance between private and public, and the time-bound manifestation of the educational mindset. The article also explores how some classic educational concepts—here, the *sentiment de l'enfance* coined by Philippe Ariès and the concept of “discipline”—could be used in the history of childhood and education by relating them to time-bound limits and positive conditions of the educational space.

Keywords • Educational space in time; educational ambitions; life stages; Ariès; Foucault

Introduction

When I introduced the concept of educational space in my book *Het verlangen naar opvoeden*, in English *The Longing after Education*, my intention was to find an alternative to the often schematic positions in the long-lasting debate between historians and social scientists regarding the most eye-catching thesis of the French historian Philippe Ariès in his classic study *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime* (1960).¹ Ariès wrote about the historicity of the *sentiment de l'enfance*, a concept of childhood through which adults would approach childhood as a specific life stage characterised by the need for education with the child considered an *animal educandum*; that is, a child that should be reared and educated. The *sentiment de l'enfance* started its revival during the twelfth century, after having almost disappeared at the end of the Roman Empire, but only became the intended standard for the society as a whole in the nineteenth century. This rebirth of a mind-set occurred together with the *sentiment de la famille*, the institution where this approach of children started.²

Ariès's interpretation, which meant the start of the cultural turn in history of education, was appraised, criticised, and refuted. The discussion centred on the question of whether specific attention for children was a new historical phenomenon

1 Jeroen J.H. Dekker, *Het verlangen naar opvoeden: Over de groei van de pedagogische ruimte in Nederland sinds de Gouden Eeuw tot omstreeks 1900* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2006), 13–21.

2 Philippe Ariès, *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1973; or. 1960), 23–41 [English translation: *Centuries of Childhood*] (New York, Vintage Books, 1962); *Centuries of Childhood* (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1973).

and the result of the modernisation of society—the so-called evolutionistic position in the debate—or an almost structural characteristic of human beings of which the manifestation could vary greatly over time and place. The latter position is usually termed the revisionist or structural position.³

Among the adherents of the evolutionistic position were influential historians such as Élisabeth Badinter, Edward Shorter, and Lawrence Stone.⁴ They identified the birth of this *sentiment de l'enfance*, which in their view also included motherly love, as taking place after the Middle Ages. This 'black legend', as the position was characterised by Rudolf Dekker, meant that the child's world from being downright miserable in the past became better over the course of time, with a decisive acceleration due to the Enlightenment. Loyd deMause summarised this view in agreement as follows: "The history of childhood is a nightmare from which we have only recently begun to awaken."⁵

The structural or revisionist position in the debate, which Rudolf Dekker characterised as the 'white legend', resulted in a series of studies about a variety of manifestations of practicing the *sentiment de l'enfance* across time and region. Those historians mostly focused on the history of early modern Europe, the Middle Ages, and Antique Greece and Rome, and were often driven by a need to demonstrate examples of practicing the *sentiment de l'enfance* in their period of expertise. Linda Pollock stated that, from the sixteenth century, a 'concept of childhood' existed, with the majority of children being well-treated rather than being subjected to brutality, and Alan Macfarlane and Stephen Ozment explored the loving family. Research in this tradition has also been conducted by Ralph Houlbrooke, Harrie Peeters, Shulamith Shahar, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, Jan Baptist Bedaux, Jacques Gélis, and recently by Claudia Jarzebowski and Linda Oja.⁶ At times, this structural

-
- 3 Jeroen J.H. Dekker and Leendert F. Groenendijk, "Philippe Ariès's Discovery of Childhood after Fifty Years: The Impact of a Classic Study on Educational Research," *Oxford Review of Education* 38, no. 2 (2012), 133–47. Cf. Jeroen J.H. Dekker, *Educational Ambitions in History: Childhood and Education in an Expanding Educational Space from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2010), 15–17; Jan Baptist Bedaux, "Introduction," in *Pride and Joy. Children's portraits in the Netherlands 1500–1700*, ed. Jan Baptist Bedaux and Rudi E.O. Ekkart (Gent/Amsterdam/New York: Ludion and Abrams, 2000), 11–31.
 - 4 Edward Shorter, *The Making of the Modern Family* (New York: Basic Books, 1975); Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500–1800* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1977); Élisabeth Badinter, *L'amour en plus* (Paris: Flammarion, 1980); Rudolf M. Dekker, *Uit de schaduw in 't grote licht: Kinderen in egodocumenten van de Gouden Eeuw tot de Romantiek* (Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 1995); Rudolf Dekker, *Children, Memory and Autobiography in Holland: From the Golden Age to Romanticism* (London: Macmillan, 1999).
 - 5 Loyd DeMause, ed., *The History of Childhood* (New York: Psychohistory Press, 1974), 1. Cf. Claudia Jarzebowski, *Kindheit und Emotion: Kinder und ihre Lebenswelten in der europäischen Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2018), 62, on DeMause.
 - 6 Among the revisionists are Alan MacFarlane, *Marriage and Love in England. Modes of Reproduction 1300–1840* (Oxford/New York: Basil Blackwell, 1986); Steven Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled: Family Life in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 2001, or 1983); Steven Ozment, *Ancestors, The Loving Family in Old Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001); Ralph A. Houlbrooke, *The English Family 1450–1700* (London/New York: Longman, 1984); Harry F.M. Peeters, *Kind en jeugdige in het begin van de moderne tijd* (ca. 1500–ca. 1650) Hilversum/Antwerpen: Paul Brand, 1966); Shulamith Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages* (London/New York: Routledge, 1990); Shulamith Shahar, "The First Stage of Childhood and the 'Civilizing Process,'" in *Paedagogica Historica, Supplementary Series 2, Education and Cultural Transmission: Historical Studies of Continuity and Change in Families, Schooling and Youth Cultures*, ed. Johan Sturm, Jeroen J.H. Dekker, Richard Aldrich and Frank Simon, 163–78 (Gent: C.S.H.P., 1996); Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou, village occitan de 1294 à 1324* (Paris:

position was based on biological insights that were used to show the necessity of specific parental care for children to survive. In 1970, the psycho-historian David Hunt claimed that a ‘concern for children’ was ‘a part of human nature’. He concluded: “The argument in *Centuries of Childhood* is thus biologically almost inconceivable.”⁷

Many representatives of the structural turn have also emphasised the normality of affectionate relationships between parents and their children and within the parental couple. This was often done because they, like many evolutionists, misunderstood Ariès’s thesis. According to Ariès, the absence of the *sentiment de l’enfance* meant the absence of a specific life stage and thus of awareness of the *sui generis*—that is, the unique character—of children, but not the absence of parental love and affection.⁸

The debate between evolutionists and structuralists resulted in many beautiful studies on the history of childhood. Curiously, this was partly because of these misunderstandings, which created extra motivation to demonstrate the existence of the *sentiment de l’enfance* over the long term. This did increase our knowledge of child and education in the past with the use of new sources, concepts, and interpretations. As a result, the opposition between the ‘white’ and ‘black’ legends became less strong; a pure gain for the history of childhood and education where schematic approaches sooner or later get stuck on the variety of human behaviour in the past.

It is within this context that I have argued that, instead of tracing the birth of educational longing and of the *sentiment de l’enfance* in specific periods, one should focus on its time-bound manifestations in the context of available educational

Gallimard, 1975); Danièle Alexandre-Bidon and Didier Lette, *Les enfants au Moyen-Age V–XVe siècles* (Paris: Hachette, 1997); Jacques Gélis, “L’individualisation de l’enfant,” in *L’histoire de la vie privée: De la Renaissance aux Lumières*, vol. 3, ed. Philippe Ariès and George Duby (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1987), 311–29; Jacques Gélis, *L’arbre et le fruit: La naissance dans l’Occident moderne XVIe–XIXe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1984); Jan Baptist Bedaux, *The Reality of Symbols: Studies in the Iconology of Netherlandish art 1400–1800* (The Hague/Maarssen: Gary Schwartz/SDU, 1990); Bedaux (2000); Annemarieke Willemsen, “Out of Children’s Hands: Surviving Toys and Attributes,” in Bedaux and Ekkart (2000), 297–303; Linda A. Pollock, *Forgotten Children: Parent–Child Relations from 1500 to 1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 262–71; Linda A. Pollock, *A Lasting Relationship: Parents and Children over Three Centuries* (London, Fourth Estate, 1987). Cf. Scarlett Beauvalet, “Children and Childhoods,” in *A Cultural History of Education in the Renaissance*, ed. Jeroen J.H. Dekker (London/New York/Oxford/New Delhi/Sydney: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020), 65–83; on Germany, Jarzebowski (2018); on Scandinavia, Linda Oja, “Childcare and Gender in Sweden C. 1600–1800,” *Gender & History* 27, no. 1 (2015), 77–111; on the Dutch Republic, Jeroen J.H. Dekker and Leendert F. Groenendijk, “The Republic of God or the Republic of Children? Childhood and Child-rearing After the Reformation: An Appraisal of Simon Schama’s Thesis about the Uniqueness of the Dutch Case,” *Oxford Review of Education* 17 (1991), 317–35.

7 David Hunt, *Parents and Children in History: The Psychology of Family Life in Early Modern France* (New York: Basic Books, 1970), 46, 49. Cf. Bedaux (2000), 11–12 with the same way of reasoning; Jan Baptist Bedaux, “From Normal to Supranormal: Observations on Realism and Idealism from a Biological Perspective,” in *Sociobiology and the Arts*, ed. Jan Baptist B. Bedaux, and B. Cooke (Amsterdam/Atlanta: Editions Rodopi, 1999), 99–128.

8 Ariès (1973), 134, explained that the temporal absence of the “sentiment de l’enfance” does not mean “que les enfants étaient négligés, abandonnés, ou méprisés,” but deals with “une conscience de la particularité enfantine, cette particularité, qui distingue essentiellement l’enfant de l’adulte même jeune. Cette conscience n’existait pas. C’est pourquoi, dès que l’enfant pouvait vivre sans la sollicitude constante de sa mère, de sa nourrice ou de sa remueuse, il appartenait à la société des adultes et ne s’en distinguait plus.”

space.⁹ This approach would guarantee a better balance between continuity and change, not hindered by a schematic division of a history of childhood and education before and after the birth of the awareness of the *sui generis*—that is, the unique character—of children.

Educational space in time

In my view, the concept of educational space should cover both physically enclosed places such as a family home, a nursery, a school, a classroom, a playing field, an orphanage, or a residential institution, and also cultural and psychological phenomena such as the educational mindset.¹⁰ A vital feature of educational space is its limits, which get in the way of or even obstruct child rearing, and the positive conditions of this space that promote, generate or enable child rearing and education. On one hand, educational space delineates “the always restrictive availability of education,” but on the other hand it contains “a series of conditions that make educational ambitions possible”; this characterisation is inspired by the definition of culture as a dynamic process characterised by limits and conditions within cultural history and cultural anthropology.¹¹

Educational space is space in time. Fernand Braudel—the most famous member of the second generation of the *Annales* group of historians related to the journal with the same name and oriented to an integration of historical and social sciences—wrote about the plurality of social and historical time, or *pluralité du temps social*. After applying this in *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (1949), he developed the concept further in an article that became a classic: *Histoire et sciences sociales. La longue durée* (1958).

Braudel distinguished between three historical times: the short term (*temps événementiel*), the medium term (*conjuncture*), and the long-term (*longue durée*).¹² He related economic processes to the *longue durée*, as in *Civilisation matérielle*,

9 Dekker (2006), 23. Cf. Jeroen J.H. Dekker, Leendert F. Groenendijk, and Johan Verberckmoes, “Proudly Raising Vulnerable Youngsters: The Scope for Education in the Netherlands,” in *Pride and Joy*, ed. Bedaux and Ekkart, 43–60. Cf. Jeroen J.H. Dekker, Bernard Kruithof, Frank Simon, and Bruno Vanobbergen, “Discoveries of Childhood in History: An Introduction,” *Paedagogica Historica* 48, no. 1 (2012), 1–9; Willem Frijhoff, “Historian’s Discovery of Childhood,” *Paedagogica Historica*, 48 no. 1 (2012), 11–29.

10 Dekker (2010), 11–15; Jeroen J.H. Dekker, *De pedagogische ruimte in de tijd* (Groningen: Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 2019), 9–11; Jeroen J.H. Dekker, “Introduction: Education in an Emerging Communication and Knowledge Society,” in Dekker (ed.) (2020), 1–17. Cf. Luis Grosso Correia, ed., “Special Issue: ISCHE 41 (Porto) Spaces and Places of Education,” *Paedagogica Historica* 57, nos. 1–2 (2021), 1–219; Paul Smeyers, Marc Depaepe, and Edwin Keiner (eds.), *Educational Research: The Importance and Effects of Institutional Spaces* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2013); John Loughman and John M. Montias, *Public and Private Spaces: Works of Art in Seventeenth Century Dutch Houses* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2000).

11 Dekker (2010), 11. On the use of ‘space’ in cultural history, see George Steinmetz, “Logics of History as a Framework for an Integrated Social Science,” *Social Science History* 32, no. 4 (2008), 548. On culture, Willem Frijhoff, *Cultuur, mentaliteit: illusies van elites?* (Nijmegen: SUN, 1983); Jeroen J.H. Dekker, *Het gezinsportret: Over de geschiedenis van opvoeding, cultuuroverdracht en identiteit* (Baarn: Ambo, 1992), 12–13; Carlo Ginzburg, *Miti Emblemi Spie: Morfologia e storia* (Turin: Einaudi, 1986).

12 Fernand Braudel, “Histoire et sciences sociales: La longue durée,” in Fernand Braudel, *Écrits sur l'histoire* (Paris, 1969, or. 1958, *Annales E.S.C.*, no. 4, 725–53), 71–72. Cf. Jeroen J.H. Dekker, “Educational sciences and the History of Education: ‘La longue durée’ or the Short Timeliness,” *Bildungsgeschichte: International Journal for the Historiography of Education* 3, no. 2 (2013), 248–51.

Economie et Capitalisme (1979). He was also aware of the *longue durée* of cultural and mental processes, which were characterised by *cadres mentaux*, mental frames that almost behaved like prisons of the *longue durée* with hardly any opportunities to escape. In his recent book on the Renaissance, Bernd Roeck described them as “insurmountable walls of the spaces of possibility.”¹³

The discussion about Ariès’ thesis was basically a debate about whether or not the *sentiment de l’enfance* was a *longue durée* mental frame or an innovation of the modern era. I propose to explore this mental frame’s time-bound manifestations within a changing educational space. In my previous work, I distinguished four indicators with crucial impact on limiting or stimulating the educational space and thus the realisation of educational ambitions. Those indicators are the demographic situation, the socio-economic circumstances, the educational power balance between private and public, and the extent and manner in which the educational mindset was able to realise the *sentiment de l’enfance* by trying to understand the child’s world.¹⁴

The educational space of childhood has developed over time in Europe, both in terms of limits and as positive enabling conditions. Until well into the nineteenth century, the strongest limit for the educational space was the demographic situation. For centuries, high infant and child mortality, as well as early death of parents, characterised the life of all people, rich and poor alike. This extreme vulnerability of children and their parents, particularly mothers, was the main cause of the end of educational ambitions.¹⁵ Adulthood, the expected horizon of childhood, was uncertain because of regular epidemics of the plague, smallpox, typhoid and dysentery, not to mention the consequences of wars and famines.¹⁶

In the course of the nineteenth century, demography slowly transformed from a limit to a positive condition. The main reasons for this change included better infrastructure for water and sewerage, more emphasis on hygiene, better medical care, and later on the introduction of antibiotics, after the Second World War complemented by vaccination programs against infectious diseases. Behind this transformation was modern economic growth and, from 1900, social and educational policies. By reducing child mortality and increasing the health of children, the demographic development changed from limit to condition. Now the main obstacle to education was removed for the majority of children. They could be educated to adults instead of dying prematurely.

The economic development was a factor that both could limit and extend educational space. Economic modernisation during commercial capitalism in early

13 Braudel (1969), 43–45, 50–51: “les cadres mentaux aussi sont prisons de longue durée.” Cf. Marc Bloch, *Apologie pour l’histoire ou métier d’historien* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1975), 158: social conditions are “dans leur nature profonde, mentales.” Cf. Bernd Roeck, *Der Morgen der Welt: Geschichte der Renaissance* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2017), 20.

14 Cf. Dekker (2010), 12.

15 Peter N. Stearns, *Childhood in World History* (New York/London: Routledge, 2006), 55. Cf. Rudolf Dekker (1995), 31.

16 Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, “L’enfant, la mémoire et la mort,” in *Histoire de l’enfance, vol. 1, De l’antiquité au XVIIe siècle*, ed. Egle Becchi and Dominique Julia (Paris: Seuil, 1998), 200–30, pp. 208–17, on parental grief in early modern Europe. On the Netherlands, Chris Vandenbroeke, “Zuigelingssterfte, bevallingsstoornissen en kraambedsterfte (17^{de}–19^{de} eeuw),” *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis* 60 (1977), 133–63; Chris Vandenbroeke et al., “De zuigelingen- en kindersterfte in België en Nederland in seculair perspectief,” *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 94 (1981), 461–91.

modern Europe limited the educational space, both inside Europe by increasing child labour and outside Europe through colonialism and slave trade. The same economic modernisation was also a positive condition that contributed significantly to higher literacy levels by investing in schooling in the so-called European Megalopolis, Europe's urbanised part, with the centre gradually shifting from the Mediterranean to north-west Europe.¹⁷ In a reciprocal relationship between education and economy, those investments in schooling contributed to economic growth by producing more competence and knowledge.¹⁸ In the nineteenth century, the historically unprecedented economic growth caused by the Industrial Revolution was important for mass schooling and compulsory education around 1900.¹⁹

However, this industrial development also placed limits on the educational space. Particularly in the first phase of the Industrial Revolution, it caused an intensification of child labour, which became heavier and riskier than before because of longer working hours and faster work pace determined by machines. For many children, childhood became shorter and more disciplined instead of longer and more child-oriented, as a linear-evolutionist interpretation of history of childhood should expect. This hard reality of childhood was incompatible with a more explicit child-oriented discourse in this very period (more on this below), and soon resistance emerged, first in England, which had numerous industrial chimneys that were cleaned by skinny children, a practice touchingly expressed in *The Chimney Sweepers* by the romantic English poet William Blake (1757–1827). The poem was formulated from the perspective of the child and starts as follows:

When my mother died I was very young,
And my father sold me while yet my tongue
Could scarcely cry ‘Weep! weep! weep! weep!’
So your chimneys I sweep, and in soot I sleep.²⁰

Opposition toward industrial child labour eventually resulted in child labour acts and school acts. When school attendance increased, child labour decreased and eventually the school gained the upper hand.²¹

Realisation of educational ambitions was, and remains, dependent on who is in charge of the educational space, an issue narrowly related to the power balance between private and public. Private primarily means parents and family, and also

17 Fernand Braudel, *Civilisation matérielle, Économie et Capitalisme Xve–XVIIIe Siècle, volume 3: Le temps du monde* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1979), 71–234; Jan Luiten Van Zanden, *The Long Road to the Industrial Revolution: The European Economy in a Global Perspective, 1000–1800* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 257, 259; Mihoko Suzuki, “Literacies: Early Modern Literacy in a Global Context,” in Dekker (ed.) (2020), 151–72.

18 Catherine Secretan and Willem T.M. Frijhoff, eds, *Dictionnaire des Pays-Bas au siècle d’or* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2018), XX; Dekker (2020), 11; Jean-Luc Le Cam, “Learners and Learning,” in Dekker (ed.) (2020a), 107–27; Jean-Luc Le Cam, “Teachers and Teaching,” in Dekker (ed.) (2020b), 129–50.

19 Cf. Johannes Westberg, Lukas Boser and Ingrid Brühwiler (eds.), *School Acts: The Rise of Mass Schooling. Education Policy in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan/Springer Nature, 2019).

20 William Blake, *The Chimney Sweeper* (<https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/43654/the-chimney-sweeper-when-my-mother-died-i-was-very-young>, accessed October 10, 2021).

21 Westberg et al. (2019); Dekker (2006), 369–77.

private institutions with educational ambitions (initially mainly the churches). Later, the Reformation Protestant and Roman-Catholic churches gained more influence on parenting and education through such activities as schooling and church-bound charity organisations. From the late eighteenth century, secular philanthropical societies also became players in the field of education.²² Public means central, regional and local state, which in early modern Europe was narrowly connected with the dominant church. In the quest for power to realise educational ambitions, private and public could cooperate, but their relationship was often characterised by competition and struggle.²³ Most eye-catching were the tensions between state and church in the struggle for mass schooling and compulsory education in European countries such as France, Germany, and the Netherlands, and the cooperation between state and private philanthropy in child protection policies.

The fourth indicator—the state of the educational mental frame, as expressed both on an individual and institutional level and within both private and public institutions—was decisive in terms of coping with limits and conditions of available educational space. This mental frame was embedded in time-bound world views, which cover mental frameworks of ideas and beliefs with which the world is approached. Worldviews can be religious and secular; they vary from world views with a very long term, such as the main book religions, to more time-bound world views like liberalism and communism. For the examples explored in this article, important world views are Christian Humanism and Reformation in early modern Europe, and Enlightenment and Romanticism in the nineteenth century.

The mental frameworks that were characterised by a *sentiment de l'enfance* and embedded in those world views were a driving force behind educational processes such as compulsory education, justified by educational, economic, political (citizenship) and social arguments; and child protection acts, justified by “the best interest of the child” and by social and political goals such as decreasing poverty and preventing future societal unrest.²⁴ Such mental frameworks mobilised parents and institution with educational ambitions such as the state, churches and philanthropical societies.

This mobilisation—which, among other things, implied the rise of mass schooling—also implied a pedagogisation. The process of pedagogisation refers to an ever-growing societal interest in the importance of education in relation to all kinds of social, economic, and cultural issues, and is related to the birth of empirical educational sciences at the end of the nineteenth century. This resulted in making children objects of scientific research and in observing them with a disenchanted instead of Romantic gaze. This development fits Max Weber's concept

22 Cf. Jeroen J.H. Dekker, *The Will to Change the Child: Re-Education Homes for Children at Risk in Nineteenth Century Western Europe* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2001). Cf. Peter Becker and Jeroen J.H. Dekker, “Doers: The Emergence of an Acting Elite,” *Paedagogica Historica* 38, nos. 2/3 (2002), 427–32 [special issue: *Doers: Philanthropists and Bureaucrats in the 19th Century: Views on Education and Society, Communication, Collaboration*, ed. Jeroen J.H. Dekker and Peter Becker].

23 Steinmetz (2008), 546.

24 Cf. Marie-Sylvie Dupont-Bouchat, Éric Pierre, Jean-Marie Fecteau, Jean Trépanier, Jacques-Guy Petit, Bernard Schnapper, and Jeroen J.H. Dekker, *Enfance et justice au XIXe siècle: Essais d'histoire comparée de la protection de l'enfance 1829–1914, France, Belgique, Pays-Bas, Canada* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2001); Dekker (2001), 128–40.

of disenchantment (in German, *Entzauberung*) as long-term development in the Western world.²⁵

Educational ambitions

Educational ambitions require educational space, as defined above. Educational ambitions denote the goal-oriented will to educate and form the driving force to educate for individual educators, first of all parents and later also educational professionals, and for both private and public institutions such as the church, philanthropic societies, and the school. It is the educational ambitions that differentiate education from child rearing: the education ambition refers to those practices with an explicit focus on an educational goal and intends to guide children's development in the direction of the period-bound educational goal. Education ambition would stimulate a will to change children's behaviour, particularly when educational ambitions target at-risk children in out-of-home settings, such as neglected children and children with behavioural problems.²⁶

The direction of educational ambitions has changed across time. In early modern Europe, the goal of achieving Christian salvation dominated, while around 1800 Enlightenment-inspired education focused on making good citizens out of children. At approximately the same time, authors such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau—a philosopher in between Enlightenment and Romanticism, with his highly popular *Émile* (1762)—and Friedrich Fröbel—the full-blooded Romantic pedagogue with experience in educational practice, which led to his *Die Menschenerziehung* (The Education of Man) of 1828—shifted attention from education as a filler of a child's *tabula rasa* to the child as an entity full of content, to be stimulated instead of filled, for example by child's play. From about 1900, the child's best interests became a dominant goal, while stimulating child's happiness became an almost independent educational goal, especially from the 1970s onwards.²⁷

The emergence of new goals, made possible by changes in the educational space, does not mean that existing goals faded to the background. Instead, the history of educational space is marked by the coexistence of various, often divergent and sometimes openly competing educational ambitions. An example is the nineteenth century school struggle between state and religiously inspired movements in

25 On pedagogisation, Marc Depaepe, *De pedagogisering achterna: Aanzet tot een genealogie van de pedagogische mentaliteit in de voorbije 250 jaar* (Leuven/Amersfoort: ACCO, 1998); Paul Smeyers and Marc Depaepe (eds.), *Educational Research: the Educationalization of Social Problems* (New York, Dordrecht, London: Springer 2018); Max Weber, "Wissenschaft als Beruf," in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre*, ed. Johannes Winckelmann (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr Paul Siebeck, 1982, or. 1919), 594. See Jeroen J.H. Dekker, "Demystification in the Century of the Child: The Conflict between Romanticism and Disenchantment in (Residential) Youth Care from the 1830s to 2000," in *Professionalization and Participation in Child and Youth Care: Challenging Understandings in Theory and Practice*, ed. Erik J. Knorth, Peter M. van den Bergh, and Fop Verhey (Burlington: Ashgate, 2002), 31–33, and Jeroen J.H. Dekker, "The Century of the Child Revisited," in *Children's Rights: Progress and Perspectives. Essays from the International Journal of Children's Rights*, ed. Michael Freeman (Leiden/Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers/Koninklijke Brill NV, 2011; or. 2000), 482–86.

26 Jeroen J.H. Dekker, "Children at Risk in History: A Story of Expansion," *Paedagogica Historica* 45, nos. 1/2 (2009), 17–36; Dekker (2010), 10–11; Dekker (2001).

27 Cf. Stearns (2006), 157; Peter N. Stearns, "Happy Children: A Modern Emotional Commitment," *Frontiers in Psychology* 10 (2019), article 2025, 1–8.

countries like France, Germany and the Netherlands.²⁸ Another example are the attempts of the progressive education movement to reform schooling, using the works of Friedrich Froebel, John Dewey and Helen Parkhurst (the Dalton Plan), among others, as inspiration.

Educational space and the classic concepts for the history of education

The concept of educational space may be related to a range of classic concepts in the history of childhood and education.²⁹ Here, I focus on two of these. The first, explained above, is *sentiment de l'enfance*, which also covers the concept of the educational relationship.³⁰ The second is discipline. While far from absent in the history of pedagogical ideas, it became well-known by Michel Foucault in *Surveiller et punir* (1975), a study about the history of discipline as an instrument for behavioural change focusing on institutions like the panoptic prison, the residential educational institution, and the school. The concept was introduced fifteen years earlier into the cultural and social history of education, again by Ariès.³¹ Below I explore the two concepts in their time-bound manifestation, by focusing on parental behaviour in early modern Europe and then on schooling and residential re-education in the nineteenth century.

“Sentiment de l'enfance” in the educational space of early modern Europe

As we have seen above, the physical vulnerability of children and their parents in early modern Europe placed limits on educational ambitions.³² Parents lived with the constant fear of their child's death: the ‘dark legend’ of the evolutionists was, in demographic terms, a hard reality.³³ According to several supporters of the ‘dark legend, such as Edward Shorter, this high risk of death of young children restrained parents from entering a loving and emotional educational relationship. However, many personal documents and paintings show that the mindset of a lot of those

28 Dekker (2010), 11; Jeroen J.H. Dekker, “In Search of Multiple Compatibility: Modernization, Secularization, Religion, and Education in History,” *Bildungsgeschichte: International Journal for the Historiography of Education* 11, no. 2 (2021), 171–75.

29 For cultural transmission, see Harvey Siegel, “Education and Cultural Transmission/Transformation: Philosophical Reflections on the Historian's Task,” *Paedagogica Historica Supplementary Series* 2 (1996), 25–46, 28, 37–38; Jeroen J.H. Dekker, “Cultural Transmission and Inter-Generational Interaction,” *International Review of Education* 47, no. 1 (2001), 77–95; Wilna A.J. Meijer, “Cultural Transmission and the Balance Between Tradition and Enlightenment: The Example of Islam,” in *Religious Education in a World of Religious Diversity*, ed. Wilna A.J. Meijer, S. Miedema and A. Lanser-van der Velde (Münster/New York/Munich/Berlin: Waxmann, 2009), 181–94.

30 Cf. Ben Spiecker, “The Pedagogical Relationship,” *Oxford Review of Education* 10 (1984), 203–9.

31 Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir. Naissance de la prison* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975) [English translation: *Discipline and punish*. Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1977]. While the title of Ariès (1973) suggests a history of child and family, the biggest chapter is about the school, see Jeroen J.H. Dekker and Daniel M. Lechner, “Discipline and Pedagogics in History: Foucault, Ariès, and the History of Panoptical Education,” *The European Legacy* 4, no. 5 (1999), 37–49; Jeroen J.H. Dekker, “Éduquer et punir: Michel Foucault et l'histoire de l'éducation surveillée,” *Sociétés et Représentations* 3 (1996), 257–68.

32 Stearns (2006), 55. Cf. Rudolf Dekker (1995), 31.

33 Rudolf Dekker (1995), 31.

parents was not that different from ours.³⁴ They loved their children, tried to care and educate them to adulthood, became worried when their children were ill, and sad or inconsolable when a child died.

As pious Christians resigned to God's will, the parents' affection for their child was evident, as was their grief. Well-to-do parents often had portraits painted of their children while still very young, conscious of their poor life expectancy. This is reflected in the fact that almost half of the children in Dutch seventeenth-century child portraits were aged between 0 and 12 months.³⁵ Funeral portraits provide a specific kind of evidence of grief on the child's death.³⁶ Also, many family portraits include already deceased children, to show their membership of the family.³⁷ Parents also often died prematurely. Evidence of communal educational responsibility for child rearing included the numerous orphanages, often in impressive buildings such as *Ospedale degli Innocenti* in Florence.³⁸

Setting aside the discussion on whether this affection for children was new to the Renaissance, it is uncontested that the *sentiment de l'enfance* became more manifest during this period. In this communication and knowledge society with many subjects on the discussion table, education and childhood were discussed profoundly. Among the humanists joining this discussion were Juan Luis Vives (1493–1540) with *De institutione feminae christianae* (1523), Pier Paolo Vergerio (1370–1444) with *De ingenuis moribus ac liberalibus studiis* (1472), Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472) with *I Libri della famiglia* (1433–1440), and Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466–1536). With *Declamatio de pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis* [abridged as A Declamation] (1529) and *De civilitate morum puerilium* [On Good Manners] (1530), Erasmus decisively influenced the educational discourse in Europe for several centuries.³⁹

According to Erasmus, reaching adulthood with a balanced personality was only possible when the product of nature was cultivated by education.⁴⁰ Children "are to be seen initially as empty vessels to be filled by the teacher, or as wax to

34 On personal documents, Rudolf Dekker (1999); Rudolf Dekker (1995); Dekker (2006), 138–46; Benjamin B. Roberts, *Through the Keyhole: Dutch Child-Rearing Practices in the 17th and 18th Century: Three Urban Elite Families* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1998), 213; Dekker (2010), 36–37, 40–41; Scarlett Beauvalet, "Life Histories," in Dekker (ed.) (2020), 173–92.

35 See Bedaux (2000), 23, 32, n. 29.

36 Jeroen J.H. Dekker, "Images as Representations: Visual Sources on Education and Childhood in the Past," *Paedagogica Historica* 51, no. 6 (2015), 709–14; Jan Baptist Bedaux, "Funeraire kinderportretten uit de 17de eeuw," in *Naar het lijk. Het Nederlandse doodsportret 1500-heden*, ed. Bert C. Sliggers (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1998), 88–114; Bedaux and Ekkart (2000), 292–93, 192–93; Dekker, Groenendijk and Verberckmoes (2000), 56–57.

37 E.g. Bernhard Strigel (c. 1465–1528), *Portrait of Konrad Rehlinger of Augsburg with his Eight Children* (1517) (München: Alte Pinakothek), see Dekker (2006), 90–91; Anonymous, *Family Group, Probably the Family of Jan Gerritsz. Pan*, 1638, panel, 87 x 178 cm (Collection Stichting Portret van Enkhuizen/Thade van Doesburgh), see Bedaux and Ekkart (2000), 162–63, Marie-Christine Autin Graz, *Children in Painting* (Milan: Skira Editore S.p.A., 2002), 106, and Dekker (2015), 712–13.

38 For Dutch orphanages, Simon Groenveld, Jeroen J.H. Dekker, Thom R.M. Willemse, and Jacques Dane (eds.), *Wezen en Boeffes: Zes eeuwen zorg in wees- en kinderhuizen* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997). For Italy, Philip Gavitt, *Charity and Children in Renaissance Florence: The Ospedale degli Innocenti 1410–1536* (Ann Arbor, the University of Michigan Press, 1990).

39 Dekker (2020), 1, 14.

40 Paragraph based on Jeroen J.H. Dekker and Inge J.M. Wichgers, "The Embodiment of Teaching the Regulation of Emotions in Early Modern Europe," *Paedagogica Historica* 54, nos. 1/2 (2018), 52.

be moulded.⁴¹ Before John Locke's ideas about the child as *tabula rasa*, Erasmus considered education as adequately filling the child's blank slate. This should be done in a way that children would enjoy; as Erasmus put it, it is easier to sail a ship with the wind and tide than against them.⁴²

While not opposed to discipline in education, Erasmus firmly rejected any form of physical maltreatment of children. He encouraged parents to actively educate their children. He considered neglectful parents to be those "who abandon and expose their children" and "therefore deserve to be punished by the existing laws" on abandoning and exposing. This view only came into effect four hundred years later in child protection laws set up in the interest of the child instead of the parents.⁴³ Erasmus' ideas were popularised thanks to the invention of printing in numerous child-rearing advice books, emblem books, and genre painting, all based on the same view on the child as an *animal educandum*. While Humanism was not a mass movement like the Reformation, its educational ideas encouraged through those publications in a more popular style the masses to approach their child with a *sentiment de l'enfance*.⁴⁴

Discipline, Regulation and Supervision in a growing educational space

Greater attention to educational responsibility was accompanied by greater emphasis on discipline. In early modern Europe, the reformed Protestant and Roman-Catholic churches asked this for their believers,⁴⁵ the early capitalist economy for their future labourers, and the emerging state bureaucracies for their citizens. This call for more discipline became manifest in parental styles that were encouraged by rules and advice in numerous child-rearing advice about how to raise children and restrain their behaviour,⁴⁶ in a more disciplined school culture⁴⁷ that included the Lutheran and Jesuit gymnasia, and in orphanages. An acceleration took place in the educational space of the nineteenth century in schooling and residential re-education homes.

Whether it was physically necessary to discipline children was an important discussion topic among humanists. Orthodox Protestants justified physical discipline to regulate children's behaviour as following God's will by referring to original sin.

41 James Mearns, "The influence of Erasmus' Educational Writings on Nicolas Bourbons' Paidagogeion," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 72 (2010), 65–81.

42 John M. Parrish, "Education, Erasmian humanism and More's Utopia," *Oxford Review of Education* 36 (2010), 589–605.

43 Desiderius Erasmus, "A Declamation on the Subject of Early Liberal Education for Children/ *De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis declamatio*," translated and annotated by Beert C. Verstraete, in Desiderius Erasmus, *Literary and Educational Writings, 3–4, volume 26 Collected Works of Erasmus (CWE)*, based on *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami* (Amsterdam, 1969–), ASD I–2, 23–78, ed. J. Kelley Sowards (Toronto, Ont: University of Toronto Press, Scholarly Publishing Division, 1985, or. 1529), 291–346, p. 313. Cf. Dekker (2001), 104–16; Dupont et al. (2001).

44 Dekker (2020), 14.

45 See C. Scott Dixon, "Church, Religion, and Morality," in Dekker ((2020), 35–41.

46 See Jeroen J. H. Dekker, "The Restrained Child: Imaging the Regulation of Children's Behaviour and Emotions in Early Modern Europe: The Dutch Golden Age," *History of Education and Children's Literature*, XIII, no. 1 (2018), 17–39 [special issue: *Images of the European Child*, ed. María del Mar del Pozo Andrés and Bernat Sureda García].

47 Ariès (1973), ch. V, part 2 entitled "Les progrès de la discipline," 265–97.

However, they did not recommend violence arbitrarily⁴⁸ and reflected seriously about how to approach child's nature without force. Physical force was a last resort that was only to be used after all other educational instruments had failed.⁴⁹ Others applauded physical chastisement and did not recommend it only as last resort; these included Michael Tarchaniota Marullus (1458–1500), who preferred a Spartan education with physical chastisement over education by speaking, and also Petrus Paolo Vergerio and Bartholomäus Metlinger.⁵⁰

Erasmus not only rejected the justification of physical force by original sin, but considered such education simply as sadism.⁵¹ He referred to the practice of teachers flogging their pupils daily without any relationship to children's behaviour, but simply as a disciplinary style.⁵² Memories from his own childhood supplemented with observations made as an adult still evoke horror in him about this practice. Such people should never have been made teachers, but only "butchers or executioners."⁵³

Erasmus rejected physical discipline, which to him was child maltreatment, on three grounds: it was criminal, it was morally awful in terms of its long-lasting impact on the child, and it was educationally ineffective. He argued that it should be punished as a criminal act against human law that "places restrictions on parental authority and permits even servants to take legal action against masters for maltreatment."⁵⁴ He also argued it was against Christian morality and could not be justified by referring to the doctrine of original sin and to proverbs in the Bible such as in Proverbs 13: 24: "One who spares the rod hates his son." Erasmus said, "nowadays we must interpret these sayings from the Old Testament more liberally" instead of literally in the tradition of Augustine and Luther and Calvin, who considered the Bible as *sola scriptura* and *Deus ipse loquens* respectively.⁵⁵ Finally, Erasmus argued that physical discipline was educationally ineffective for not fitting child's nature.⁵⁶ Among his allies were Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592)⁵⁷, the Dutch author of popular emblem books Jacob Cats (1577–1660),⁵⁸ and the Italian humanist and cardinal Jacopo Sadoletto (1477–1547) who in *De liberis recte instituendis* (1533) made a plea for the power of persuasion and education instead of violence.⁵⁹

48 Jarzebowski (2018), 295: "als Instrument der Durchsetzung des göttlichen Willens."

49 Leendert F. Groenendijk, *De pedagogiek van Jacobus Koelman. Inhoud en bronnen/grondslag en ambitie. 'Een klare bestiering om de kinderen voor den Heere op te voeden'* (Apeldoorn: Labarum Academic, 2017), 219. Cf. Dekker et al. (2000), 10, 50–51.

50 Jarzebowski (2018), 45, 48, 60 n. 97.

51 Ibid., 69.

52 Erasmus (1985, or. 1529), 326–32. Cf. Jarzebowski (2018), 15, n. 74.

53 Ibid., 326–27.

54 Ibid., 329.

55 Ibid., 332. On protestant reformers, Dixon (2020), 25–30.

56 Jarzebowski (2018), 57.

57 Ibid., 66–67.

58 Jeroen J.H. Dekker, "Dangerous, Seductive, and Innovative. Visual Sources for the History of Education," in *Folds of Past, Present and Future. Reconfiguring Contemporary Histories of Education*, ed. Sarah Van Ruyskensvelde, Geert Thyssen, Frederik Herman, Angelo Van Gorp and Pieter Verstraete (Oldenbourg: De Gruyter, 2021), 392–401.

59 On Sadoletto, Richard P. McBrien (ed.), *The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1995), 1152; Jarzebowski (2018), 60–61, 57, n. 86.

Discipline: a concept in the history of education

Ariès was one of the first historians to systematically make use of the concept of discipline in the history of education in *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime* (1960). However, it was Michel Foucault who received the credit for this through *Surveiller et punir*, published fifteen years later.⁶⁰ While strongly influenced by Ariès's ideas on discipline, *Discipline and Punish* only refers to Ariès's study once.⁶¹ However, in journal articles and interviews, Foucault demonstrated his admiration for Ariès as one of the pioneers of the history of mentalities.⁶² After Ariès' death in 1984, in his obituary in *Le Nouvel Observateur* Foucault expressed his admiration for Ariès for transforming the history of mentalities on the main life events of birth, growing up, adulthood and death.⁶³

Foucault saw the origins of the disciplinary system in the transformation of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century school. The Enlightenment-inspired ideas on the prison by Jeremy Bentham in his *Panopticon* were, so Foucault claimed, a development of already existing sixteenth-century ideas and practices of school discipline. In this respect, Foucault followed in the footsteps of Ariès, who juxtaposed the "liberalism of the 18th century"—a more child-oriented school regime narrowly connected to the ideas of Charles Rollin (1661–1741) in his *Traité des Études* (1726–31) and the result of a "sentiment nouveau de l'enfance"—with "a contrary influence, which obtained a partial triumph, and which imposed a semi-military condition on the school population"; for example, by schools looking like barracks and being characterised by a supervision system better than that in an army. This resulted in "the second half of the 18th century [...in] the rise of the military idea, at the same time as that of the liberal idea, inside school life."⁶⁴ For, so Ariès wrote fifteen years earlier in a semi-Foucauldian language and describing a *panopticum* without using that very word: "An authoritarian and hierarchical discipline was established in the college. [...] The pedagogues would adapt it to a system of supervising children which, at least in theory, was constantly in operation, night and day alike."⁶⁵ This took place in an educational space with increasing schooling, in response both to a religious and moral demand from the Reformation and to a transforming and modernising economy, resulting in the expansion of schooling on all levels. The move was supported by new didactic ideas and methods by humanists such as the Roman Catholic Juan Luis Vives (1493–1540), seventeenth-century Bohemian Protestant Johann Amos Comenius (1592–1670) with his innovative *Orbis sensualium pictus*, the Lutheran educationalist Philipp Melancthon (1497–1560), and the Jesuit Petrus Canisius (1521–1597).⁶⁶

60 The part on Ariès and Foucault is partly based on Dekker and Lechner (1999) and Dekker (1996).

61 Foucault (1975), 143, n. 3 [(1977), 141].

62 Michel Foucault, *Dits et écrits: 1954–1988, III 1976–1979*, ed. Daniel Defert and François Ewald (Paris: Gallimard, 1994a), 503 (or. 1978, *Le Matin*, 20 January, 'Une érudition étourdissante'); Michel Foucault, *Dits et écrits: 1954–1988, IV 1980–1988*, ed. Daniel Defert and François Ewald (Paris: Gallimard, 1994b), 650 (or. 1984, *Le Matin*, 21 February).

63 Foucault (1994b), 646–49 (or. *Le Nouvel Observateur*, 17–23 February 1984).

64 Ariès (1973), 295 [(1962), 267]. Cf. Foucault (1975), 171 [(1977), 169].

65 Ariès (1973), 316, 373 [(1962), 284, 333].

66 Dekker (2020), 12–13; See Le Cam (2020a) and (2020b); Björn Norlin, "Comenius, Moral and Pious Education, and the Why, When and How of School Discipline," *History of Education* 49, no. 3 (2020), 287–312.

In the nineteenth century, this coming together of the military and liberal idea became even more important because of mass schooling and eventually compulsory education. When schooling became normal and even compulsory, this did not necessarily mean that the liberal idea won.⁶⁷ The competition between discipline and child-oriented education continued. Child-oriented education was encouraged by authors such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Friedrich Fröbel.

As a romantic pedagogue, Fröbel did not believe in discipline as an important educational instrument. He trusted the child's development and propagated the role of play, as several passages in his book make clear. These include: "Instruction leads the five-year old child simply to find himself [...] Self-activity of the mind is the first law of instruction"; "Play is the highest phase of child-development [...]; it is self-active representation of the inner [...] The plays of childhood are the germinal leaves of all later life"; and about parental responsibility: "The aim and object of the parental care of the child [...] is to awaken and develop, to quicken all the powers and natural gifts of the child, to enable all the members and organs of man to fulfil the requirements of the child's powers and gifts."⁶⁸

This Romantic view continued in the *Vom Kinde Aus* or *Reform Pädagogik* movement with Ellen Key's eye-catching announcement in 1900 of *The Century of the Child*. Key performed a complex balancing act by both embracing the Romantic view on the child and social Darwinism and eugenics. On one hand, she stated that "[t]he first right of the child is to select its own parents," and proposed letting the state implement this right by pre-marriage tests, for in case of "diseases which can certainly be transmitted, society must interfere to restrict marriage." On the other hand, in words near to romantic poems by William Wordsworth or William Blake, or Fröbel's texts, she predicted: "The time will come in which the child will be looked upon as holy."⁶⁹

In *The Century of the Child*, the two approaches to the schoolchild encountered by Ariès come together. While applauding a child-oriented approach, Key unleashed a merciless attack on the prevailing school system. Having never attended a school herself, she wrote that her "first dream is that the kindergarten and the primary school will be everywhere replaced by instruction at home." According to Key, "results of the present-day school" are exceptionally negative and are described as follows: "Exhausted brain power, weak nerves, limited originality, paralysed initiative, dulled power of observing surrounding facts, idealism blunted under the feverish zeal of getting a position in the class."⁷⁰ Still, the school was not the most intensive disciplinary educational model in the nineteenth century. This was, so Michel Foucault, the re-educational institution.

Foucault's *Surveiller et punir* ends with his analysis of the agrarian colony of Mettray near Tours, founded in 1839 for the re-education of delinquent boys, and one of the first in Europe.⁷¹ Specific out-of-home interventions for marginal and at-risk children became acceptable for a European elite that was active in a growing number

67 Cf. Westberg et al. (2019); Dekker (2006), 369–77.

68 Friedrich Fröbel, *The Education of man* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1893, or. 1826), xv, 8–9, 11.

69 Ellen Key, *The Century of the Child* (New York and London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1909, or. 1900), 46, 59–60. For a recent dissertation on Key's authorship, Emma Vikström, *Skapandet av den nya människan: Eugenik och pedagogik i Ellen Keys författarskap* (Örebro: Örebro University, 2021).

70 Key (1909, or. 1900), 231, 275. See Dekker (2002), 27–31, Dekker (2011), 133–150.

71 Dekker (2001), 61–68.

of philanthropic societies concerned with social issues as youth criminality and child abandonment.⁷² This eventually resulted, towards the end of the nineteenth century, in thousands of re-educational homes in Europe, with Mettray for decades being one of its icons. Children who were at risk and on the margins of society were temporarily isolated from society with the intention of preventing lifelong social marginalisation in the long term. The French Mettray impressed Foucault when he developed his theory of discipline. Mettray was not just an example, but, so Foucault said, “the most intensive disciplinary model, where all behavioural coercive technologies were concentrated.”⁷³

Conclusion

Studying educational ambitions in the context of the time-bound limits and possibilities offered by the educational space makes it easier to understand people’s educational mindset and behaviour across time. Moreover, classic educational concepts such as *sentiment de l’enfance*—meaning that childhood is considered a specific life stage and the child an *animal educandum*—and discipline could be better exploited when relating them to time-bound limits and positive conditions of the educational space. Finally, it makes sense to distinguish four indicators that determine limits and conditions in order to better understand how people in the past had to cope with economic and demographic limits and what role the educational mindset played in this process.

To clarify this point, I return for a moment to the history of child maltreatment. As shown above, the adherents of the evolutionistic interpretation of history of childhood argued that maltreatment of children was recurrent because of the absence, or only very weak manifestation, of a *sentiment de l’enfance*. However, when looking at the educational space in early modern Europe and observing the demographic and economic “unsurmountable walls of the spaces of possibility,” we understand that it was enormously challenging to be a good parent and educator and to realise educational ambitions in those circumstances, despite the educational mindset of those people not being basically different from ours. This configuration of limits and positive conditions explains that neglect and maltreatment in such a world occurred probably more frequently than in ours.⁷⁴

Today, notwithstanding inequalities in time, region, social groups, and temporary declines due to wars or economic crises, it was a matter of course for many children to grow up instead of dying early and for their parents to raise them instead of bringing them to the graveyard. Increasing budgets for schooling, child care and state inspection, and the legal framework of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child are further reducing limits for the realisation of educational ambitions. Finally, child care became based on scientific knowledge and developed into a profession instead of an activity of un-trained people.⁷⁵ Thus, all indicators

74 Jeroen J.H. Dekker, “Child Maltreatment in the Last 50 Years: The Use of Statistics,” in *Educational Research: The Ethics and Aesthetics of Statistics*, ed. Paul Smeyers and Marc Depaepe (Dordrecht: Springer, 2010), 43–57.

75 Cf. Jeroen J.H. Dekker, “A Belief in Magic: Professionalization in Post Second World War Forced Child Protection,” in *Educational Research, volume 9: Discourses of Change and Changes of Discourse*, ed. Paul Smeyers and Marc Depaepe (Dordrecht: Springer, 2016), 189–206. See Marieke Dekker, *Effectiviteit aan de horizon: Een studie rond onderzoek naar resultaat op het gebied van de justitiële kindbescherming in Nederland tussen 1945 en 2005* (Groningen: Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, PhD thesis, 2016).

for the educational space now mostly supported educational ambitions. Those indicators include demographic and economic circumstances, active involvement of public and private agencies in education, and an active educational mindset. The opinions that Erasmus published five hundred years ago about maltreatment of children as criminal and immoral violence, are now generally accepted in national and international laws as a moral and legal standard.

With many once unsurmountable walls replaced by positive conditions, education and child-rearing without maltreatment should be much easier now. However, we know that, notwithstanding a much more supportive educational space, this standard was not always met, as recent reports in many countries on child maltreatment and abuse, published by investigational committees mostly installed by the state or the church, have shown.⁷⁶ Apparently, the configuration of limits and positive conditions of the educational space was not sufficiently protective.

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76 Johanna Sköld and Shurlee Swain (eds.), *In the Midst of Apology: Professionals and the Legacy of Abuse among Children in Care* (Sydney: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 127–36; Janneke Wubs and Sara Ham, “Onderzoek naar geweld in jeugdzorg door commissies in andere landen: Een overzicht van bevindingen,” in *Onvoldoende beschermd. Geweld in de Nederlandse jeugdzorg van 1945 tot heden: volume 2, Sector-en themastudies, ch. 15 [Inadequately protected. Violence in Dutch youth care from 1945 to the present day]*, ed. Christiaan Ruppert, Catrien Bijleveld, Mariëlle Bruning, Jeroen J.H. Dekker, Jan Hendriks, Trudy Mooren, Carol van Nijnatten, Wim Slot, and Micha de Winter (Den Haag: Commissie Onderzoek naar Geweld in de Jeugdzorg, 2019), 532–65; Claire McGettrick, Mari Steed, James M. Smith, Maeve O’Rourke, and Katherine O’Donnell, *Ireland and the Magdalene Laundries: A Campaign for Justice* (London/New York: I.B.Taurus/Bloomsbury Publishing, 2021); Jeroen J.H. Dekker and Hans Grietens, “Sexual Abuse of Children in Foster Care and the History of Dutch Child Protection: Actors in Fading Spotlights,” in Sköld and Swain (2015), 127–36; Jeroen J.H. Dekker et al., *Jeugdzorg in Nederland, 1945–2010. Resultaten van deelonderzoek 1 van de Commissie-Samson: Historische schets van de institutionele ontwikkeling van de jeugdsector vanuit het perspectief van het kind en de aan hem/haar verleende zorg* [Part I, Text, Part II, Appendices] (Groningen: Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 2012); Commissie Samson, *Omringd door zorg, toch niet veilig: Seksueel misbruik van door de overheid uit huis geplaatste kinderen, 1945–heden* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2012). On child abuse in Roman Catholic institutions, see McGettrick, Steed, Smith, O’Rourke, and O’Donnell (2021); Jean-Marc Sauvé et al., *Rapport de la Commission indépendante sur les abus sexuels dans l’Église, Les violences sexuelles dans l’Église catholique: France 1950–2020* (Paris: Ciase, 2021); Wim Deetman, N. Draijer, P. Kalbfleisch, H. Merckelbach, M. Monteiro and G. de Vries, *Seksueel misbruik van minderjarigen in de rooms-katholieke kerk*. (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Balans, 2011).

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Materiality, Wallcharts, and Educational Change in Sweden from the Mid-nineteenth to the Early Twentieth Century

Jakob Evertsson

Abstract • This article investigates the dissemination of wall charts as an instructional technology in the subjects of history, geography, natural science, and geometry in elementary schools in Sweden, particularly in the Uppsala diocese from 1861 to 1910. Previous research lacks empirical analyses of the charts' actual dissemination, making this case study of Sweden a valuable contribution to the fields of material culture and the visual aspects of schooling in the history of education. Using school inspector reports, protocols from national inspector meetings, and national and regional pedagogical statistics, the article provides empirical evidence of the active work of school inspectors and state initiatives that contributed to the widespread dissemination and use of wall charts in Swedish elementary schools by 1910.

Keywords • wall charts, material culture, dissemination, school inspection, elementary school

Introduction

Visual teaching technologies were introduced in elementary schools across the world in the late nineteenth century, although using pedagogical tools other than texts was by no means a new phenomenon. Perhaps most notably, in 1658 the Czech theologian and educator Johann Amos Comenius published *Orbis Pictus*, a visual aid textbook for teaching theology and the sciences. However, the use of different educational media grew substantially from the late nineteenth century. An important pedagogical prerequisite was the introduction of group instruction or classroom teaching, which facilitated the use of wall charts. The production costs for such materials were gradually reduced by improved printing techniques, making them more affordable for local schools.¹ However, our knowledge of the dissemination of wall charts is still very limited. A study in this area might provide insights into the growing availability of visual materials during an era of expanding mass education.

The purpose of this study was therefore to investigate how wall charts were disseminated as an instructional technology among local schools in the Uppsala diocese in the centre of Sweden from 1861 to 1910, especially in light of the role and influence of school inspections and the state. This article is intended to contribute to international, particularly Nordic, research on the material and visual classroom by investigating the case of Sweden. I focus on wall charts in the theoretical subjects of history, geography, natural sciences, and geometry. These subjects were classified as “above minimum” in the elementary school statute, while “minimum” studies were reading, writing, calculation, and Christianity.² The minimum subjects were

1 Sevan Terzian, “The History of Technology and Education,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Education* ed. John. L. Rury and Eileen H. Tamura (Oxford: OUP, 2019), 555–56.

2 SFS 1842:19, Kongl. *Maj:ts nådiga stadga angående folk-undervisningen i riket. Gifwen den 18 junii 1842.*

prioritised, while those “above minimum” were largely optional in the early phase of the elementary schools, but increasingly taught from the 1860s onwards. The study of the implementation of wall charts in these subjects is therefore also a study of the implementation of a broader curriculum.

The research questions this study aimed to answer are (1) How were wall charts implemented as a teaching technology in the subjects of geography, history, natural science, and geometry in the Uppsala region of Sweden from 1861 to 1910? (2) In what ways did the state, through the employment of school inspectors and other initiatives, contribute to the dissemination of the wall charts? and (3) What might be said about the development of visual teaching practices in the region of Uppsala and how these developed during that period?

Previous research

International research show that the use and dissemination of wall charts in different subjects in the elementary schools in Europe began, at least on a minor scale, as early as 1850. Massimiano Bucchi investigated German wall charts in science from 1850 to 1920, citing educational reforms, technical developments, and the pedagogical emphasis on the visual as important reasons for their success in schools. This was particularly the case in botany and zoology, where teaching was facilitated by large images.³ Maria del Mar Pozo Andrés studied the use of wall charts in history in Spanish elementary school from 1860 to 1939 and demonstrated that these images aimed to instil national ideals in the child rather than knowledge of history. Historical wall charts in Spain consisted not only of depictions of international Catholic history, but also of national scenes produced in Spain. Dissemination of this material was initially slow due to high costs and a lack of instructional manuals.⁴ Karl Catteeuw, in his doctoral dissertation on the use of wall charts in Belgian schools, argued that due to a pervasive oral culture, these images had little initial impact but eventually, through the growth of commercial enterprises and state inspections, became prominent in the classroom.⁵ Fabio Targhetta, discussing wall charts in Italian schools, focused more on their production and argued that their dissemination was facilitated by both the lack of illustrations in textbooks and the *Rules for Primary Education* (1860) that called for using wall charts for geography, geometry, and natural science.⁶

Although different aspects of wall charts have been investigated in international research, comprehensive empirical studies on their actual *dissemination* and *availability* remain largely lacking. Instead, the focus has mainly been on the pedagogical aspects of this technology and why it became successful in teaching. Some limited research has also been pursued on the dissemination and use of wall charts in Sweden, however. Olof G. Jonsson, adopting a broad perspective,

3 Massimiano Bucchi, “Images of Science in the Classroom: Wall Charts and Science Education 1850–1920,” *British Journal for the History of Science* 31, no. 2 (1998), 161–84.

4 Maria del Mar del Pozo Andrés, “Nacionalismo, globalización y cultura escolar: láminas murales para la enseñanza de la historia (1860–1939),” *Revista Mexicana de Historia de la Educación* 1, no. 1 (2013), 1–28.

5 Karl Catteeuw, *Als de muren konden spreken: schoolwantsplaten en de geschiedenis van het Belgisch lager onderwijs*. Doctoral diss. (Leuven: Katholieke Universiteit, 2005), ch 3.

6 Fabio Targhetta, “Teaching with images between 19th and 20th centuries: the case of the Italian school publisher Paravia,” *Strenæ: Reserches sur les livres et objets culturels de l'enfance* 8 (2015).

investigated the conscious visual argument of wall charts in the elementary schools and pointed out the significance of inspector reports in their development.⁷ Lena Johannesson briefly discussed the technical production of wall charts, especially the move from international imports to domestic production in the late nineteenth century.⁸ In a more comprehensive study, I showed how the dissemination of wall charts for biblical history was facilitated by the introduction of school inspections in 1861 and other state initiatives such as government subsidies. Improved printing techniques and pedagogical developments also played a part in schools' willingness to use visual media.⁹ That study, however, did not focus as much as the current study on the economics of wall charts and statistics on their dissemination, and it was limited to only the one subject.

Thus, the introduction and spread of wall charts in other subjects have not yet been studied from a broader perspective in Sweden or elsewhere. The present study may therefore contribute valuably to research on visual instructional technologies in elementary school. This article seeks to add to the previous research by studying the actual dissemination of wall charts in the "above minimum"-subjects in Swedish elementary schools from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth century. This time period is appropriate because it includes both the year school inspections were introduced (1861) and the first decade of the twentieth century, in which substantial achievements led to the general availability of wall charts in the elementary schools.

Theoretical perspective

Over the last two decades, historians of education have paid more theoretical attention to images, artefacts, objects, and technologies as worthy subjects of study in their own right. This theoretical development, incorporating the material aspects of teaching, has taken place against the transition from the traditional research area of the political, pedagogical, and institutional organisation to a focus on actual events in the classroom and the significance of the physical materials – often referred to as “the black box of schooling.”¹⁰ However, material studies discussing the role of images have generally been missing in the history of education despite the growing importance of objects in the classroom. As Daniel Lindmark pointed out, this area of theoretical discussion in Nordic research on the history of education is only in its infancy.¹¹ This has recently begun to change as scholars are paying more attention to the visual.¹² As Dussel and Priem recently pointed out, many current studies are

7 Olof G. Jonsson, *Skolplanschen: Argument i spänning mellan bild och text, perspektiv och kontext* (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2006), 14, 83–84.

8 Lena Johannesson, *Den massproducerade bilden* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1978), 143–50.

9 Jakob Evertsson, “Classroom Wall Charts and Biblical History: A Study of Educational Technology in Elementary Schools in Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Sweden,” *History of Education* 50, no. 5 (2014), 669–84.

10 Martin Lawn and Ian Grosvenor, “Introduction: The Materiality of Schooling,” in *Materialities of Schooling: design–Technology–Objects–Routines*, ed. Martin Lawn and Ian Grosvenor (Oxford: Symposium Books, 2005), 7; Marc Depaepe and Paul Smeyers, *Educational Research: Material Culture and its Representation* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2014), 3–4.

11 Daniel Lindmark, “Educational History in the Nordic Region: Reflections from a Swedish Perspective,” *Espacio, Tiempo y Educación* 2, no. 2 (2015), 20.

12 For example, the International Standing Conference on the History of Education (ISCHE) 43 to be held in Milan 2022 will have the theme “Histories of Educational Technologies: Cultural and Social Dimensions of Pedagogical Objects.”

in the intersection of visual and material studies, demonstrating the importance of merging these perspectives in the research.¹³ This, they argue, means that visual technologies studied as material practices “imply an impetus for reproduction and dissemination where images assume a hermeneutic role that is based on their physicality and presentational forms.”¹⁴ Images are seen as reproducible and mobile objects that act as threads in networks of meaning-making.¹⁵

This article combines the visual and the material in examining how wall charts were disseminated to the schools, and the role of the state in this process. Material considerations are the primary concern, but they are intrinsically related to pedagogical, cultural, and social development in schooling, which also receive attention. As Lawn and Grosvenor argued, instructional technologies can be regarded simultaneously as material structures (objects), working procedures, and a series of ideas and knowledge systems.¹⁶ Applying a broader perspective to the dissemination of wall charts, the article is inspired by the latest developments in the relation of material culture to specific objects in the classroom.¹⁷ In the context of material culture and dissemination of wall charts in schools, the article also incorporates the educational industry and transnational commerce in school objects into the economic dimension of mass schooling.¹⁸ The state, it has been claimed, played a significant role in the purchase and distribution of these educational technologies. As Gonçalves and Alcântara argued, the states that assumed responsibility for disseminating school materials in their territories demonstrated how public authorities organised themselves and maintained official institutions of education.¹⁹

Sources and method

The study mainly comprised a qualitative and quantitative historical analysis of printed school inspectors’ reports from the diocese of Uppsala (*Berättelser om folkskolorna i riket afgifna av tillförordnade folkskoleinspektörer*; hereinafter, BFSR) which comprise the paper’s main source material. Based on material collected during the visits, printed reports about the schools were published every five years or so in 1861–1910 and sent to the diocesan chapter and the Department of Ecclesiastical Affairs.²⁰ These reports cover 12 topics, although that number varies slightly during the first years, of which two are of particular relevance to this study: (1) Teaching in

13 Inés Dussel and Karin Priem, “The Visual in Histories of Education: A Reappraisal,” *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education* 53, no. 6 (2017), 642.

14 Dussel and Priem (2017), 645.

15 Ibid.

16 Martin Lawn and Ian Grosvenor, “Finding Traces, Researching Silences, Analysing Materiality: Notes from the United Kingdom,” *Educació i Història: Revista d’Història de l’Educació* 38 (2021), 50.

17 Heather Ellis argued that a significant area of research in the history of education is objects in teaching and their value as pedagogic tools. Heather Ellis, “Editorial: Science, Technologies and Material Culture in the History of Education,” *History of Education* 46, no. 2 (2017), 145.

18 Diana Gonçalves Vidal and Wiara Alcântara, “The Material Turn in the History of Education,” *Educació i Història: Revista d’Història de l’Educació* 38 (2021), 23–25.

19 Gonçalves and Alcântara (2021), 28.

20 A total of 950 copies of the report were printed in the diocese of Uppsala for the inspection period 1882–86. In other dioceses, it varied from 780 to 1010 copies. National Archives, Stockholm, Department of Ecclesiastical Affairs, Main Archive, F5B:1, Handlingar angående folkskoleinspektionen 1861–1907.

different disciplines and (2) teaching materials.²¹ Aside from the qualitative analysis of the reports, an important part of the methodology is the presentation of statistical data on the dissemination of wall charts, obtained through analysing acquisitions of wall charts from the school districts. The state's expenditures for the production of wall charts and lists of recommended teaching materials are also analysed to identify priorities during certain periods. Printed national school statistics is also used to compare regional conditions.²² Finally, although the study did not focus on an analysis of the illustrations, I did investigate the wall charts themselves to add to our understanding of the development of visual teaching over an extended period.

The regional statistics presented in the text concentrate on one of the four (later five) inspection districts that include both urban and rural areas.²³ This district is situated in the southern part of the Uppsala diocese (see Figure 1). Altogether, 82 parishes are represented in this sample. The statistical analysis of the district begins in 1881 following its geographical redefinition the previous year. This district was also selected because it provides statistical analyses written by the same school inspector, Herman Emanuel Hermansson, over 30 years, providing opportunities to follow development in one district over time. Hermansson also gave detailed statistics assessing the teachers' competence, which can be followed through the whole period he was active, 1881–1910.²⁴ Not all inspectors pursued their work in the exact same manner, which somewhat limits comparisons. In many deaneries, notes were not followed-up by a compilation of detailed statistics but functioned rather as an overall assessment of the teaching. During the first two decades of inspection, this was the norm for reporting, making inspectors' statements especially helpful. Discussions of the dissemination of wall charts, present in all included inspector reports, are referred to in the text. Thus, the analysis is based on all inspector reports in the Uppsala region and a local sample from one of the districts in this region during the selected period.

21 The number of issues monitored were more limited in the early inspector reports than in later.

22 *Bidrag till Sveriges officiella statistik: undervisningsväsendet 1876–1911, folkskolorna 1882–1910.* Central Bureau of Statistics, Stockholm (hereafter BISOS).

23 This district was comprised by the deaneries of Hagunda, Lagunda, Trögds, Åsunda, Håbo, Örbyhus, Norra, and Södra Fjärdhundra, the parishes in Oland and the Frösåker deanery of Uppsala County.

24 Such complete statistics is lacking in the other districts in the diocese of Uppsala for this entire period.

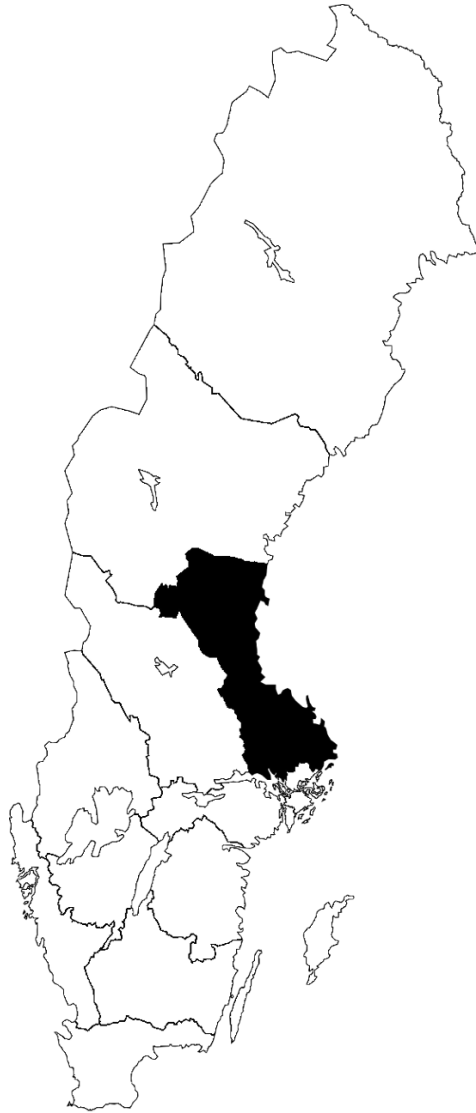


Figure 1. Map of Sweden with Uppsala diocese marked in black.

Although these reports comprise an important and understudied primary source for analysing the implementation of educational policy, several problems and limitations arise with their use. First, it might have been in the inspectors' interest to report progress in their work. Second, different districts and regions were inspected under different circumstances. Third, parishes might have been influenced by the inspector's personality and more willing to organise, build, and fund schools if

the inspector proceeded cautiously.²⁵ Fourth, the reports, which reflected national inspectors' views and the national mission, decentred the interests of the local school boards and teachers.²⁶ Despite these difficulties, however, the material provides a richer account of school development and the state's influence on educational change from 1861 to 1910 than most other sources. Furthermore, because of their top-down perspective, inspector reports may be used to understand local and regional variations, and their voices are therefore given prominence in the empirical analyses in the main chapters. The material's limitations are adjusted for in critical side-by-side readings of the reports and examples representative of the inspectors as a group. A range of other sources provided statistical information, as mentioned above. By using these additional sources, I sought to present broader information about the dissemination of wall charts in the Swedish context than only the inspectors' views of their implementation, acceptance, and usefulness.

The role of the school inspection in educational change

In 1861, 20 part-time inspectors were responsible for monitoring several inspection districts in Sweden; by 1910 that number had increased to 47, and 13 listed inspection as their main occupation. Inspectors were to exercise their duties following instructions issued by the Department for Ecclesiastical Affairs (*Ecklesiastikdepartementet*), which included carefully monitoring the development of education, visiting the schools in person, and becoming familiar with their conditions and needs.²⁷ For church and clergy, inspection was nothing new, as it had been part of traditional education. As Egil Johansson argues, it would probably have been impossible to create a completely new and secularised school inspection without the existing ecclesiastical structure.²⁸ The inspection districts therefore followed the Lutheran state church structure of dioceses, divided in turn into deaneries. Local parish churches continued to be responsible for schools' administration, with vicars serving exclusively as chairmen of local school boards until 1930, after which they were still eligible to be elected to that position. The only central authority was the Elementary School Bureau, created in 1864 within the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs, which oversaw administration and pedagogy and assisted the secretary of the ministry. Regional civic county councils had already been created in 1862 following a reform dividing roles in parish roles into civic and ecclesiastical spheres, with boards responsible for elementary school matters such as teacher education.²⁹ The county councils contributed to

25 Johannes Westberg, *Att bygga ett skolväsende: Folkskolans förutsättningar och framväxt 1840–1900* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2014), 115–6.

26 Inspection reports as sources have been problematised in Margareta Mellberg, *Pedagogen och det skrivna ordet: Skrivkonst och folkskollärare i Sverige 1870–1920* (Gothenburg: Gothenburg University, 1996), 75–76.

27 Kongl. Maj:t nådiga instruktion för folkskoleinspektörer 15 juni 1861.

28 Egil Johansson, "Mindre än minimum: Den gamla hemläsningen och föräldrarnas ambitioner för barnen i ljuset av folkskoleinspektörernas berättelser 1861–68," *Forskning om utbildning* 18, no. 4 (1991), 28.

29 Lennart Tegborg, *Folkskolans sekularisering 1895–1909: Upplösning av det administrativa sambandet mellan folkskola och kyrka i Sverige* (Stockholm: årsböcker i svensk undervisningshistoria, 1969), 17–20; Olof Wennäs, "Skolans styrning genom tiderna: En översikt," in *Utbildningshistoria 1998*, ed. Stig G Nordström and Gunnar Richardson (Uppsala: föreningen för svensk undervisningshistoria, 1998), 21–25.

funding school inspections and were therefore also important in the development of the institution, particularly in its infancy.³⁰

The continued involvement of the church was also evident in the recruitment of inspectors. In 1861, 19 inspectors were hired: 8 clergymen, 6 grammar school teachers, 2 teachers of elementary school seminars, 1 notary public, 1 member of the military, and 1 elementary school teacher. Perhaps surprisingly, the proportion of clergymen remained almost the same in 1910. Of 47 inspectors hired, there were 22 clergymen, 8 teachers of elementary school seminars, 3 folk high school teachers, 1 grammar school teacher, and – notably – 13 with no other occupation.³¹ Because the bishop proposed the candidates, which helped the church to maintain influence over schools, clergymen were often preferred as school inspectors. While some dioceses favoured grammar school teachers for practical roles and others recruited clergymen with teaching credits,³² all candidates required some sort of background from the school. Torbjörn Nilsson showed that school inspectors' general tasks were very similar in the early twentieth century to those in the 1860s: to monitor schools and give advice. Inspectors were perceived to occupy an upper stratum of teaching, but they were still undergoing the professionalisation from a part-time occupation begun only in 1914.³³ They also regularly met as a group in the late nineteenth century to strengthen their own profession. National inspector meetings were held with the Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs in Stockholm to discuss various aspects of school development, resulting in common statements that acted as additional guidelines for the inspectors' work.³⁴

Schools to be inspected were regular elementary schools (*egentliga folkskolor*), junior schools (*småskolor*; introduced in 1858 for younger children), and minor elementary schools (*mindre folkskolor*), which were introduced in 1853 and functioned as a complement to the regular elementary school. Several ambulatory schools continued to exist in each of these categories throughout the period, although they decreased over time. Initially, the latter two types of school did not require teachers to be examined. Teachers needed only some general skills verified by the reverend and school board. In fact, one of the first main assignments of school inspectors was to make sure suitable teachers were hired at junior and minor schools and see that their education was improved. Later state subsidy reforms in the 1870s and 1880s provided more funding to schools that hired examined teachers. Altogether, these incentives gradually led to more teachers receiving formal training.³⁵

30 Östen Persson, "Några anteckningar om den statliga regionala skolinspektionen," in *Skolinspektörer minns*, ed. Bengt Thelin (Uppsala: Föreningen för svensk undervisningshistoria, 1994), 16–17.

31 J. Franzén, "Historik över folkskoleinspektionen i Sverige," *Folkundervisningens betänkande III angående förändrad anordning av folkskoleinspektionen avgivet den 31 januari 1913* (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt, 1913), 135, 217.

32 Josef Gralén, *Folkskoleinspektionen i Örebro län: åren 1861–1914 jämte kortfattad översikt av folkundervisningen i länet före 1861* (Stockholm: Föreningen för svensk undervisningshistoria, 1958), 93.

33 Torbjörn Nilsson, *Mellan Rådgivning och kontroll: Den statliga skolinspektionen som exempel* (Stockholm: Södertörns högskola, 2018), 31, 37.

34 Such meetings were held in 1862, 1864, 1867, 1870, 1877, 1881 and 1894. National Archives, Stockholm, Department of Ecclesiastical Affairs, Main Archive, F5B:2–4, "Protokoll vid folkskoleinspektörernas möten."

35 Sven Nylund, *Småskolläroarbetsutbildningen i Sverige* (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelses

Besides teacher development, another pedagogic reform was the implementation of teaching materials in the local schools. Teaching materials, including wall charts, formed a main area of inspectors' teaching instruction and they therefore monitored the development of new materials and influenced school boards to purchase them.³⁶ As will be shown, wall charts were a priority for the collective of inspectors in the late nineteenth century. Inspectors themselves were very active in developing and producing teaching materials such as textbooks and participated in the pedagogic debate. Wilhelm Norlén (1826–1896), for example, who was inspector in the diocese of Uppsala from 1872 to 1878 authored a long-lasting textbook for teaching Swedish. Another notable inspector in the diocese, Fredrik Sandberg, wrote textbooks on various school subjects. He was also behind the import and production of the first biblical wall charts based on images from Germany made exclusively for pedagogics.³⁷ In the early 1870s, Sandberg produced a collection of wall charts, *Images for the School and Home* (Bildrark för skolan och hemmet), which gained wide popularity for visual teaching in younger children. Inspectors were also internationally active in the area of school wall charts. Sandberg, for example, was responsible for a school exhibition in 1872 in Moscow, where he attempted to spread his own natural science wall charts internationally.³⁸

Early efforts and increasing disseminating of wall charts, 1861–1880

During the latter part of the nineteenth century, picture lessons gained popularity around the world. As Sarah Anne Carter pointed out, these images did not merely replace objects in teaching, but also organised abstract information about the material world in a new way. Lithographs were then seen in pedagogy both as “material things and as tools for discerning elusive qualities or aspects of daily life, whether related to moral behavior, the natural world or labor.”³⁹ Classroom wall charts had their heyday from the late nineteenth century until the early twentieth century, facilitated by the new method of classroom teaching and resulting in all western countries adopting the same basic classroom design consisting of desks, blackboards, writing utensils, and pictures on the walls.⁴⁰ In Sweden, monitorial teaching was formally abolished in 1864, making way for teacher-led lessons as the norm. As Agneta Linné points out, this reform led to more structured lesson plans in which new teaching technologies replaced older ones.⁴¹ As early as 1856, however, Per Adam Siljeström,

bokförlag, 1942), 30–32, 43–44; Johannes Westberg, “Stimulus or Impediment: The Impact of Matching Grants on the Funding of Elementary Schools in Sweden During the Nineteenth Century,” *History of Education* 42, no. 1 (2013), 20.

36 Kongl. Maj:t nådiga instruktion för folkskoleinspektörer 15 juni 1861.

37 Evertsson (2014), 673.

38 Lena Johannesson (ed.), “Skolplanschen och åskådningsundervisningen—den förbisedda läromedelstraditionen,” *Om skolplanschsamlingen och skolmuseet i gamla Linköping* (Linköping: Linköping University, 1996), 10, 16, 34.

39 Sarah Anne Carter, *Object Lessons: How Nineteenth-Century Americans Learned to Make Sense of the Material World* (Oxford: OUP, 2018), 4.

40 Jacques Dane, Sarah-Jane Earle, and Tijs Van Ruiten, “The Material Classroom,” in *The Black Box of Schooling: A Cultural History of the Classroom*, ed. Sjaak Braster, Ian Grosvenor, and Maria del Mar del Pozo Andrés (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2011), 266–69.

41 Agneta Linné, “The Lesson as a Pedagogic Text: A Case Study of Lesson Designs,” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 33, no 2 (2001), 131–33.

later appointed school inspector in Stockholm, had argued to include wall charts in teaching as a complement to textbooks, thus influencing later developments.⁴²

This section investigates the dissemination of wall charts during the first two decades of school inspections. This period saw an increased interest in visual materials, and by the end of the period a canon of recommended wall charts had been established. School inspectors, first hired in 1861, were tasked with evaluating (among other things) the teaching materials and summarising their findings in a comprehensive report. Because these reports reveal the official view of ongoing developments in the school, they provide important documentary evidence of teaching materials in the different school districts in that era.⁴³ The implementation of teaching materials such as wall charts, however, was initially slow, as pointed out at the first national inspector meeting in 1862.⁴⁴ An allowance of 10,000 kronor was therefore introduced that year to offset their production costs and reduce the prices of teaching materials requisitioned by the state.⁴⁵ The earliest wall charts, intended for teaching Christianity, were lithographs of religious paintings and wall maps of Palestine. Still, from 1864 to 1865 as much as 27 per cent of the state's subsidies for teaching materials went to biblical wall charts, which is perhaps remarkable given that the other materials supported that year were books.⁴⁶ Soon, however, even more wall charts were included in this list and broadened the schools' material base.

In European countries such as Germany, wall charts became standard in public schools from the last third of the nineteenth century into the first third of the twentieth. Still, as Elisabeth Erdmann noted, studies on the materials available at the time are scarce.⁴⁷ In Sweden, there are no detailed statistics on the number of wall charts in the inspector reports during the first two decades (the 1860s and 1870s), but we may draw conclusions from the descriptions in the reports. In the diocese of Uppsala, wall charts in the "above minimum" subjects were mentioned only rarely in the first inspection reports. One inspector reported that only some maps distributed by the state were available for visual teaching in geography.⁴⁸ In another district, teaching materials were reported to be better in the cities, but otherwise only the most necessary materials such as books, maps, and wall charts were available. One reason for the shortage of materials in schools was their cost.⁴⁹ Urban centres were often the first to purchase substantial collections of wall charts, as demonstrated in

42 Per Adam Siljeström, *Inledning till skolarkitekturen* (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1856), 103–4.

43 Jonsson (2006), 83.

44 National Archives, Stockholm, Department of Ecclesiastical Affairs, Main Archive, F5B:2, Handlingar angående folkskoleinspektionen, 1861–1907, Protokoll hållet vid Folkskole-Inspektörernas möte i Stockholm 1862, § 7 (Hereafter, PFIM).

45 Anna Sörensen, *Svenska folkskolans historia 3: det svenska folkundervisningsväsendet 1860–1900* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1942), 452–53.

46 National Archives, Stockholm, Department of Ecclesiastical Affairs, Main Archive, F5B:9, "Cassabok för åren 1864–1880, Öfversikt af utgifter för undervisningsmateriel."

47 Elisabeth Erdmann, "The Functionalization of History and Social Studies Education in Germany from the 19th Century Until Today," *History of Education & Children's Literature* 10, no. 1 (2015), 563.

48 Berättelser om folkskolorna i riket afgifna af tillförordnade folkskoleinspektörer (Stockholm: Nordiska bokh., 1861–63), 8. (Hereafter BSFR)

49 BSFR (1861–63), 23–24.

England.⁵⁰ This was also true of Sweden in the early 1860s. The national inspector meeting in Stockholm therefore decided that the state should help to provide more schools with suitable wall charts in the “above minimum” subjects.⁵¹ After the next inspection rounds (1864–1866) one inspector reported that visual materials for natural sciences “very rarely existed.”⁵² Another pointed out that geography teaching had been much improved by recently acquired maps and globes. However, such materials were lacking for the natural sciences.⁵³ Generally, it appears that maps for teaching geography were the main focus in the 1860s.⁵⁴ This led the national inspector meeting to recommend that the state make available wall charts for natural science and geometry. The standard recommended set of wall included maps of Scandinavia, Europe, and the world and charts about biblical history and natural science. Interestingly, teachers themselves were encouraged to acquire or even produce wall charts for the classroom.⁵⁵ Teaching materials were promoted through expositions as well as school meetings, with Sweden winning the silver medal at the international educational exhibition in Paris in 1867 for a school maps display, described as having good quality characteristic of a modern education.⁵⁶

50 Ian Grosvenor, “‘To Act on the Minds of the Children’: Paintings into Schools and English Education,” in *The Black Box of Schooling: A Cultural History of the Classroom*, ed. Sjaak Braster, Ian Grosvenor, and María del Mar del Pozo Andrés (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2011), 42–3.

51 PFIM (1862), § 7.

52 BSFR (1864–66), 14.

53 BSFR (1864–66), 47.

54 See BSFR (1864–66), 80–81; BSFR (1864–66), 96–97; BSFR (1864–66), 107; BSFR (1864–66), 119; BSFR (1864–66), 141.

55 PFIM (1864), § 10.

56 Christian Lundahl and Martin Lawn, “The Swedish Schoolhouse: A Case Study in Transnational Influences in Education at the 1870s world fairs,” *Paedagogica Historica* 51, no. 3 (2015), 324.



Figure 2. "Wall map of Sweden and Norway" from 1870
Source: "Väggkarta över Sverige och Norge," T.v. Mentzer, Sigfrid Flodins förlag: Stockholm.

The pedagogical use of wall charts in lessons emerged only gradually in Sweden and the other Nordic countries. In Denmark, for example, wall charts were available in many schools by the 1870s, but only in the following decade were they used as proper teaching aids. Their function was not merely to demonstrate facts, but also to instill

ideals in the children.⁵⁷ In the diocese of Uppsala, Inspector Norborg mentioned that geography teaching improved as maps became available everywhere in the district.⁵⁸ Maps were also credited with contributing to children's enjoyment of studying,⁵⁹ and one inspector reported that schools had recently been provided with excellent teaching materials including good maps.⁶⁰ Wall charts for history were rarely mentioned since history was often taught with geography, but presumably some of the geography maps were also used to teach history. Visual teaching materials in geometry, however, were often missing according to Norberg, making it difficult to demonstrate figures in class. Schools that had purchased wall charts for this subject were reported to have made it more interesting.⁶¹ Another inspector, Dahlström, had found that stereometric figures (geometry) and maps had also become more generally available in his district.⁶² Not until the late nineteenth century was geometry taught more generally in Swedish elementary schools. Wall charts were important, as Sverker Lundin pointed out, in focusing more on practical and "vivid" teaching rather than difficult abstractions and mechanic rules that were not adapted to children's understanding.⁶³ The inclusion of stereometric figures on the short list of state-subsidised teaching material provided to schools in 1866 was therefore logical and led to several schools in the Uppsala diocese ordering this material.⁶⁴

With the growing implementation of the "above minimum" subjects, demand for better teaching materials, especially wall charts, increased.⁶⁵ Lists of recommended materials based on the inspector reports were published regularly to guide local schools. In particular, the *Reader for the Elementary School*, published in 1868, functioned as a catalyst for the use of visual materials even though it was essentially a textbook.⁶⁶ The first edition contained 30 woodcut images particularly related to history, geography, and natural science.⁶⁷ Mass-produced readers used across Europe functioned not only as reading practice, but also to transmit patriotic and moral ideals, mainly through the subjects of history and geography.⁶⁸ A reader in natural

57 Anne Katrin Gjerløff and Anette Faye Jacobsen, *Dansk skolehistorie 3: Da skolen blev sat i system 1850–1920* (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2014), 283–86.

58 BSFR (1867–68), 23.

59 *Ibid.*, 72.

60 *Ibid.*, 56.

61 *Ibid.*, 23.

62 *Ibid.*, 37. For maps, see also BSFR (1867–68), 46, and for stereometric figures, see BSFR (1867–68), 78.

63 Sverker Lundin, *Skolans matematik: En kritisk analys av den svenska skolmatematikens förhistoria, uppkomst och utveckling* (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2008), 257, 290–91.

64 National Archives, Uppsala, Uppsala chapter, G4B:1, Requisitioner af undervisningsmaterial för folkskolorna enligt domkapitlets cirkulär år 1866, no. 5 § 2.

65 From 1862 to 1885, the proportions of children taught increased from 9 % to 48 % in history and from 10 % to 79 % in geography. Jakob Evertsson, "History, Nation and School Inspections: The Introduction of Citizenship Education in Elementary Schools in Late Nineteenth-Century Sweden," *History of Education* 44, no. 3 (2015), 264.

66 PFIM 1867, § 19.

67 *Läsebok för folkskolan: faksimilieutgåva efter första upplagan 1868* (Stockholm: Gidlund, 1979).

68 Susannah Wright, "Citizenship, Moral Education and the English Elementary School," in *Mass Education and the Limits of State Building, c. 1870–1930*, ed. Laurence Brockliss and Nicola Sheldon (New York: Palgrave, 2012), 27.

science including 60 wood cuts had also been published in 1852 and was distributed with the main *Reader*.⁶⁹ As Magnus Hultén points out, this science book seems to have been rather unknown in the early 1860s; inspectors made almost no mention of it, but it soon became a standard and was printed in many subsequent editions.⁷⁰ These two readers were the standard as evidenced by consistent orders from the parish boards throughout the late nineteenth century.⁷¹ The two teaching technologies of books and separate visual aids did not mutually exclude each other. Instead, wall charts in natural science, for example, often functioned in close interaction with and as a complement to the textbooks, as has been shown in international research⁷² and by the demands of Swedish inspectors that textbook images ought to be printed out as wall charts.⁷³ Still, in the late nineteenth century the connection between book illustrations and wall charts gradually dissolved, and wall charts were accorded the status of independent materials complementary to textbooks, but with their own didactic methods.⁷⁴ For example, thematic wall maps were introduced in Sweden during this time as a pedagogical instrument to teach children about the “fatherland” and to instil patriotic feelings.⁷⁵

Table 1. Teaching material spending in Swedish schools 1868–1882

Year	Teaching material costs (kronor)	
	Uppsala diocese	Nationally
1868	17,054	138,876
1882	22,704	223,138

Source: *Bidrag till Sveriges officiella statistik* (Contributions to Sweden’s Official Statistics), 1868–1882.

The school board’s willingness to spend money on teaching materials was obviously important in the dissemination of wall charts. Table 1 shows that the spending in Uppsala diocese between 1868 and 1882 followed the trend of national school funding, increasing from 17,054 to 22,704 kronor. However, the national increase was even greater, rising from 138,876 to 223,138 kronor. Uppsala’s average spending was well above that of other dioceses. The average cost for teaching materials was 10,682 kronor in 1868 and 17,006 kronor in 1882, but there were large variations

69 Nils Johan Berlin, *Lärobok i naturläran för folkskolor och folkskollärare-seminarier*, första upplagan (Lund: Gleerups, 1852).

70 Magnus Hultén, “Scientists, Teachers and the ‘Scientific Textbook’: Interprofessional Relations and the Modernisation of Elementary Science Textbooks in Nineteenth-Century Sweden,” *History of Education* 45, no. 2 (2016), 164–66.

71 National Archives, Stockholm, Department of Ecclesiastical Affairs, Main Archive, F5B:9–10, Räkenskaper för anskaffning och utdelning av undervisningsmaterial 1877–1903.

72 Michael Markert et al., “Staging Nature in Twentieth-Century Teacher Education and Classrooms,” *Paedagogica Historica* 56, no. 1–2 (2020), 134.

73 PFIM 1867, § 19.

74 Walter Müller, “Schulwandbilder als Quellen schul- und bildungshistorischer Forschung,” in *Bilder als Quellen der Erziehungsgeschichte*, ed. Hanno Schmitt, Jörg-W. Link, and Frank Tosch (Bad Heilsbrunn: Verlag Julius Klinkhardt, 1997), 192.

75 Mattias Legnér, “Bilder av Norden från 1500 till 1900,” *Landet under dina ögon: kartutställning på Kungl. Biblioteket. 15 juni to 15 oktober 2006* (Stockholm: Kungl. Biblioteket, 2006), 25.

between the dioceses depending on their sizes and number of schools.⁷⁶ Interestingly, a higher percentage of funds were set aside for teaching materials in Uppsala in 1868 (12 per cent) than in 1882 (10 per cent). The lack of substantially increased spending on teaching materials in 1882, also visible at the national level, can be partly explained by the durability and usefulness of the wall charts: once obtained for a particular subject, they were used for a long time and were often adapted to teach other subjects, which then required only supplementary materials in addition. In the early period, cheaper imported wall charts dominated, while in the late nineteenth century, domestic wall charts (to be discussed later) became more prominent. An important factor in the total expenditures was the substantial increase in schools during this period, which needed both new buildings and more teachers.

The annual state allowance of 10,000 kronor contributed to the production of teaching materials and offset some costs for the parishes. Here we can also identify how much went to the funding of wall charts. In 1868, the state spent 15,457 kronor on teaching materials, and 15 per cent (2,291 kronor) of this was set aside for wall charts in history, geography, natural science, and geometry. In 1872, 82 per cent (9,154 of the total 11,150 kronor available) was spent on wall charts in these four subjects, which quickly brought about significant change by providing more visual materials for the “above minimum” subjects. Five years later, however, only 13 per cent of the allowance (1,241 of 9,499 kronor) was used for that purpose, indicating that the previous strong support was related to the state’s temporary effort to introduce newly acquired wall charts. In the entire period of 1864–1880, only 17 per cent (32,132 kronor of 192,266) of the allowance was assigned to wall charts for the “above minimum” subjects.⁷⁷

Monetary allowances were not the only state contributions to the purchase of wall charts for local schools. Official lists of recommended teaching materials, issued by the state based on recommendations from the school inspectors, were available for order at a discounted price. In 1872, for example, besides the *Reader*, school boards were advised to purchase wall maps of Sweden, Europe, and the world; political wall maps of Sweden and Norway; and wall charts of coins, measures, weights, and the animal kingdom. Wall charts could be rather expensive: the *Reader* cost 1 *riksdaler*, and a chart of measures and weights as much as 4 *riksdaler*.⁷⁸ School inspectors also occasionally complained about teachers’ inability to use the material to suit the children’s learning needs. Teacher manuals for the methodical use of the wall charts were therefore produced by the Elementary School Bureau (*Folkskolebyrån*).⁷⁹ The price of wall charts and the lack of manuals were also initial problems in other countries such as Spain and delayed the dissemination and implementation of wall charts as pedagogical tools.⁸⁰ In Sweden, natural science was even characterised as a “stranger” in elementary school teaching in the 1870s due to the lack of good teaching materials and the unsophisticated pedagogical practices in the classroom.⁸¹

76 BISOS (1868), Bilagor, 67; BISOS (1882), table 8.

77 “Cassabok för åren 1864–1880.”

78 National Archives, Stockholm, Department of Ecclesiastical Affairs, Main Archive, B3AA, “Förteckning på undervisningsmateriel för folkskolorna,” cirkulär no: 30 (1872), Cirkulär m.m. angående folkundervisningen i riket.

79 PFIM 1870, §15.

80 Mar del Pozo Andrés (2013), 11.

81 Henrik Edgren, “En främling i den svenska folkskolan’: 1870-talets folkskoleundervisning i naturkunnighet,” in *Sann opplysning? Naturvitenskap i nordiske offentligheter gjennom fire århundrer*,

Inspectors' efforts to disseminate wall charts in the local schools and encourage them to use teacher guidelines bore fruit after some time, although this should be attributed not only to inspectors, but also to the local school boards' willingness to invest in the necessary structures. Local taxation and state subsidies were the main sources of income for the schools, but in 1871 the subsidies were changed from a complicated system based on population size to a matching grant system, which increased them. As Johannes Westberg showed for the Sundsvall region in the north of Sweden, however, local school districts in 1865–1900 continued to be an important source of funds for Swedish schools, providing 61 to 69 per cent of their income.⁸² It is therefore important not to exaggerate the state's financial influence in the dissemination of wall charts. Still, in the early 1870s, Inspector Thorman mentioned that the increasing use of maps in local schools had actually been detrimental to learning, saying that if the map were removed from a pupil's line of sight, then "rapidly vanishes almost all his geographic knowledge."⁸³ These large-format and often lively pictures impressed the children at the time, as has been argued by Walter Müller in the German case.⁸⁴ Given the importance of visual teaching, it was therefore seen as a problem that wall charts in natural sciences were still lacking in most schools, although more were purchased for schools than previously.⁸⁵ The observation of one inspector that it was "sad to find, how hasty the teaching material was worn out,"⁸⁶ illustrates how common and expected wall charts had become in some subjects. Geography remained important in the inspectors' reports, and in some districts the schools even wanted to renew the maps and purchase new ones. Stereometric figures for geometry and wall charts for natural sciences also seem to have become more common in some districts.⁸⁷ Inspector Roos even found that materials for "the study of geography and natural science [have] been abundantly provided for in many schools."⁸⁸ Later in the decade, apart from the now commonly used geographical maps, wall charts for topics in natural science such as the animal kingdom and the human body had spread to many more schools.⁸⁹

ed. Marethe Roos and Johan Tønnesson (Oslo: Cappelen Damm akademisk, 2017), 233.

82 Johannes Westberg, *Funding the Rise of Mass Schooling: The Social, Economic and Cultural History of School Finance in Sweden, 1840–1900* (Cham: Palgrave MacMillan, 2017), 144–47.

83 BSFR (1869–71), 16.

84 Müller (1997), 213.

85 BSFR (1869–71), 17.

86 *Ibid.*, 20.

87 BSFR (1869–71), 43, 47; BSFR (1869–71), 68–69. See also BSFR (1872–76), 86.

88 BSFR (1869–71), 92.

89 BSFR (1872–76), 17; BSFR (1872–76), 86; BSFR (1872–76), 105; BSFR (1872–76), 132–34.

Table 2. Sets of standard wall charts purchased from the state by local schools in Sweden, 1874–1883

Subject	Standard sets of wall charts	1874	1875	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883
History	Swedish kings	222	161	124	136	61	50	42	22	20	28
	Political map of Sweden and Norway	372	414	402	436	458	404	335	299	268	328
Geography	Map of Sweden	212	166	169	131	147	91	81	91	107	112
	Map of Europe	239	193	301	374	218	182	168	147	168	222
	Map of the globe	199	190	306	293	205	179	118	148	160	165
Natural science	Human body	270	246	261	217	221	203	193	187	196	233
	Animal kingdom	267	236	175	185	175	135	149	155	149	166
Geometry	Measures and weights	138	152	161	53	64	29		120	208	155
	Metric measures							419	346	196	196

Source: Data collected by the author. Based on *Räkenskaper för anskaffning och utdelning av undervisningsmaterial 1874–1903* (Accounts of the Acquisition and Distribution of Teaching Materials 1874–1903), National Archives, Department of Ecclesiastical Affairs, Main Archives F5B:9–10, Stockholm.

The table above shows the number of sets of wall charts in “above minimum” subjects sent to Swedish parishes from 1874 to 1883. These constituted the standard set of wall charts within the “above minimum” subjects, but there were others available in the ever growing lists of available material.⁹⁰ During this decade, a substantial amount of wall charts in these subjects were distributed at a discounted price, given that the number of schools was 9,621 in 1882.⁹¹ The totals ordered during this period were 4,582 in history, 5,482 in geography, 4,019 in natural science, and 2,237 in geometry.⁹² Metric measures were first introduced in geometry charts in 1880, but are included here as they constituted an important material in the subject. As noted, the numbers of purchases did not increase year by year, but peaked in certain years. One important reason for these changing numbers was the promotion of specific materials through the lists of recommended materials; another was that inspectors actively sought to evenly distribute the implementation of wall charts. Finally, schools in various parts of Sweden built up their visual materials gradually and only bought new wall charts when necessary. Although promoted by the state, some materials such as wall charts about the Swedish kings also went out of fashion. The table shows this trend in the decrease in orders from 222 in 1874 to only 28 in 1883. After 1883, the ordering pattern changed. As new materials were produced and introduced, wall

90 National Archives, Department of Ecclesiastical Affairs, Main Archives, B3AA, “Förteckning på undervisningsmateriel för folkskolorna,” Cirkulär no. 40 (1875), Cirkulär m.m. angående folkundervisningen i riket.

91 BISOS (1882), 20.

92 The political wall chart of Sweden has been counted as history although it was probably used for teaching both history and geography.

charts on metric measures and the animal kingdom were the only older charts that continued to be requested.

Although inspectors were satisfied with the frequent use of these new teaching materials, they sometimes wanted teachers to pay more attention to their preservation, perhaps indicating their aversion to replacing older materials.⁹³ At the national inspector meeting, they agreed that “one has to admit that frequently an inability among senior teachers is revealed on how to use this material in an appropriate manner,” indicating that pedagogical measures did not always go hand in hand with the wall charts.⁹⁴ Around this time several wall charts were replaced on the state’s list of recommended teaching materials, as seen in the table, which perhaps was necessary given the state of older wall charts in the parishes. Of the 19 wall charts available in Uppsala diocese in 1875, 13 were on geography, history, geometry, or natural science, demonstrating the increasing importance of these subjects in the 1870s.⁹⁵ The growing importance of those wall charts is also shown by the increase in local materials requisitions from 1866 to 1876. In 1866, 43 of the 73 wall charts ordered were on geography; in 1876, 152 of 287 wall charts requisitioned were on the “above minimum” subjects.⁹⁶ While requisition lists initially varied from year to year depending on the materials being promoted, the mid-1870s saw the establishment of a canon of standard wall charts that continued in use for some decades. At the national inspector meeting in 1877, it was reported that most elementary schools had wall charts on the Swedish kings, the animal kingdom, and the human body and political and geographic maps of Scandinavia, Europe, and the world.⁹⁷ One school inspector in Uppsala diocese graded the available materials in a school “good” if all they included all of these wall charts.⁹⁸ Notable for its exclusion from the list the chart of the Swedish kings, which never achieved the same prominence as the others. This set, along with biblical wall charts and readers, came to constitute the standard visual materials provided to schools at discounted price by the state.

The general availability of wall charts and calls for improvement: 1880–1910

As discussed, wall charts were gradually disseminated from the 1860s aided by the inspectors’ recommendations and state subsidies that influenced local school districts’ purchases of teaching materials for the schools. Bible images were the first to be implemented, followed initially by wall maps for teaching geography and history, while materials in natural science and geometry were largely absent until the 1870s. Massimiano Bucchi has described 1870–1920 as the “golden age” of the use of visual aids in didactic communication and the height of the production and sale of large-format wall charts. Initially, these were limited to German-speaking countries,

93 BSFR (1872–76), 42.

94 PFIM (1877), § 16.

95 National Archives, Uppsala, Uppsala chapter, G4B:3, “Lista för requisition af undervisningsmateriel för folkskolorna,” 1875.

96 National Archives, Uppsala, Uppsala chapter, G4B:1–3, “Lista för requisition af undervisningsmateriel för folkskolorna,” 1866, 1876.

97 PFIM 1877, §16.

98 BSFR (1872–76), 105.

but they soon spread to other European countries.⁹⁹ This chapter investigates the different mechanisms of disseminating wall charts in the Swedish context in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During this period, wall charts were implemented in all the “above minimum” subjects in Sweden, although this varied between districts and subjects. The established canon of standard wall charts facilitated the continued dissemination of these materials from the 1880s onwards, and international imports were increasingly replaced by the domestic production achieved towards the end of the nineteenth century.

By the 1880s, Sweden had introduced a national curriculum (1878) and a more comprehensive list of recommended teaching materials than in 1875. Of the 34 materials recommended, 17 were wall charts and the rest were textbooks and physical objects.¹⁰⁰ In 1880, 22 of 40 items were wall charts, demonstrating the rapid increase in the visual materials and other teaching tools available.¹⁰¹ Sarah Anne Carter suggested that one reason for the emphasis on images over other study materials was that they offered an alternative way to organise abstract information about the material world.¹⁰² Inspectors considered the wall charts in geography important because in this respect they, like the readers, also benefitted other theoretical subjects. Inspector Laurell, for example, confirmed that geography was better taught than any other subject in the elementary schools because “apart from the subject’s nature of variation... it borders on and partly takes in both history and the natural sciences [through] the general availability and use of the visual material, such as maps and globes...”¹⁰³ However, the distribution of wall charts in different subjects could still vary between parishes. Laurell pointed out the lack of charts of the Swedish kings in Uppsala, while maps of Sweden and Europe were generally available. Maps of the world and charts on measures and weights, the human body, and the animal kingdom were also common in the schools, while the natural sciences seem to have been less well provided for than other subjects.¹⁰⁴ This demonstrates that while state recommended materials were actively disseminated during this period, there were differences among school subjects and parishes.

99 Bucchi (1998), 163.

100 National Archives, Department of Ecclesiastical Affairs, Main Archive, B3AA, “Förteckning på undervisningsmateriel för folkskolorna,” (1877), Cirkulär m.m. angående folkundervisningen i riket.

101 National Archives, Uppsala, Uppsala chapter, G4B:3, “Förteckning på undervisningsmateriel för folkskolorna,” (1880), Cirkulär m.m. angående folkundervisningen i riket.

102 Carter (2018), 68–69.

103 BSFR (1877–81), 12.

104 *Ibid.*, 17.



Figure 3. “Wall chart of the Animal Kingdom” from the 1880s.
Source: ”Väggtaflor öfver Djurriket. Serien I. Däggdjur,” N.J. Gumperts förlag: Gothenburg.

In another district, the inspector considered that wall maps were used appropriately by most schools to teach geography. This was also the case for natural sciences, with teaching now mainly relying on wall charts of the human body and the animal kingdom (see Figure 3 above). Inspector Ekman claimed that the need for such materials grew constantly, but that schools had not yet realised their importance¹⁰⁵ or were unwilling to pay for them¹⁰⁶ as the state’s 1881 list of materials shows that wall charts were more expensive than other teaching materials. Wall charts of the animal kingdom came in a set of 10 images for 25 kronor, which was very expensive compared with a set of 20 biblical wall charts costing only 5 kronor.¹⁰⁷ Other

105 Ibid., 78–79. For geography, see also, 154.

106 Ibid., 111.

107 National Archives, Department of Ecclesiastical Affairs, Main Archive, B3AA, “Förteckning på

inspectors pointed out that school councils were generally willing to purchase the necessary materials, although not as frequently as they should.¹⁰⁸ In some districts only a few schools lacked the most necessary teaching materials, demonstrating the widespread dissemination of wall charts.¹⁰⁹ As Müller showed, wall charts became a mandatory teaching material in the late nineteenth century in Germany and elsewhere in Europe, as is evident in recommendations for teaching materials and school inventory lists.¹¹⁰ The lists of material acquisitions from local school districts in Uppsala diocese in 1880 are notable in that readers were the most prioritised teaching material, but wall charts had also gained more prominence.¹¹¹ The apparent pedagogical implications of having inspected the availability and use of wall charts continued for nearly two decades. At the national inspector meeting in 1881, the use of visual materials was now described in three stages from the most elementary to the most advanced. The inspectors also called upon the state to provide schools with newer materials for history, geography, and natural science, and the Department of Ecclesiastical Affairs followed those recommendations.¹¹² The renewed elementary school statute of 1882 also stated that “necessary teaching material” should be made available by each school district.¹¹³

Table 3. Number of schools with standard wall charts in Hagunda and other deaneries, 1881 and 1892

Subject	Standard wall charts	1881		1892	
History	Swedish kings	32	(14%)	37	(13%)
	Political map of Sweden and Norway	165	(71%)	198	(68%)
Geography	Map of Sweden	25	(11%)	50	(17%)
	Map of Europe	144	(61%)	180	(62%)
	Map of the globe	71	(31%)	139	(48%)
Natural science	Human body	51	(22%)	137	(47%)
	Animal kingdom	65	(28%)	97	(35%)
Geometry	Measures and weights	12	(5%)	55	(19%)
	Metric measures	6	(3%)	88	(30%)

Source: Data collected by the author. Based on information in *Berättelser om folkskolorna i riket afgifna af tillförordnade folkskoleinspektörer* (Stories About Elementary Schools in the Kingdom Told by Acting Elementary School Inspectors; BSFR) in Hagunda and other deaneries (1887–92), 33–34, 50–51. Note: Percentage in parenthesis indicates the proportion of wall charts available in all Hagunda schools.

undervisningsmaterial för folkskolorna,” (1881), Cirkulär m.m. angående folkundervisningen i riket.

108 BSFR (1877–81), 92.

109 Ibid., 119.

110 Müller (1997), 212.

111 National Archives, Uppsala, Uppsala chapter, G4B:3, ”Requisition å skolmaterial från Kongl. Ecklesiastik-Departementet in 1880,” Närtuna och Gottröra församlingar.

112 PFIM 1881, § 11.

113 SFS 1882:8, Kongl. Maj:t förnyade stadga angående folkundervisningen i riket; gifven Stockholms slott den 20 januari 1882, § 52.

Hagunda, as the only inspector district of the six in the diocese of Uppsala to provide detailed statistics for 1881–1892 on the number of schools with wall charts in the “above minimum” subjects, is particularly interesting. It was also one of the largest districts in population and number of schools, and it included both urban and rural areas. Comparable data for the number of wall charts in schools is available only for this specific period. Various new wall charts had also come into the schools by 1890, thus somewhat complicating between-year comparisons. Schools in Hagunda had 1,240 wall maps and wall charts in 1881, of which 797 were in the “above minimum” subjects. By 1892 that number had almost doubled to 2,413 of which 1,574 were in those subjects. This demonstrates the growing interest in visual materials as the number of schools only rose from 233 to 290 during the same period. However, the numbers do not speak for a linear growth in wall charts and maps over time (see Table 3). For example, with the exception of the 17 per cent increase in world maps, the percentage of schools with wall charts in history and geography remained rather stable during this period. A larger proportion of schools had political rather than other types of wall maps of Sweden, suggesting they were probably used for both history and geography. Wall charts for natural science and geometry, however, increased more substantially. Schools with charts of the human body increased from 22 to 47 per cent, with charts of measures and weight from 5 per cent to 19 per cent, and with metric tables from a mere 3 per cent to 30 per cent during this period.¹¹⁴ Here, it should be mentioned that wall charts were generally more available in the normal elementary schools than in the other schools. In 1898, although he did not provide exact numbers, Inspector Hermansson reported that the wall charts mentioned in the table were available in most normal elementary schools, indicating the subsequent dissemination of these materials.¹¹⁵

There were similarities and differences among inspection districts during this period. Wall charts seem to have been more common in urban than rural school districts. In the deaneries of Uppsala and other districts, maps of the Scandinavian countries, Europe, and the world were available in all elementary schools by 1886. “Necessary material” for geometry was also available, and the visual materials for natural science had been considerably improved, although their costs were still an issue.¹¹⁶ After the next inspection round in 1892, similar statements were made with the addition that most schools had obtained wall charts for Swedish history.¹¹⁷ In the other larger city in the diocese, Gävle, Inspector Insulander mentioned that “very few schools are lacking the most necessary teaching material; considerably many schools within almost every school district are in this regard well and richly provided.”¹¹⁸ One reason for this was that the Royal Ecclesiastical Department had made available wall charts at a reasonable price.¹¹⁹ In the northern inspection district, Hälsingland, geography teaching was reported to already have been well provided with materials,

114 BSFR in Hagunda and other deaneries 1881–1910.

115 BSFR (1892–98), 41.

116 BSFR (1882–86), 22.

117 BSFR (1887–92), 25–26.

118 BSFR (1882–86), 72.

119 *Ibid.*

but that new teaching materials in natural science had also been purchased.¹²⁰ A similar statement was made by Inspector Åmark, when he remarked that wall charts of the human body and the animal kingdom were generally available in normal elementary schools, but were less common in minor elementary schools. He pointed out that in the minor schools the teaching was also less successful, indicating the importance of visual teaching.¹²¹ The increasing number of wall charts in the natural sciences are also confirmed by statements from other inspectors.

Inspectors seem to have been concerned with the dissemination of wall charts in natural science during the 1890s as the supply of textbooks was already good. Textbooks shifted their focus to more detailed descriptions of plants and animals in their natural context rather than continuing the mid-nineteenth century emphasis on the usefulness of the natural world to humans.¹²² Despite these technical and theoretical developments, wall charts were used to transmit not only objective knowledge, but also, as Ana Maria Badanelli argues, “emotions, feelings, affections, fears and beliefs” through expressive, artistic, and aesthetic means.¹²³ In history lessons, links to current patriotic ideals might have been emphasised through emotional overtones in the teaching.¹²⁴ This also had implications for the production of new visual materials. During the national romanticism around the turn of the century, the production of wall charts increased in Denmark partly because of a willingness to enhance the national character although there was an abundance of German wall charts in the Danish schools.¹²⁵ In Sweden educators strove to produce wall charts in biblical history that linked the homeland to the national religion.¹²⁶ Hence, improved quality in the eyes of the school inspectors might mean better aesthetic or pedagogical quality, giving detailed, accessible, and objective knowledge, but it could also mean instilling patriotic values.

120 Ibid., 90.

121 BSFR (1887–92), 72–73. See also BSFR (1887–92), 93.

122 Hultén, “Scientists, Teachers and the ‘Scientific Textbook,’” 165–66.

123 Ana Maria Badanelli, “Representing Two Worlds: Illustrations in Spanish Textbooks for the Teaching of Religion and Object Lessons (1900–1970),” *History of Education* 41, no. 3 (2012), 320.

124 Erdmann (2015), 576.

125 Lars Qvortrop, “Anskuelsetavler: historisk, didaktisk og aestetisk,” in *Autopsi: mere end 500 anskuelsetavler*, ed. Malene Natasha Ratcliffe, Inger Sørensen, and Claus Holm (Copenhagen: Aarhus Universitet, 2009), 26–27.

126 Jakob Evertsson, “Alfred Dalin och de bibliska skolplanschernas förmedling av kulturhistoria,” in *Kulturell reproduktion i skola och nation*, ed. Urban Claesson and Dick Åhman (Möklinta: Gidlunds, 2016), 30.

Table 4. Assessment of teaching materials in schools in Hagunda and other deaneries 1881–1910

Year	Good	Average	Below average	Total
1881	52 (23%)	165 (71%)	14 (6%)	231 (100%)
1886	87 (34%)	167 (64%)	5 (2%)	259 (100%)
1892	121 (42%)	162 (56%)	7 (2%)	290 (100%)
1898	145 (45%)	169 (53%)	5 (2%)	319 (100%)
1904	158 (47%)	177 (52%)	4 (1%)	339 (100%)
1910	164 (46%)	189 (52%)	7 (2%)	360 (100%)

Source: Data collected by the author. Based on information in BSFR in Hagunda 1881–1910. Note: Percentages in parentheses indicate the average assessment of teaching materials in Hagunda schools per year.

One way to measure the dissemination of wall charts during this period is through the inspectors' evaluations of materials available in the schools. Although these included textbooks and other teaching aids, by the 1880s a good proportion of the evaluated materials were wall charts in different subjects, which might indicate how they developed. Inspector Hermansson's reports assessed the teaching materials in the district of Hagunda for the whole period of 1881–1910. Improvements in teaching materials, particularly in the late nineteenth century, are clear in Inspector Hermansson's statistics. As shown in Table 4, the number of schools with "good" teaching materials increased in 1881–1892 from 23 to 42 per cent, but then remained stable until 1910. Schools graded "average" in this respect dropped from 71 per cent in 1881 to 52 per cent in 1910, and those graded "below average" dropped from 6 per cent in 1881 to 2 per cent in 1910. Once purchased, wall charts were used for a long time, and by the end of the nineteenth century there was a movement among inspectors for domestic production. Older materials had also become obsolete or damaged by frequent use, as discussed below. The percentages might also have been affected by the rapid growth in schools, from 231 in 1881 to 360 in 1910. This expansion affected the overall purchase of materials as many recently established schools lacked the material base built up in older schools over the years.

Detailed information is not available for the other districts, but comparisons can still be made for certain years and decades. In 1881, for example, the inspector for the Uppsala deanery graded the available teaching materials in 33 per cent of the schools as good, in 49 per cent as average, and in 18 per cent as below average. Thus, although a high proportion of schools had good materials, a considerable number were below average.¹²⁷ In the inspection district of Vaksala in 1881, 21 per cent of schools were graded as good, 47 per cent as average, and 32 per cent (considerably higher than in other districts) as below average.¹²⁸ Finally, the districts of Gävle and Gästrikland provide comparable data for the period 1881–1892. In 1881, 20 per cent of the schools were rated as having good material, 69 per cent average, and 11 per cent below average. In 1892, 50 per cent of the schools were assessed as good,

¹²⁷ BSFR (1877–81), 18.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 84.

45 per cent as average, and 5 per cent below average on teaching materials.¹²⁹ This confirms the rapid implementation of wall charts and the general quality of teaching materials in the 1880s in the larger districts of Hagunda and Gävle. The results for the Hagunda deanery show that grades for teaching materials remained stable over the next decades, indicating that the same materials continued to be used. By this time it seems wall charts were more important in visual teaching for children than textbook illustrations. In 1887, a state committee assessing the quality of teaching materials stated that with schools' new access to wall charts it was no longer necessary to include expensive illustrations in textbooks.¹³⁰ The committee also recommended that medium or large wall charts should be provided more cheaply.¹³¹

Nedanstående, på Kongl. Ekklesiastik-departementets föranstaltande utgifna undervisningsmateriel, erhållas på rakvisitation af skolråd genom nämnda departement eller direkt hos P. A. Norstedt & Söner till följande pris:		
<p>Kristendom.</p> <p>Bibliska tafflor. 1. Gamla testamentet. 26 st. Uppfod. på 1 papp. 2 kr. — 2. Nya testamentet. 58 st. Uppfod. på 1 papp. 2 kr.</p> <p>Åskådningsöfningar. Tafflor för isbildningsundervisning. 1. Nömräkn. Uppfod. på vit med rött. 8 kr. — 2. Värden. Uppfod. på vit med rött. 8 kr.</p> <p>Modersmålet. Läsetabeller För den bästa undervisningen af Carl Norstedt & Söner Almqvist. 48 st. Uppfod. på 1 papp. 2 kr.</p> <p>Historia. Sveriges regenter. 25 porträtt. Uppf. på vit. i färdig. 400. Tafflor ur allmänna historien af S. Carlsson och L. Hjalmar. 58 st. Uppfod. på 1 papp. Hvar portr. 10 kr.</p>	<p>Geografi (Kartor). Alla pris äro angifna för ex. enkelt uppfodrad på vit och med rullar.</p> <p>Karta öfver Jordgloben af N. von Sydow. 10 kr.</p> <p>Karta öfver Asien af M. Roth. 8 kr.</p> <p>Karta öfver Afrika af M. Roth. 7 kr.</p> <p>Karta öfver Bibelns land och folk af M. Roth. 8 kr.</p> <p>Karta öfver Norden af M. Roth. 13 kr.</p>	<p>Naturkunnighet. Våra viktigaste kulturväxder och deras skötsel. Tre värdel. med beskrifning af J. J. S. Sjöström. Uppfod. på 1 papp. 4 kr.</p> <p>Geologiska tafflor. 86 st. med text. af S. S. Sjöström. Uppfod. på 1 papp. 4 kr.</p> <p>Räkning och Geometri. Vigtiga öfver Sverige samt öfver och med följande tabeller af S. S. Sjöström. Uppfod. på vit med rött. 4 kr.</p> <p>Översiktligt öfver Sverige samt ö. väder. 86 st. i färdig. af S. S. Sjöström. Uppfod. på 1 papp. 4 kr.</p> <p>Trädgårdsskötsel. Normeritningar till trädgårdsskötsel för en och flera personer. Uppfod. på 1 papp. 4 kr.</p>
	<p>Kartor öfver Sveriges landskap:</p> <p>Upland. 8 kr. Södermanland. 6 kr. Örebro län. 6 kr. Östergötland. 8 kr. Småland och Öland. 8 kr. Gotland. 5,50 Halland. 6 kr. Gefleborgs län. 6 kr.</p>	

Figure 4. Advertisement of wall charts published in the Teachers Press.

Source: Svensk Lärartidning, no. 14 (1891).

As Dane et al. showed, wall charts were often sold over a long period and only slowly adapted to new pedagogic and aesthetic demands.¹³² This led to critiques of older materials that inspectors deemed obsolete. In 1889 and 1890, for example, many schools temporarily ordered new wall maps to update the older material.¹³³ Initially, Sweden depended on imports from Germany and France, but demands were later made for nationally produced wall charts. The large bookshops Svanströms and Gleerups largely managed the import of foreign wall charts, and a common practice was to place a sticker on top of the original publisher's name. One such case in Sweden is that of early wall charts of animals where the text under the sticker from Frans Svanströms & Co, Stockholm says, "Leipziger Schulbildverlag von F.E. Wachsmuth,

129 BSFR (1877–81), 120; BSFR (1887–92), 99.

130 *Granskning af läroböcker för folkskolan jemte grundsatsar för deras uppställning. Underdånigt utlåtande afgifvet den 24 mars 1887 af utsedde kommitterade* (Stockholm: Kongl. Boktryckeriet, 1887), 17.

131 *Granskning af läroböcker*, 48.

132 Dane et al. (2011), 269.

133 National Archives, Stockholm, Department of Ecclesiastical Affairs, Main Archive, F5B:10, "Räkenskaper för anskaffning och utdelning av undervisningsmaterial 1874–1903."

Leipzig,” indicating its German origin. However, the publisher P.A. Norstedt & Söner came to dominate the domestic production of wall charts in Sweden from the 1890s.¹³⁴ The national production of wall charts in other European countries also intensified during this period. It has been established, for example, that in Italy, the publisher Paravia’s catalogue of wall charts in Italian history and geography amounted to as much as 60 pages for the 1894–1895 school year.¹³⁵ In Sweden, the national production of wall charts was visible in teaching journals. Figure 4 shows an advertisement in *Svensk Läraretidning* (The Swedish Teacher’s Magazine) for a wide range of wall charts available from P.A. Norstedt in 1891. An article in the journal the following year argued that the quality of wall charts in the “above minimum” subjects had improved so substantially that those available for biblical history needed to be updated to meet the same standard.¹³⁶ This is interesting because the first wall charts produced in the mid-nineteenth century were for teaching Christianity and this shows that materials for the “above minimum” subjects had now bypassed the original productions.¹³⁷ Inspectors confirmed this by arguing for the purchase of better wall charts for schools, asserting that the existing materials had become dated.

The growth of new teaching materials is shown by the increase of recommended teaching materials from less than a page in 1870 to 24 pages in 1910.¹³⁸ In 1893, government funds for teaching materials doubled from 10,000 kronor to 20,000 kronor, with implications for the production and dissemination of domestic wall charts.¹³⁹ By the late 1890s and 1900s, inspectors often reported that the schools were well provided with teaching material, and as one inspector claimed, even had “rather much material that cannot be considered part of the most necessary,”¹⁴⁰ and argued that new and updated materials should be purchased in natural science to replace the previous wall charts of the animal kingdom. Wall charts on culturally important Swedish plants were also mentioned as an addition in many schools.¹⁴¹ Inspector Insulander reported that although teaching materials in geography, history, geometry, and natural sciences were normally available in the schools, those for the natural sciences might be improved.¹⁴² In one rural inspection district, visual materials for the natural sciences were not considered satisfactory, although some schools had an abundance of maps of Sweden.¹⁴³ In the 1900s it was often stated that schools were more or less well provided with wall charts.¹⁴⁴ Inspector Edquist explained the somewhat uneven distribution of teaching materials by claiming

134 Johannesson (1978), 147.

135 Targhetta (2015), 7.

136 *Svensk Läraretidning*, no. 14 (1892).

137 Early pedagogic images have been discussed in Hedvig Brander Jonsson, *Bild och fromhetsliv i 1800-talets Sverige* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1994), 101.

138 National Archives, Department of Ecclesiastical Affairs, Main Archive, B3AA, “Förteckning på undervisningsmaterial för folkskolorna” 1870, 1910, Cirkulär m.m. angående folkundervisningen i riket.

139 Riksdagens protokoll (Parliamentary papers) (1893), Kongl. Maj:ts proposition 1:8, 26.

140 BSFR (1892–98), 14–15. See also BSFR (1892–98), 140.

141 BSFR (1892–98), 15. See also BSFR (1887–92), 39.

142 BSFR (1892–98), 101.

143 *Ibid.*, 71.

144 BSFR (1899–1904), 15; BSFR (1899–1904), 48.

that some teachers were more active than others in requesting such materials from the school boards.¹⁴⁵ Although there were examples of districts purchasing more modern wall charts of the human body, animals, and plants for teaching the natural sciences,¹⁴⁶ at the end of this period, complaints continued about the wall charts in natural science, particularly in smaller parishes.¹⁴⁷ However, based on inspector reports, it is evident that most schools by 1910 had access to wall charts in the “above minimum” subjects, demonstrating an impressive growth in visual teaching materials during the period.¹⁴⁸

Concluding remarks

The aim of this article was to discuss a topic that has hitherto been largely ignored in previous research: how wall charts were disseminated as an instructional technology to elementary schools from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth century. The study focused on the empirical case of Sweden and the subjects of geography, history, natural science, and geometry. A point of departure was the state’s important influence in the dissemination of wall charts through school inspections and other incentives, although empirical research has been lacking on how this was actually achieved during a crucial era in the establishment of mass schooling. The main sources analysed here were school inspector reports and national and regional statistics on teaching materials. Focusing on objects in the classroom, the paper is informed by a theoretical perspective inspired by recent developments in the history of education that incorporate both visual and material aspects. Some conclusions can now be drawn from the research problem addressed in this paper.

During the first phase of dissemination, starting in the 1860s, wall maps in geography were mainly in focus, but inspectors argued that parishes ought to purchase wall charts in the other subjects as well. The pedagogical use of this technology, however, was implemented only gradually as guidelines were often missing and senior teachers were not accustomed to using this type of material. Inspectors therefore encouraged the use of pedagogical guidelines to prepare for teaching with wall charts. School districts increased their spending on teaching materials from 1868 to 1882, indicating that the materials were in fact purchased by many schools. State allowances contributed to the import and production of wall charts and lowered some costs for the parishes. However, expenses for wall charts in the theoretical subjects amounted to only 18 per cent of school budgets over the period 1864–1880 while readers continued to be the main cost. Lists of recommended materials, providing the wall charts at a discounted price, were also issued regularly from the early 1870s. Local school districts paid most of the costs for teaching materials, and the inspectors therefore tried to influence them to obtain more wall charts. Later in the 1870s, improvements were made as inspectors promoted a standard set of wall charts included on the list of materials as a sort of *canon*. Statistics show that from 1874 to 1883 schools regularly requisitioned these new images from the state and used them for a long time. This might also partly explain the lack of substantially increased expenditures for wall charts during the period.

145 BSFR (1899–1904), 65.

146 *Ibid.*, 110.

147 BSFR (1905–10), 25. See also BSFR (1905–10), 92.

148 BSFR (1905–10), 39; BSFR (1905–10), 60; BSFR (1905–10), 152–3.

In the second phase, from the 1880s, the rapid increase in wall charts in the “above minimum” subjects was manifested by the list of teaching materials from 1880, where 22 of the 40 items belonged to these subjects. Inspectors argued particularly for improvement in materials for the natural sciences as such wall charts were still not available in some parishes. However, schools varied in the dissemination of these materials. *Readers* including images were another main priority for the schools, but towards the late nineteenth century, visual materials gained more ground. The number of wall charts in the different schools was exemplified by one of the larger inspection districts in the diocese of Uppsala. Natural sciences and geometry materials increased most substantially from 1881 to 1892, while the proportion of history and geography materials remained relatively stable in relation to the number of schools. In 1881, the inspector in this district rated the teaching materials in the schools as good in 23 per cent in 1881 and 46 per cent in 1910, demonstrating a considerable improvement in the eyes of the inspector. However, “good” might mean several things in the late nineteenth century: aesthetic quality, detailed and accurate knowledge, or even the promotion of patriotic values. It is therefore notable that Swedish moves towards domestic production of wall charts in the late nineteenth century were also underway in other European countries. Inspectors also argued for replacing older teaching materials with such recently issued wall charts. Judging by the inspector reports, by 1910 most schools seem to have been well provided with wall charts in the theoretical subjects.

This paper contributes new empirical knowledge to previously scant research on how the dissemination of wall charts was accomplished by identifying two phases. More specifically, it provides statistics about both national expenditures and numbers of wall charts ordered, thereby establishing a quantitative measure of the implementation of visual teaching materials. Furthermore, it shows, from the top-down perspective of inspector reports, what inspectors thought needed to be improved in the different districts of the Uppsala diocese and the measures that ought to be taken. The study also confirmed several previous findings in international research regarding the dissemination of wall charts, such as the importance of transnational trade and the emergence of new pedagogic ideals, state initiatives, and patriotic ideals. Altogether, it is safe to say that the role of the visual received became increasingly prominent in schools’ material culture in Sweden during the period investigated. Another theoretical contribution of this research is to further clarify the role of the state in building a visual material base through analysing the reports of school inspectors. Teaching practices changed as wall charts were increasingly implemented in the elementary schools, and state initiatives played a definite role in this, although other aspects such as local schools’ decisions to purchase materials were also important. Further research is needed, however, to establish the dissemination of wall charts in general over a longer period of time incorporating a wider range of sources. Such a study could provide a more complete picture of the implementation of this instructional technology in Sweden and the roles of various actors.

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Skolämnet hembygds-kunskap 1919–1980: Tillkomst och karriär i läroplanshistoriskt perspektiv

Anna Larsson

Abstract • ”Hembygds-kunskap” [Heimatkunde] 1919–1980: Creation and career from a curriculum history perspective. Between 1919 and 1980 ”hembygds-kunskap” [Heimatkunde] was a mandatory school subject in the first three years of schooling in Sweden. The subject was composed to comprise the introductory study of the natural and social environments, but also to train the children’s perceptual and expressional skills. This article follows the career of the subject through the Swedish curriculum history based on curriculum documents and official school investigations. The article shows how the creation of the subject was influenced by international progressive educational ideas about reality based teaching, curriculum concentration and student activity. Over time, the educational implications of the concept ”hembygd” changed. In the beginning of the period, the concept ”hembygd” offered a fruitful way to focus and delimit the primary study of the environments. In the end of the period, however, the concept was abandoned, as it no longer had the capacity of gathering the teaching content. Accordingly, the era of this school subject was over.

Keywords • heimatkunde [hembygds-kunskap], home geography, curriculum history [läroplans-historia], progressive education [reformpedagogik], Sweden [Sverige]

Introduktion

I undervisningsplanen för 1919 introducerades hembygdsundervisning som ett nytt obligatoriskt skolämne i Sverige för årskurserna 1, 2 och 3. Ämnet ingick därefter i läroplanerna för folkskolan respektive grundskolan fram till att det avskaffades i och med 1980 års läroplan; skolämnet fanns alltså under en stor del av 1900-talet. Det kan tyckas märkligt sett ur dagens synvinkel; varför skulle alla barn studera hembygden i tre år? Ämnet framstår som mer förstäligt när man betänker vilka uppgifter som hembygdsundervisning tänktes fylla. I stora drag skulle ämnet tillhandahålla skolans inledande omvärldsorienterande undervisning och ge eleverna en övergång mellan hemmets värld och samhället. Ämnet skulle också öva elevernas iakttagelseförmåga och erbjuda ett innehåll för färdighetsträning i skrivning, räkning och teckning. I ämnet gavs alltså den första undervisningen om naturen, samhället och historien innan barnen längre fram i skolgången fick möta den specifika ämnesundervisningen. I och med 1980 års läroplan togs ämnet bort. Också det kan tyckas märkligt mot bakgrund av just dessa uppgifter. Varför ströks ämnet? Dess tidsbegränsade existens antyder att det var kopplat till idéer och ideal som vid tiden för inrättandet tillskrevs stor relevans för skolundervisningen, men som vid en senare tidpunkt inte längre ansågs adekvata. Syftet med denna artikel är att bidra till kunskap om hembygds-kunskapsämnet och dess curriculära roll i svensk läroplanshistoria genom att analysera dess tillkomst och avskaffande i relation till pedagogiska och kunskapsorganisatoriska idéer. Särskilt intresse kommer att riktas mot hembygdsbegreppets betydelse.

Den organisering av kunskap som manifesteras i ämnesindelningen i nationella läroplaner slås fast politiskt men den är också förankrad i tradition och institutionella

förhållanden.¹ Det är relativt sällan som nya ämnen införs, och kanske ännu mer ovanligt att ämnen stryks. Detta i sig indikerar att införandet av ett nytt ämne är en betydelsefull händelse i läroplanshistorien, väl värd att undersöka. Som utbildningshistorikern och pedagogen Joakim Landahl har poängterat ges skolan på ett påtagligt sätt ett nytt uppdrag i och med att ett nytt skolämne introduceras.² Han har framhållit hur nya skolämnena – hans exempel gällde samhällskunskap respektive livskunskap – i och med inrättandet belyser ”hur skolan både speglar och formar vissa ideal och förhållningssätt i ett visst samhälle under en viss tidsperiod”.³

Som Ivor Goodson uttryckt det består ett skolämne av en gruppering innehåll som hålls samman ”under a common name at particular periods of history”.⁴ En central utgångspunkt för Goodson, liksom för denna studie, är att skolämnena inte är fixerade enheter utan hela tiden förändras.⁵ Med denna utgångspunkt blir själva inrättandet av ett ämne en ytterst betydelsefull händelse. Med tanke på den höga grad av spårbindenhet som många forskare funnit i skolhistorien, uttryckt exempelvis i begreppet ”grammar of schooling”, är det motiverat att lägga en huvudsaklig analytisk betoning på de idéer som var drivande bakom ett ämnes inrättande.⁶ Men ett ämne har också en karriär, för att använda Geoffrey Eslands begrepp, som kan följas genom historien.⁷ Under sin karriär reproduceras ett skolämne kontinuerligt i ett slags växelspel mellan olika intressen och gammalt och nytt. Inblandade aktörer – läroplansförfattare och politiker men även lärare och elever – skapar nya tillägg och förståelser, samtidigt som de både speglar och återskapar medförda ämnesföreställningar.⁸ De ursprungliga idéer som motiverade ämnets skapande kan leva kvar, men de kan också i och med samhällsutveckling och förändrade förhållanden ersättas av nya, eller bestå men förlora sin legitimerande kraft. Det är därför helt nödvändigt att anlägga ett historiskt perspektiv för att förstå ett skolämne och dess form och innehåll.⁹

Denna studie har en grundläggande läroplanshistorisk ingång då den handlar om

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- 1 Tomas Englund, *Läroplanens och skolkunskapens politiska dimension* (Göteborg: Daidalos, 2005/1986); David Tyack och William Tobin, ”The ‘Grammar’ of Schooling: Why Has It Been So Hard to Change?” *American Educational Research Journal* 31, nr 3 (1994); Michael F.D. Young, ”An Approach to the Study of Curricula as Socially Organised Knowledge,” i *Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education*, red. Michael F.D. Young (London: Collier Macmillan, 1971).
 - 2 Joakim Landahl, ”Skolämnena och moralisk fostran: En komparativ studie av samhällskunskap och livskunskap,” *Nordic Journal of Educational History* 2, nr 2 (2015).
 - 3 Landahl (2015), 28.
 - 4 Ivor Goodson, *School Subjects and Curriculum Change: Studies in Curriculum History*, 3e uppl. (London: Falmer Press, 1993), 84.
 - 5 Ivor Goodson, ”The Social History of Curriculum Subjects,” *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research* 34, nr 2 (1990).
 - 6 Tyack & Tobin (1994).
 - 7 Geoffrey Esland, ”Teaching and Learning as the Organization of Knowledge,” i *Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education*, red. Michael F.D. Young (London: Collier Macmillan, 1971), 107.
 - 8 Magnus Persson, ”Uppfinningen av ett skolämne: Ett historiesociologiskt perspektiv på samhällskunskapsämnets logik,” *Nordidactica*, nr 4 (2018); Henrik Åström Elmersjö, *En av staten godkänd historia: Förhandsgranskning av svenska läromedel och omförhandlingen av historieämnet 1938–1991* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2019).
 - 9 Goodson (1990).

hur skolans innehåll organiseras, formuleras och motiveras och hur detta förändras över tid.¹⁰ I artikeln aktualiseras två slag av tidsrelaterade dimensioner, vilka måste hållas isär. Den ena dimensionen gäller historisk förändring över tid. Det handlar om hur ämnet utformades och fick en plats i skolan, samt hur det förändrades från de tidigaste förslagen och inrättandet på 1910-talet, över decennierna i mitten av 1900-talet som såg stora förändringar i det svenska skolsystemet till att det avskaffades i samband med den nya läroplanen 1980. Den andra dimensionen rör förändringen inom skolgången, alltså från skolans första år och framåt genom årskurserna. Även denna dimension är således tidsrelaterad men mer på ett principiellt sätt. Frede V. Nielsen kallar denna för den curriculära dimensionen.¹¹ Den curriculära dimensionen gäller, enligt Niensens begreppsbestämning, den tidsmässigt organiserade kunskapsprocessen inom en utbildning och omfattar sekvensering och progression av ett ämnesinnehåll. Processen kan betraktas i kortare eller längre tidsperspektiv. Ett kort perspektiv kan röra utvecklingen inom ett undervisningsmoment eller inom en årskurs medan utvecklingen över ett skolstadium berör ett längre tidsperspektiv. Ett riktigt långt tidsperspektiv rör utveckling över hela skolgången.¹² Sett ur curriculärt perspektiv berör alltså föreliggande studie de första tre skolåren, där hembygdskunskapsämnet var förlagt, ställt i relation till efterkommande skolår.

Huvudmaterialet för studien utgörs av läroplanstexter och skolutredningar. Detta innebär att vad som speglas i denna artikel är hembygdskunskapsämnet som det planerades eller föreställdes. Inte mer än undantagsvis berörs hur det verkligen gestaltades i konkret undervisning. Som bekant är det svårt för utbildningshistorisk forskning att komma åt den historiska skolverkligheten.¹³ Då forskningsintresset i denna studie huvudsakligen ligger på auktoriserade idéer och föreställningar om kunskapsorganisationen i skolan är det emellertid motiverat att studera sådana formulerade tankar som uttrycks i läroplanstexter och skolutredningar. Även om den väv av interrelaterade företeelser på skilda nivåer som inverkar på skolans historia omfattar mycket mer än styrdokument och myndighetsanknutna arbeten, har dessa en aktivt styrande funktion på just organisationsnivån. De stora skolutredningarna har beaktats, tillsammans med samtliga läroplaner för den grundläggande skolutbildningen under 1900-talet och alla ämnesbeskrivningar och kursplaner för hembygdskunskapsämnet. I materialet har framför allt beskrivningar av mål, syften och innehåll använts och särskilt intresse har riktats mot motiveringar. För att åstadkomma en djupare förståelse av hur ämnets skapande var förankrat i dåtidens pedagogiska och samhälleliga idékontext har även tidiga förespråkars

10 Se t. ex. Gary McCulloch, Ivor Goodson och Mariano González-Delgado, red., *Transnational Perspectives on Curriculum History* (London och New York: Routledge, 2020); Daniel Tröhler, "Curriculum History in Europe: A Historiographic Added Value," *Nordic Journal of Educational History* 3, nr 1 (2016); Thomas S. Popkewitz, "Curriculum History, Schooling and the History of the Present," *History of Education* 40, nr 1 (2011).

11 Frede V. Nielsen, "Sammenlignende fagdidaktikk: Genstandsfelt, perspektiver og dimensioner," i *Sammenlignende fagdidaktikk*, red. Ellen Krogh och Frede V Nielsen (Köpenhamn: Aarhus universitet, 2011)

12 Nielsen (2011), 18. Man kan även tänka sig ett ännu längre tidsperspektiv som inryms i idén om livslångt lärande.

13 Sjaak Braster, Ian Grosvenor och Maria del Mar del Pozo Andrés, red., *The Black Box of Schooling: A Cultural History of the Classroom* (Bryssel: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2011).

egna beskrivningar av motiv och bakgrund undersökts.

Tidigare forskning har visat ett ytterst begränsat intresse för hembygdskunskapsämnet och i Sverige har bara enstaka mindre arbeten om ämnet producerats. Etnologen Britta Lundgren har med hjälp av exempel på hur Västerbotten framställts i läroböcker för hembygdskunskap visat hur hembygden under 1900-talet nyttjats som resurs i svensk skola.¹⁴ Idéhistorikern Bosse Sundin har visat hur hembygden under första delen av 1900-talet etablerades som en arena för kulturell mobilisering, där inrättandet av skolämnet utgör ett exempel bland flera.¹⁵ Teknikhistorikern Jonas Hallström visar hur ett tekniskt kunskapsinnehåll fick plats i folkskolan under 1900-talets första decennier, bland annat i hembygdskunskapsämnet.¹⁶ Till skillnad från i dessa texter står hembygdskunskapens inrättande och utveckling som skolämne i fokus i en kort text av utbildningshistorikern Sixten Marklund, där han kopplar ämnets inrättande till genomslaget för aktivitetspedagogiska idéer.¹⁷ Hembygdskunskapsämnet behandlas också i volym 4 av *Svenska folkskolans historia*, vilken presenterar skolhistoriska skeenden och idéer under tidsperioden 1900–1920.¹⁸ Ansvarig för författandet av denna volym var Nils Olof Bruce, en av de drivande bakom skapandet och införandet av det nya ämnet.

Överlag får man konstatera att den utbildningshistoriska forskning som riktat sig mot undervisning i de första skolåren mer har rört grundläggande undervisning i läsning, skrivning och räkning.¹⁹ Inte minst gäller detta forskningen om småskolan, vilken i sig inte är särskilt riklig.²⁰ Visserligen har de första årens skolundervisning de facto i stor utsträckning varit inriktad på att förmedla dessa grundläggande färdigheter, men det har såväl i Sverige som i andra länder även i tidiga skolår förekommit undervisning om omvärlden, vilken alltså i låg utsträckning har studerats historiskt.²¹ I utbildningshistorisk forskning om de

14 Britta M. Lundgren, "Från hembygdsundervisning till närmiljöstudium," *Västerbotten* 1996.

15 Bosse Sundin, "Hembygdsläran: Upptäckten och konstruktionen av hembygden," i *Den dubbla blicken: Historia i de nordiska samhällena kring sekelskiftet 1900*, red. Harald Gustafsson, Fredrik Persson, Charlott Tornbjör och Anna Walette (Lund: Sekel Bokförlag, 2007).

16 Jonas Hallström, "'Teknisk bildning för hvar och en': Framväxten av ett tekniskt kunskapsinnehåll i folkskolan, 1900–1930," i *Teknik som kunskapsinnehåll i svensk skola 1842–2010*, red. Jonas Hallström, Magnus Hultén och Daniel Lövheim (Möklinta: Gidlund, 2013).

17 Sixten Marklund, "Tillbakablickar och funderingar kring hembygdsundervisningen i skolan," i *Hembygdsliv i klassrummet: En bok om hembygdsvården och skolan*, red. Gunilla Lindberg (Stockholm: Riksförbundet för hembygdsvård, 1982). En översiktlig genomgång av ämnets utveckling har även gjorts av Jesper Efvergren, "Hembygdsundervisning i den svenska skolan. Hur hembygden tog sig in i den svenska läroplanen," Examensarbete inom lärarprogrammet Linköpings universitet, 2010.

18 Nils Olof Bruce, *Svenska folkskolans historia, del 4: Det svenska folkundervisningsväsendet 1900–1920* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1940).

19 T.ex. Inger Andersson, *Läsning och skrivning: En analys av texter för den allmänna läs- och skrivundervisningen 1842–1982* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 1986).

20 Exempel på forskning om småskolan är Emil Marklund, *Teachers' Lives in Transition: Gendered Experiences of Work and Family among Primary School Teachers in Northern Sweden, c. 1860–1940* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2021); Christina Florin, *Kampen om katedern: Feminiserings- och professionaliseringsprocessen inom svenska folkskolans lärarkår 1860–1906* (Stockholm: Jämfo, 1990); Sven Nylund, *Småskolläraryrket i Sverige: Några blad ur vår folkundervisnings historia under hundra år* (Stockholm, 1942); Sven Ekwall, *ABC-bok, katekes och kulram – kamin och kvast: Skolans lokalvård och småskolläraryrkets feminisering i ett historiskt perspektiv* (Uppsala: Föreningen för svensk undervisningshistoria, 1997); Gertrud Åberg, *Sveriges småskollärare och deras förbund 1918–1966* (Stockholm: Sveriges lärarförbund, 1978).

21 Några exempel från internationell utbildningshistorisk forskning är Keith C. Barton, "Home

omvärldsorienterande ämnena som här främst aktualiseras – geografi, naturlära och historia – har sällan den elementära eller inledande undervisningen ställts i fokus.²² Ett för denna studie särskilt relevant undantag är språkvetaren Ulla Ekvalls studie av läroböcker i naturkunnighet för barn. Med fokus på den inledande naturkunnighetsundervisningen – vilken under aktuell tidsperiod inföll under läsåret efter hembygdskunskapsundervisningens sista år – och med nedslag från en så lång period som 1800- och 1900-talen, har hon synliggjort förändringar i det barnpedagogiska tänkandet som hade stor betydelse också när det gälla hembygdsämnet för de yngre barnen.²³ Genom att hembygdskunskapsämnet står i centrum erbjuder föreliggande studie inte bara ett bidrag till kunskapen om själva ämnet i svensk läroplanshistoria, utan också till den generellt sett underutvecklade historiska forskningen om skolans inledande omvärldsundervisning.

Artikeln är disponerad så att ämnets karriär först presenteras utifrån inrättandet och dess motiveringar, förändringar över tid och avskaffandet. Efter den i huvudsak deskriptiva redogörelsen förs en mer analytisk diskussion om pedagogiska och kunskapsorganisatoriska influenser bakom inrättandet och avskaffandet, samt om hembygdsbegreppets förändrade betydelse över tid.

Hembygdskunskapsämnets karriär i svensk skola

Under en 60-årsperiod – 1919 till 1980 – fanns hembygdskunskap som ett eget skolämne i den allmänna skolans första tre årskurser.

Ämnets inrättande

Hembygdskunskap inrättades alltså som ett nytt skolämne i och med den nya undervisningsplanen 1919. Upl 1919 representerar en av de centrala skolreformerna i svensk utbildningshistoria och den har beskrivits som ett uttryck för behovet av en mer demokratisk skola i samband med de dåtida rösträttsreformerna.²⁴ Den

Geography and the Development of Elementary Social Education, 1890–1930,” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 37, nr 4 (2009); James E. Akenson och Leo W. LeRiche, ”The Type Study and Charles A. McMurry: Structure in Early Elementary Social Studies,” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 25, nr 1 (1997); Anne-Lise Halvorsen, ”Back to the Future: The Expanding Communities Curriculum in Geography Education,” *The Social Studies* 100, nr 3 (2009); James E. Akenson, ”Historical Factors in the Development of Elementary Social Studies: Focus on the Expanding Environments,” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 15 (1987); Leo W. LeRiche, ”The Expanding Environments Sequence in Elementary Social Studies: The Origins,” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 15 (1987).

22 Några svenska undantag där (även) den inledande undervisningen tas upp är Lena Molin, *Rum, frirum och moral: En studie av skolgeografins innehållsval* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2006); Helén Persson, *Historia i futurum: Progression i historia i styrdokument och läroböcker 1919–2012* (Lund: Lunds universitet, 2018); Magnus Hultén, *Naturens kanon: Formering och förändring av innehållet i folkskolans och grundskolans naturvetenskap 1842–2007* (Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, 2008); Magnus Hultén, ”Scientists, Teachers and the ‘Scientific’ Textbook: Interprofessional Relations and the Modernisation of Elementary Science Textbooks in Nineteenth Century Sweden,” *History of Education* 45, nr 2 (2016); Jakob Evertsson, ”History, Nation and School Inspections: The Introduction of Citizenship Education in Elementary Schools in Late Nineteenth-Century Sweden,” *History of Education* 44, nr 3 (2015).

23 Ulla Ekvall, *Formativt, figurativt, operativt i läroböcker för barn. Del 1. Utvecklingen under 1800-talet* (Lund, 1997); Ulla Ekvall, *Formativt, figurativt, operativt i läroböcker för barn. Del 2. Utvecklingen under 1900-talet* (Lund, 2001).

24 Upl 1919, *Undervisningsplan för rikets folkskolor* (Stockholm: Ecklesiastikdepartementet, 1919); Åström Elmersjö (2019), 46; Henrik Edgren, ”Folkskolan och grundskolan,” i *Utbildningshistoria:*

innebar att skolundervisningen blev mer uppstyrd och likvärdig för barn i olika delar av Sverige. Bland annat slogs den tidigare separata småskolan samman med folkskolan så att folkskolans årskurser 1 och 2 motsvarade den tidigare småskolan. Undervisningsplanen innehöll också en betydligt striktare timplan över hur undervisningen skulle fördelas i ämnena. En betydelsefull innehållslig förändring var att katekesläsningen togs bort, vilket minskade kristendomsundervisningens utrymme i läroplanen.²⁵ I och med detta ersattes en religiöst präglad underrådighetsfostran av en ”medborgerligt präglad samhörighetsfostran” som skulle förbereda barnen för det praktiska livet.²⁶ Det innebar också att ett läroplansmässigt utrymme i de tidiga årskurserna frigjordes där katekesrabblandet tidigare upptagit mycket tid.

Den omfattande reformering av skolväsendet, som upl 1919 var en del av, hade utretts och föreslagits av Folkundervisningskommittén under ledning av Fridtjov Berg.²⁷ Det var också denna kommitté som föreslog att hembygds-kunskap skulle införas som ett nytt ämne för folkskolans första, andra och tredje årskurs. Särskilt aktiv i detta var kommittémedlemmen Nils Olof Bruce, som då var chef för Folkskoleöverstyrelsen, liberal riksdagsledamot och styrelseledamot för Sveriges allmänna folkskollärareförening. Bruce har beskrivit sig själv som ansvarig för hur hembygds-kunskapsämnet kom att utformas i undervisningsplanen.²⁸

Även om ämnesbenämningen hembygds-kunskap var ny var innehållet inte helt nytt, något som Bruce framhöll när han bemötte en samtida kritik om ”ett nytt ämne av utländsk import”.²⁹ I småskolan hade det funnits ett ämne med benämningen åskådningsövningar vars syfte var att i anslutning till föremål eller åskådningsmateriel, exempelvis skolplanscher, utveckla barnens iakttagelse- och uttrycksförmåga.³⁰ I det nya ämnet hembygds-kunskap skulle åskådningsövningarna kopplas samman med den inledande undervisningen i geografi och naturkunnighet, ämnen som tidigare legat i motsvarande tredje årskursen (första året efter småskolestadiet). Det nya ämnet skulle ges en stor plats i schemat och skulle främst inriktas på företeelser i den lokala hembygden. Ämnesinnehållet skulle alltså vara hembygdsanknutet och vara, som man skrev, ”grundläggande för undervisningen i andra ämnen, särskilt naturkunnighet och geografi”.³¹ På detta sätt skulle åskådningsövningarna få ett sakinnehåll, och dessutom kunde även övningar i att läsa, räkna och teckna kopplas till samma sakinnehåll. Ett tidigare under flera

En introduktion, red. Esbjörn Larsson och Johannes Westberg (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2019), 138; Åke Isling, ”Arbetsformer och arbetssätt,” i *Ett folk börjar skolan: Folkskolan 150 år 1842–1992*, red. Gunnar Richardson (Stockholm: Allmänna förlaget, 1992), 124; Englund (2005/1986).

25 Jan Morawski, *Mellan frihet och kontroll – om läroplanskonstruktioner i svensk skola* (Örebro: Örebro universitet, 2010), 144; Edgren (2019), 138–39; Marklund (1982), 12.

26 Tomas Englund, ”Tidsanda och skolkunskap,” i *Ett folk börjar skolan: Folkskolan 150 år 1842–1992*, red. Gunnar Richardson (Stockholm: Allmänna förlaget, 1992), 101.

27 Folkundervisningskommittén arbetade mellan 1906 och 1914 och avgav flera betänkanden, vara det centrala här är *Folkundervisningskommitténs betänkande 4. Angående folkskolan* (Stockholm: Nordiska bokhandeln, 1914).

28 Nils Olof Bruce, *Den svenska folkskolan och dess uppgifter* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers, 1935), 211.

29 Ibid.

30 Se *Normalplan för undervisningen i folkskolor och småskolor 1900*.

31 *Folkundervisningskommitténs betänkande 4* (1914), 188.

ämnesnamn spritt undervisningsinnehåll skulle på detta sätt kunna förenas och koncentreras under ett ämnesnamn: ”Genom namnet hembygdskunskap vinnes alltså en gemensam benämning för de tre första skolårens sakundervisning med hem och hembygd som föremål.”³²

Hembygdskunskapen skulle även omfatta en ny undervisningsmetod. Eleverna skulle vara aktiva och göra direkta iakttagelser av verkligheten; åskådningssprincipen skulle därigenom komma till uttryck på andra sätt än tidigare. Undervisningen kunde inte inskränkas till lärorummet, skrev kommittén, utan måste ibland förläggas utanför skolan. I stället för att främst se på bilder av exempelvis exotiska djur skulle läraren ta med barnen ut i den omgivande hembygden och visa på intresseväckande verkliga företeelser.³³ Lärare och elever skulle göra små utflykter i närområdet, exempelvis ”i trädgården, på åkern, i skogen och hagen, på ången, i en lantgård, i en verkstad och på andra arbetsplatser”. På så sätt skulle barnens föreställningsförmåga bli ”rikare och klarare”, och deras språkliga utveckling skulle främjas genom möjligheterna till ”sakliga föreställningar bakom orden”. Undervisningsutflykterna skulle också göra det möjligt med självverksamhet hos eleverna då barnen skulle kunna ges uppgifter att utföra på egen hand.³⁴ Sådana elevaktiva arbetsövningar skulle ges en betydande plats i undervisningens genomförande. Undervisningssättet skulle alltså vara verklighetsnära och bedrivs med hjälp av utflykter utanför klassrummet och elevernas självverksamhet i olika arbetsövningar.

Det nya ämnet innebar, som kommittén framhöll i sitt utlåtande, att de tidigaste skolårens undervisning inte skulle vara så renodlat formell som den tidigare varit. Eftersom småskolan utöver kristendomsundervisningen främst haft som syfte att ge grunderna i läsning, skrivning och räkning hade den haft mycket lite av sakinnehåll. Även de schemalagda åskådningsövningarna hade saknat specificerat sakinnehåll och istället haft som mål att träna färdigheter och förmågor. Sakinnehållet behövde förstärkas, menade man, och här gavs hembygdskunskapen en central legitimitet och motivering. Med sin hembygdsanknutna sakundervisning skulle det nya ämnet erbjuda ett innehåll både för åskådningsövningar och för övningar i att läsa och räkna. På detta sätt menade man att den hittills ”alltför innehållsfattiga och formalistiska undervisningen” i de tidiga skolåren skulle ersättas av ”en rikare och mera allsidigt utvecklande”.³⁵

En poäng med det nya ämnet sades vara att det möjliggjorde ”koncentration i undervisningen” eftersom det möjliggjorde att ”ett visst innehåll utan svårighet kan samtidigt betraktas från flera olika synpunkter”.³⁶ Detta innebar förändringar i förhållande till ämnena naturkunnsighet och geografi. Kommittén påpekade att ”en ej obetydlig del av det, som förut hänförts till ämnet naturkunnsighet, i föreliggande förslag upptagits i ämnet hembygdskunskap.”³⁷ Hembygdskunskapen

32 Ibid.

33 Att fjärran eller exotiska företeelser gavs större utrymme än näraliggande visar t.ex. Jakob Evertsson i sin studie av väggplanscher i ämnet biblisk historia, ”Classroom Wall Charts and Biblical History: A Study of Educational Technology in Elementary Schools in Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Sweden,” *Paedagogica Historica* 50, nr 5 (2014), 675.

34 *Folkundervisningskommitténs betänkande 4* (1914), 191–93.

35 Ibid., 199.

36 Ibid., 190.

37 Ibid., 201.

skulle ta över den första undervisningen om natur, djur och växter och även inbegripa undervisning om människokroppen och dess vård. Därigenom skulle naturkunnighetsundervisningen under eget ämnesnamn börja först i årskurs fyra, i likhet med vad som gällde historia, istället för som tidigare i årskurs tre. På samma sätt skulle den tidigaste geografiundervisningen bedrivas i hembygds-kunskapsämnet och ämnesnamnet geografi föras in först i årskurs fyra. Kommittén ägnade en hel del möda åt att förklara och argumentera för de förändringar som föreslogs i förhållande till hur det var tidigare, genom att framhålla att inget av ämnena skulle få mindre utrymme utan snarare mer. Man gav också utrymme för att där lokala förutsättningar saknades kunde man vänta med att inrätta det nya ämnet. På sådana ställen kunde undervisningen fortgå med åskådningsövningar som tidigare i åk 1 och 2, ”men förbättrad i enlighet med hembygdsundervisningens grundsatser”.³⁸ Man lyfte även fram att hembygds-kunskapen, ordnad på det föreslagna sättet med utflykter och aktiva övningar, skulle underlätta övergången mellan hem och skola för de yngsta skolbarnen. Med samma syfte föreslogs de fyra första veckorna i första årskursen bestå till stor del av hembygds-kunskap och lek så att barnen inte skulle avkrävas inte alltför mycket stillasittande i början, och de inledande läse- och räkneövningar skulle knytas till ämnet.³⁹ Kommittén påpekade att det nya ämnet och dess arbetssätt ”innebär betydande avvikelser från det undervisningssätt, som förut i allmänhet använts vid den grundläggande sakundervisningen”. Detta ställde krav på lärarens förmåga, menade man. Läraren måste se till att undervisningen inte urartade till lek eller får ”karaktär av kindergartenssysselsättning”.⁴⁰

Folkundervisningskommitténs betänkande om folkskolan, där det nya ämnet föreslogs, presenterades alltså 1914 och den nya undervisningsplanen kom 1919. Redan 1914 infördes ämnet emellertid i seminarieundervisningen för blivande lärare varför hembygdsundervisning i linje med förslaget i praktiken bedrevs redan innan den nya undervisningsplanen i formell mening var införd. Detta förklarar varför den första undervisningsmaterialet för det nya ämnet förelåg i tryck redan 1916, *Handledning vid undervisningen i hembygds-kunskap* med volymer för första respektive andra skolåret. År 1922, då förändringarna i uppl 1919 hade börjat att genomföras så att ämnet undervisades även i årskurs 3, kom en volym även för tredje skolåret. Författare var den reforminriktade seminarieläraren L. Gottfrid Sjöholm och böckerna var illustrerade av teckningslärare A. Goës. Sjöholm och Goës lärobok gavs ut i nya upplagor till 1950, följd av nyare läroböcker i ämnet. Även om man räknar in de landskapsspecifika böcker som gavs ut är mängden läroböcker i ämnet sammantaget relativt liten. Detta kan förstås delvis bero på att hembygds-kunskapsämnet gällde en skolålder där inte alla ännu kunde läsa. Men häri låg också den grundläggande tanken att den lokala omgivningen skulle studeras i stället för ett generellt, nationellt formulerat innehåll, varför läraren själv hade att utforma en lämplig undervisning utifrån de lokala förhållandena. Som pedagogisk tanke var detta ett ovanligt grepp i förhållande till det rådande svenska läroplanstraditionen med sitt i övrigt påtagligt centralstyrda undervisningsinnehåll.⁴¹

38 Ibid., 200.

39 Ibid., 196–98.

40 Ibid., 199.

41 Morawski (2010), 145–47. Gottfrid Sjöholm berättade i *Att bli undervisad: Minnen och funderingar*

Även om det förekom motstånd och skepsis fick det nya ämnet huvudsakligen ett positivt mottagande, främst hos barnen men också bland många lärare.⁴² Eftersom ämnet gällde de tidigaste skolåren var det ofta småskolelärarinnor som undervisade i det nya ämnet.⁴³ Även om småskolan formellt avskaffades i och med att den införlivades i folkskolan med skolreformen 1919 fanns småskolelärarinnorna kvar som yrkesgrupp länge än.⁴⁴ I ett yttrande av Sveriges småskolelärarinneförening 1927 över skolreformen framkommer att det nya ämnet inneburit en omställning avseende metod för småskolelärarinnorna, särskilt de äldre som i och med sin seminarieutbildning och sina tidigare undervisningsår var mest vana vid ett annat undervisningssätt. Omställningen hade krävt, skrev man, ”stora offer i fråga om fortbildning och förberedelse för lektionerna”.⁴⁵ Trots detta ställde sig föreningen klart positiv till hembygdskunskapsämnet då man sade sig ha funnit att både innehåll och arbetssätt stämde väl med barnens mottaglighet och behov i sin ålder och utveckling.⁴⁶ Denna positiva värdering av ämnet skulle komma att kvarstå framöver.⁴⁷

Förändringar över tid

Kommittéförslaget 1914 gällde alltså ett nytt ämne med namnet hembygdskunskap. Ämnet infördes sedan i 1919 års undervisningsplan och det fanns kvar i undervisningsplanen för folkskolan 1955 och i läroplanerna för grundskolan 1962 och 1969 för att slutligen strykas 1980. Genom läroplanerna kan man följa ämnets förändringar – dess karriär – över tid.

Precis som Folkundervisningskommittén hade föreslagit gavs ämnet ett ganska omfattande utrymme i läroplanen under de tre första årskurserna, drygt 20 % av timplanetrymmet i uppl 1919. I alla påföljande läroplaner gavs ämnet ungefär 16 % av timplanetrymmet. Det var således under hela sin existens ett inte helt obetydligt ämne. Benämningen ändrades något under den undersökta perioden från hembygdsundervisning med (eller utan) arbetsövningar till hembygdskunskap. Den inflytelserika Skolkommissionen föreslog på 1940-talet ett namnbyte till

(Stockholm: Svensk läraretidnings förlag, 1961), 242–70, om hur han under 1920-talet reste runt i landet och gav otaliga fortbildningskurser gällande undervisning i hembygdskunskap, där utflykter i närområdet lades till grund för metodiska diskussioner.

42 Sjöholm (1961), 206–9.

43 Elisabeth Mårald, *Med barnen som framtidsbyggare: Ellen Keys dröm och Sigrids verklighet* (Uppsala: Föreningen för svensk undervisningshistoria, 2013). Som Karin Wilmenius har visat hade Stockholms skolor under största delen av småskolans existens ändå folkskolelärarinnor anställda även i de första skolåren. Detta var emellertid ett undantag som hade att göra med lönenivå och lärartillgång, se *Folkskolelärarinnor i Stockholm* (Uppsala: Föreningen för svensk undervisningshistoria, 1999).

44 I och med att småskolan inordnades i folkskolan fick småskollärarinnorna en förbättrad ställning då de fick rätt till ordinarie tjänst och högre lön, om än lägre än övriga folkskollärarinnor och folkskollärare. Utbildning till småskollärare gavs vid småskolelärarinneseminarier, först i enskild och från 1931 i statlig regi, separat från övriga folkskollärarutbildningen fram till 1958, se Marklund (2021); Åberg (1978), 110 ff; Sven Hartman, *Det pedagogiska kulturarvet: Traditioner och idéer i svensk undervisningshistoria*, 2 uppl. (Stockholm: Natur & kultur, 2012), 162–63.

45 Sveriges småskolelärarinneförenings yttrande till Kungl. Skolöverstyrelsen kring 1919 års undervisningsplan för folkskolan (1927).

46 Ibid.

47 Se t. ex. SOU 1946:11, *1940 års skolutrednings betänkanden och utredningar 4. Skolpliktstidens skolförmer, 2 Folkskolan* (Stockholm: Ecklesiastikdepartementet, 1946), 266–68; SOU 1961:30, *1957 års skolberedning 6. Grundskolan: betänkande* (Stockholm: Ecklesiastikdepartementet, 1961), 310–11.

”orientering”, men remissinstanserna inklusive Skolöverstyrelsen avvisade det, och namnet hembygdskunskap behölls till och med 1970-talet.⁴⁸

I 1960-talets läroplaner framträder mycket tydligt en curriculär princip om tilltagande ämnesspecialisering genom skolgången. Paraplybenämningen orienteringsämnen infördes i och med lgr 62, en benämning som i och med lgr 69 även kom att omfatta religionskunskap som då bytte namn från kristendomskunskap. På lågstadiet var orienteringsämnena uppdelade endast i kristendoms-/religionskunskap och hembygdskunskap; på mellanstadiet skedde en uppdelning av hembygdskunskapen i samhällskunskap, historia, geografi och naturkunskap och på högstadiet fortgick specialiseringen genom att naturkunskapen delades upp i biologi, kemi och fysik. Lågstadiets två ämnen motsvarades alltså av på mellanstadiet fem ämnen och på högstadiet sju ämnen.

När man följer ämnet hembygdskunskap över tid genom läroplansdokument och skolutredningar framträder både förändring och kontinuitet när det gäller mål och innehåll. I undervisningsplanen från 1919 beskrivs målen med hembygdsundervisningen i ett antal punkter. Ämnet skulle bland annat ”utveckla barnens iakttagelseförmåga”, ”ordna och vidga barnens föreställningskrets” samt ”ge eleverna tillfälle att öva sig på att ge uttryck för sina föreställningar”. Här framträder således ett färdighetsövande syfte (med uppenbara kopplingar till det äldre småskoleämnet åskådningsövningar). Ämnet gavs också ett kunskapsförmedlande syfte då det skulle ”främja kännedom om hembygden, särskilt dess natur och arbetsliv”, och ”lämna grundläggande undervisning” i geografi, naturkunnighet och historia. Det sistnämnda handlade också om att förbereda eleverna för kommande studier. Det studieförberedande syftet framträder även i punkten att ämnet skulle ”förmedla övergången från hemmet till skolan” och ”ge förberedande undervisning i teckning och slöjd”.⁴⁹

Målformuleringarna förändrades delvis i 1955 års undervisningsplan. Det först nämnda mål som inledde syftesbeskrivningen 1919 att förmedla övergången från hemmet till skolan hade 1955 ersatts med målet att ge orientering i omgivningen. I stället för att eleverna skulle ”ge uttryck för sina föreställningar” skulle de 1955 ges möjlighet till ”fri skapande verksamhet”. Ett helt nytt syfte hade också införts: att vänja barnen vid samarbete.⁵⁰ I undervisningsplanen för folkskolan 1955 infördes även några nya innehållsliga områden: trafikundervisning, förberedande sexualundervisning, hjälp och förmåner i samhället, samarbete och kamratliv samt hälsofostran och sparsamhetsfostran. Här framträder också vissa ändringar gällande stoffets ordning genom skolgången, alltså i den curriculära processen.

Såväl i upl 1919 som i upl 1955 angavs att ämnesinnehållet skulle utformas lokalt och därmed vara olika i olika delar av landet. 1919 exemplifierades detta med reflektionen att vid en skola i storstaden skulle innehållet mer komma att gälla människans verksamhet, jämfört med en skola på landsbygden där innehållet mer

48 SOU 1948:27, 1946 års skolkommissions betänkande med förslag till riktlinjer för det svenska skolväsendets utveckling (Stockholm: Ecklesiastikdepartementet, 1948), 193; SOU 1949:35, Skolöverstyrelsens utlåtande över vissa av 1940 års skolutrednings betänkanden och 1946 års skolkommissions principbetänkande (Stockholm: Ecklesiastikdepartementet, 1949), 47.

49 Upl 1919, 70–79.

50 Upl 1955, 90–97.

torde hämtas från naturen.⁵¹ I 1955 års undervisningsplan illustrerades behovet av lokal anpassning i stället av att kustbygd kontrasterades mot ”inne i landet”.⁵²

Den första läroplanen för grundskolan kom 1962. Det mesta av innehållet i hembygdskunskap var samma som i folkskolans undervisningsplan från 1955 liksom det förstnämnda syftet att ”hjälpa eleverna orientera sig i omgivningen”. Elevernas intresse ställdes mer i fokus med delvis förändrade formuleringar som att ämnet skulle ge kunskap om ”saker och ting som de intresserar sig för”, ”väcka elevernas intresse för naturen” och ”ge en god intressegrund för samhällskunskap, naturkunskap, geografi och historia”.⁵³

Att samhällskunskap här till skillnad från tidigare nämndes har förstås att göra med att ämnet vid detta tillfälle hade införts i årskurserna 4–9. I anslutning till anvisningen att lärostoffet ska ge en första samhällsorientering kommenteras att ett syfte är att ”underlätta övergången [...] från hemmet och den lilla kamratgruppen till de större sociala enheterna skolan och det lokala samhället”.⁵⁴ Här återkommer således en tanke om ämnets bidrag i övergången från hemmet, men inte till bara skolan utan till det något vidare samhället. Man kan också se en förstärkning av den förberedande naturkunskapsundervisningen där ämnet inte bara skulle väcka intresse för naturen utan också hjälpa eleverna att ”se samspelet mellan allt som lever”.⁵⁵

I likhet med tidigare skulle ämnet vidga elevernas föreställningskrets och ”genom fri skapande verksamhet finna uttryck för sina tankar och känslor och gestalta sina erfarenheter”. Det studieförberedande syftet framträder även nu i att ”ge övning i att utnyttja studie- och arbetsmaterial för att självständigt förvärva kunskap”.⁵⁶

Läroplanen lgr 69 brukar framhållas som en revidering av lgr 62. Beskrivningen av hembygdskunskapen är också nästan identisk. En ytterligare förstärkning av det naturorienterande innehållet kan anas, och en starkare betoning på objektivitet.⁵⁷ Ett nytt område är emellertid könsrollsfrågor. Det kopplas inte till något specifikt huvudmoment utan beskrivs mer som en önskvärd allmän hållning där läraren uppmanas att ”utgå från att pojkar och flickor kan ha samma intressen och samma beteendemönster”.⁵⁸ Vidare uppmanas lärarna att ”söka klargöra, att män och kvinnor kan utföra samma arbetsuppgifter både i hemmet och på arbetsmarknaden, ge konkreta exempel på avvikelser från det traditionella könsrollsmönstret och stimulera eleverna att ifrågasätta den arbetsfördelning efter kön som de möter i omgivningen”.⁵⁹ När man följer läroplanstexter och skolutredningar från 1910-talet till och med 1960-talet kan man alltså sammanfattningsvis se vissa förändrade formuleringar, en något ändrad terminologi och ett införande av enstaka nya områden. De förändringar som syns är intressanta. Att trafikundervisning införs som ett nytt område korresponderar mot ett behov skapad av en reell samhällsförändring.

51 Upl 1919, 72.

52 Upl 1955, *Undervisningsplan för rikets folkskolor* (Stockholm: Skolöverstyrelsen, 1955), 91–92.

53 Lgr 62, *Läroplan för grundskolan* (Stockholm: Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962), 230.

54 Ibid., 234.

55 Ibid., 230.

56 Ibid.

57 Lgr 69, *Läroplan för grundskolan* (Stockholm: Skolöverstyrelsen, 1969), 179.

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid.

Andra förändringar förefaller mer kopplade till förändringar i den allmänna samhällsdebatten, alltså på retorisk nivå, till exempel den ökade fokuseringen på samarbetsträning på 1950-talet och könsrollsfrågor på 1960-talet.

Förändringarna till trots är det slående hur mycket som är likt eller helt oförändrat genom perioden. Samma eller likartade kunskapsförmedlande, färdighetsövande och studieförberedande syften framträder i ämnesbeskrivningen i alla texterna. Hembygdskunskapsämnet tycks ha fungerat bra och de få kritiska synpunkter som framkom gällde endast marginella företeelser vilka åtgärdades allt eftersom. Ämnet framträder som påtagligt stabilt under hela undersökningsperioden.

Ämnets avskaffande

År 1978 presenterades en utredning om en ny läroplan, gjord av Skolöverstyrelsen på uppdrag av utbildningsdepartementet. I denna föreslogs att hembygdskunskapen som termskullestrykas: ”De för lågstadiet och mellanstadiet speciella ämnesbeteckningarna hembygdskunskap och naturkunskap försvinner. Innehållet i dessa ämnen bevaras dock inom samlingsbegreppet orienteringsämnen.”⁶⁰ Ämnesinnehållet skulle alltså bevaras men namnet hembygdskunskap skulle tas bort.

Det uttalade skälet till detta var Skolöverstyrelsens övergripande ambition att ersätta de traditionella ämnesidentiteterna med ett ämnesövergripande synsätt. Skolöverstyrelsen föreslog en gemensam kursplan för orienteringsämnena, där ämnesbegreppet inte användes när mål och huvudmoment beskrivs. Syftet med detta var att driva skolans undervisning mot ”en samlad undervisning och mot ett undersökande och probleminriktat arbete med nära anknytning till verkligheten”.⁶¹ Detta uttrycker samma ideal som låg bakom inrättandet av hembygdskunskapsämnet på 1910-talet. Den avgörande skillnaden var att Skolöverstyrelsens förslag inte bara gällde lågstadiet utan även mellan- och högstadiet.

I den påföljande regeringspropositionen tillstyrkte skolminister Birgit Rodhe (fp) Skolöverstyrelsens förslag att stryka de ämnesnamn som tidigare använts och istället prata om orienteringsämnen i samlad form.⁶² Man kan dock notera att texten i propositionen omväxlande talar om orienteringsämnet och orienteringsämnen när det handlar om lågstadiet, vilket tyder på att hembygdskunskapen ämnesövergripande roll kanske delvis hade fallit i glömska och att det efter sin 60-åriga existens mer uppfattades som ett traditionellt ämne som stod i kontrast till det slag av ämnesövergripande kunskapsorganisering som Skolöverstyrelsen eftersträvade.

Kursplanetexten för lgr 80 skiljer sig formmässigt avsevärt från lgr 69. Även på lågstadiet är beskrivningen i lgr 80 uppdelad mellan naturorienterande och samhällsorienterande ämnen, vilket innebär att kunskapsorganisering och ämnespresentationer hade förändrats kraftigt. Men precis som utredningen framhållit återfinns det mesta av det innehåll som hembygdskunskapen hade omfattat i de nya innehållsbeskrivningarna. Motsvarigheter till samtliga äldre huvudmoment finns utom ”Helger och festdagar” som strukits i lgr 80. Även termen hembygd finns kvar.

60 Skolöverstyrelsen, *Förslag till förändring av grundskolans läroplan* (Stockholm: Skolöverstyrelsen, 1978). Citatet hämtat från Prop. 1978/79:180, *Regeringens proposition 1978/79:180 om läroplan för grundskolan m.m.* (Stockholm: Riksdagen, 1979), 131.

61 Skolöverstyrelsen citerad från Prop 1978/79:180, 74.

62 Prop. 1978/79:180, 74.

Liksom tidigare används den enbart i innehållsbeskrivningarna för lågstadiet, som exempelvis i huvudmomenten ”Hembygdens historia: Att se och tyda historiska minnen från hembygden. Hur människor levat och verkat i den egna bygden” och ”Jordytans byggnad i närområdet och hembygden”.⁶³

Sättet att formulera innehållet är mer kortfattat än tidigare. Dessutom framträder i jämförelse en betydligt mindre uppfostrande ton. Till exempel beskrivs samarbetsfrågor i klassen i lgr 80 i formuleringen ”Demokratins grunder utifrån arbetet i den egna klassen”,⁶⁴ vilket kan jämföras med äldre formuleringar om ”Några enkla ordningsregler, som aktualiseras under samvaro och samtal med barnen” eller ”Aktuella trivsel- och samlevnadsproblem”. Ett helt nytt huvudmoment har införts i lgr 80: ”Barnens rätt: Något om lagar och förordningar som gäller barnen själva”, en i samtiden aktuell fråga då man inom FN just börjat diskutera skapandet av en barnkonvention.⁶⁵

Ämnesindelningen av grundskolans omvärldsorientering gjordes alltså om i och med lgr 80. Även om de tidigare låg- och mellanstadieämnena hembygdskunskap och naturkunskap faktiskt var av det önskvärda ämnesövergripande slaget, ströks de. Vidare ströks ämnesnamnen för alla enskilda orienteringsämnen i grundskolans senare årskurser och ersattes av de ämnesövergripande beteckningarna samhällsorienterande respektive naturorienterande ämnen. Lgr 80 blev därigenom den läroplan som starkast uttryckte en ämnesöverskridande ambition för grundskolan och som längst av alla drev blockämnestanken inom det omvärldsorienterande området.⁶⁶ I påföljande kursplaner återinfördes nämligen ämnesbeteckningarna biologi, fysik, kemi, geografi, historia, religionskunskap och samhällskunskap. Hembygdskunskap återinfördes emellertid inte. Även om blockundervisningstanken hade ett visst stöd även efter återinförandet av de enskilda ämnena i lpo 1994, måste man konstatera att utvecklingen därefter generellt sett inneburit en förstärkning av ämnesuppdelningen även på lågstadiet.⁶⁷

Mot bakgrund av denna redogörelse för hembygdskunskapsämnets karriär i svensk skola kan nu pedagogiska och kunskapsorganisatoriska influenser samt hembygdens roll diskuteras.

63 Lgr 80, *Läroplan för grundskolan* (Stockholm: Skolöverstyrelsen, 1962), 123–24.

64 *Ibid.*, 125.

65 *Ibid.*, 122. Se t. ex. Prop. 1989/90:107, *Regeringens proposition 1989/90:107: om godkännande av FN-konventionen om barnets rättigheter* (Stockholm: Riksdagen, 1990), 5.

66 Som har framhållits var ändå disciplinära perspektiv tämligen framträdande, och ämnesuppdelningen låg implicit i beskrivningarna, se Johan Samuelsson, ”Ämnesintegrering och ämnesspecialisering: SO-undervisningen i Sverige 1980–2014,” *Nordidactica*, nr 1 (2014).

67 Se *Kursplaner för grundskolan* (Stockholm: Utbildningsdepartementet, 1994) och *Grundskolan: Kursplaner och betygskriterier* (Stockholm: Skolverket, 2000). I den sistnämnda, och endast i den, finns en separat kursplan för SO. Men i Lgr 11, *Läroplan för grundskolan, förskoleklassen och fritidshemmet 2011* (Stockholm: Skolverket, 2011) finns bara enskilda ämnen även om centralt innehåll och kunskapskrav för årskurs 1–3 är ordagrant detsamma för varje ämne. Organiseringen av samhällsorienterande ämnen i Sverige har diskuterats av bl.a. Samuelsson (2014) och Jonas Hallström och Mats Sjöberg, ”I strid för ämnet: Blockämnena NO och SO och ämnesföreningarnas agerande 1946–2009,” i *Att hävda och vårda ett revir: Argument, strategier och arbetsmetoder för ämnesföreningarna i biologi, historia och svenska 1960–2020*, red. Jonas Hallström, Bengt Göran Martinsson och Mats Sjöberg (Uppsala: Föreningen för svensk undervisningshistoria, 2012).

Pedagogiska och kunskapsorganisatoriska influenser

Inrättandet av hembygdskunskap som skolämne i och med 1919 års skolreform måste förstås i ljuset av tendenser och influenser i samtiden. Inte minst handlade det om reformpedagogiska ideal om koncentration och elevaktivitet.

En kritik som i Sverige sedan länge hade riktats mot folkskolan handlade om ”mångläseriet”, alltså att barnen mötte många olika ämnen i skolan som var isolerade från varandra och antogs göra det svårt att förstå det verkliga livets komplexa helheter. Mot detta ställdes idén om ”koncentration” som innebar tanken att skolan inte skulle undervisa lite om allt, utan mer samlat låta eleverna fördjupa sig i teman där innehållet kunde förstås utifrån olika synvinklar. I stället för att eleverna i tidiga skolår skulle möta geografi och naturlära som separata ämnen skulle hembygdskunskap kunna behandla innehåll från dessa ämnen knutna till konkreta realiteter i hembygden på ett sammanhållet sätt. I detta ingick även ett fördömande av att elevernas lärande riktades mot ett inpluggande och rabblande av ämnesburna minneskunskaper.

Denna kritik var influerad av internationella reformpedagogiska idéströmningar. I Sverige var den holländske reformpedagogen Jan Ligthart en central inspirationskälla.⁶⁸ Flera av Ligtharts böcker gavs ut i svensk översättning.⁶⁹ Ligthart själv höll föredrag i Sverige under tidigt 1910-tal och den skola i Haag som Ligthart drev utifrån sina idéer besöktes av svenska pedagoger, bland annat av Bruce 1911.⁷⁰ I Ligtharts skola var undervisningen inte uppdelad i skilda ämnen, som geografi, historia eller naturlära, utan bedrevs sammanhållet kring breda teman under benämningen sakundervisning. På så sätt stod världen – ”saken” – i centrum i stället för abstrakta ämnesindelningar. Ligthart var emot ”plugg- och rabbelläsningen” då han menade att memorering inte ledde till något verkligt lärande hos eleverna. Han var också kritisk till den åskådningsundervisning som använde vardagsföremål och planscher som underlag. Det blir trist för elever att prata om föremål som de redan känner, menade han, och undervisningen riskerar att handla om en mängd detaljer utan sammanhang. I stället förespråkade han en ”verkligt saklig undervisning” där eleverna får undersöka, räkna och mäta verkliga objekt från naturen och samhället omkring dem.⁷¹ Genom att verklighetens saker stod i centrum kunde olika ämnesperspektiv belysas utan att strukturen var baserad på ämnen.⁷²

Det nya ämnet influerades också av nya didaktiska idéer om elevaktivitet. I samtiden diskuterades, liksom hos Ligthart, att åskådlighetsundervisningen behövde vidareutvecklas. När åskådlighetsidén fick genomslag under andra hälften av 1800-talet kopplades den till användandet av åskådliggörande material i undervisningen, till exempel skolplanscher.⁷³ I början av 1900-talet försköts

68 Bruce (1940), 418–19.

69 Jan Ligthart, *Om uppfostran: Pedagogiska uppsatser* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1910). Boken gavs ut i Albert Bonniers serie *Vetenskap och bildning*. I serien *Pedagogiska skrifter* som gavs ut av Svenska folkskollärareföreningen ingick 1916 tre volymer av Jan Ligthart.

70 Även Ellen Key besökte Ligthart i Haag, se *Barnets århundrade*, vol. 2, 2 uppl. (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1912), 183–84.

71 Ligthart (1910), 38.

72 Ibid., 81.

73 Lena Johannesson, ”Skolplanschen och åskådningsundervisningen – Den förbisedda läromedels-traditionen,” i *Om skolplanschsamlingen och skolmuseet i gamla Linköping*, red. Lena Johannesson (Linköping: Linköpings universitet, 1996); Evertsson (2014).

betoningen i åskådningssidealet mot tanken att åskådligheten skulle bli mer levande och mer givande om eleverna istället fick se verkliga företeelser i sitt naturliga sammanhang utanför klassrummet.⁷⁴ Åskådlighetsidéen kopplades därvid till didaktiska tankar om en verklighetsnära undervisning och elevernas egen aktivitet.

Betydelsen av självverksamhet hos eleverna framhölls av många pedagoger i början av 1900-talet, till exempel John Dewey, Georg Kerschensteiner och Fridtjov Berg. Under 1910-talet användes ofta termen arbetsskola, med huvudtanken att eleverna, i kontrast till det tidigare dominerande inpluggandet av minneskunskaper, lärde sig mer och bättre av att själva få ägna sig åt undersökande arbetssätt och produktivt arbete. Arbetsövningarna, som hembygdsundervisningen sammankopplades med, var ett tydligt uttryck för dessa föreställningar.⁷⁵

Idén om koncentration handlade om undervisningsinnehållets organisation medan idéerna om aktivitet och åskådlighet mer rörde undervisningsmetod. De kan emellertid alla kategoriseras som reformpedagogiska ideal. Tidigare forskning har framhållit att hembygdskunskapsämnet var det mest explicita uttrycket för reformpedagogikens inflytande i undervisningsplanen 1919.⁷⁶ Progressivistiska idéer låg alltså bakom skapandet av ämnet.

Om man så vänder sig mot borttagandet av ämnet i och med lgr 80 så får man börja med att konstatera att progressivismen fortfarande stod stark i svenskt läroplanstänkande. Att ämnet togs bort kan inte förklaras med att idéerna om ämnesövergripande, verklighetsbaserad undervisning och elevaktivitet inte längre omfattades av läroplansförfattare och skolpolitiker. Det var snarare tvärtom; 1970-talets pedagogiska tänkande hade en tydlig grund i den progressiva traditionen även om det snart skulle komma att utmanas av andra synsätt.⁷⁷ Borttagandet hade således andra orsaker.

Att hembygdskunskap inte återinfördes som ämnesbeteckning efter att ha strukits i 1980 års läroplan kan för det första kopplas ihop med ämnestraditionernas skilda styrka och lärargruppernas status. De universitetsutbildade ämneslärarna, som vanligen värnade det egna ämnet i organisationen, har alltid haft en tyngd utifrån sin universitetsämnesutbildning och deras ämneslärarföreningar har haft omvitnat starka påverkansroller.⁷⁸ Någon yrkeskår av just hembygdskunskapslärare fanns inte.⁷⁹ De som undervisade i hembygdskunskap var som nämnts vanligen småskollärarinnor eller (senare) lågstadielärare, utan specifik ämnesutbildning. Dessa hade i kontrast till ämneslärarna en låg relativ status, med kort utbildning och låg lön.

För det andra måste man uppmärksamma ämnets curriculära roll. Inledningsvis gavs hembygden en läroplansmässig roll som handlade om att styra vad som skulle beröras i den förberedande undervisningen för geografi, naturkunskap och historia,

74 Hultén (2008); 94; Petra Rantatalo, *Den resande eleven: Folkskolans skolreserörelse 1890–1940* (Umeå, Umeå universitet, 2002), 47.

75 Bruce (1940), 416–24.

76 Märald (2013), 63; Morawski (2010), 145–47.

77 Samuelsson (2014).

78 Hallström och Sjöberg (2012); Tomas Englund, ”Om nödvändigheten av läroplanshistoria,” *Årsböcker i svensk undervisningshistoria* 68 (Uppsala: Föreningen för svensk undervisningshistoria, 1988), 82–83.

79 Detta kan också förmodas bidra till det faktum att det finns så lite tidigare forskning om ämnet.

alltså att fungera som en avgränsning av stoffet. Denna avgränsningsfunktion var mest positivt laddad i början av den undersökta tidsperioden och utgjorde ett av motiven bakom tillkomsten. I texterna framträder en närmast dikotomisk uppdelning mellan det hembygdsnära (granar och ekorrar) i stället för det geografiskt avlägsna (palmer och elefanter), där läraren skulle prioritera det förstnämnda. Ämnet uttrycker också en koncentrisk, curriculär undervisningsprincip där det nära kommer först och det avlägsna längre fram i skolgången. Denna princip fick framöver ett stort genomslag i svensk skolutbildning, liksom även i andra nationella kontexter.⁸⁰ Principen har i angloamerikansk kontext kallats för "the curriculum of expanding communities", alternativt "expanding environments" eller "expanding horizons".⁸¹ Tidigare forskning har visat att principen har sina idémässiga rötter hos Pestalozzi och diskuterades i relation till geografiundervisningen under 1800-talet, även om ofta äran av att ha formulerat den tillskrivs den amerikanske pedagogen Paul R. Hanna på 1930-talet.⁸²

Som har framkommit i denna text, kom principen i svensk kontext att kopplas till progressivt utbildningstänkande och fick i och med skapandet av hembygdskunskapsämnet under 1910-talet sitt stora genombrott. Man kan emellertid notera att hembygden som koncept förflyttar sig längs den koncentriska skalan och placeras längre ut i slutet av undersökningsperioden. I de tidigaste texterna framställs hembygden som det mest elevnära undervisningsstoffet, medan det mest elevnära i lgr 69 istället sägs vara skola och hem. Först när undervisningen sedan ska utsträckas "till områden och sammanhang utanför de närmast liggande miljöerna" kommer man till "det geografiskt betonade huvudmomentet i hembygden".⁸³ Här kan man alltså utläsa en tanke om att hembygden ligger utanför hemmet och skolan, alltså i ytterkanten av det elevnära. Detta skulle kunna förstås som att hembygdsbegreppets innebörd förskjutits, men det kan också vara en slags indirekt följd av att skolans uppmärksamhet på ännu mer elevnära omständigheter som familj- och kamratrelationer ökade under 1900-talets gång.⁸⁴

Detta antyder att hembygdens roll förändrades över tid, och att själva hembygden som fokus för ämnet med tiden tappade sin relevans. Det framstår som uppenbart att hembygdskunskapsämnets inriktning hade blivit problematisk. Att ämnet ströks ur läroplanen har i stor utsträckning att göra med själva hembygdens förändrade roll.

80 Se t. ex. Barton (2009), 486.

81 Principen är vitt spridd men den har också rönt kritik, exempelvis att den riskerar att hålla elever fast vid det redan bekanta istället för att låta dem utmanas och lära sig nytt. Enligt Halvorsen (2009, 115) hävdar kritikerna att principen saknar "intellectual rigor", dvs disciplinär stadga, medan förespråkarna hävdar att kopplingen till barnens livssfär underlättar för dem att bättre förstå världen. Barton (2009, 486) nämner att kritik riktats mot en förment brist på substantiellt innehåll. Den amerikanska kontext som här åsyftas visar likheter med svensk didaktisk debatt under de senaste decennierna, där företrädare för ämnesperspektiv positionerat sig i kontrast till förespråkarna för ansatser som knyter an till barns vardagliga livsvärld.

82 Barton (2009); Halvorsen (2009), 115; Jared R. Stallones, *Paul Robert Hanna: A Life of Expanding Communities* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2001); Akenson (1987); LeRiche (1987).

83 Lgr 69, 179.

84 Anna Larsson, "The Discovery of the Social Life of Swedish Schoolchildren," *Paedagogica Historica* 48, nr 1 (2012); Anna Larsson, "Physical, Emotional, and Social Illness: Changing Problems for School Health Care in 20th Century Sweden," *History of Education Review* 46, nr 2 (2017).

Hembygdsbegreppets innebörd

Som har framgått var utöver de reformpedagogiska influenserna samtidens starka hembygdsintresse betydelsefullt vid ämnets inrättande, inte minst som det fick ge ämnesnamnet. Under 1900-talets första två decennier växte sig en hembygdsrörelse stark, och hembygden tillskrevs en kulturellt enande och klassöverskridande roll i många olika sammanhang. Hembygdsvarmen utgjorde en reaktion på industrialisering och urbanisering, och understöddes även av myndigheterna som ett led i nationalismen och ett sätt att stävja emigrationen.⁸⁵ Hembygden bidrog med en slags konkret platsanknytning till nationalismens fosterlandskärlek vilket kom till uttryck i skolan på flera sätt. I skolans högre årskurser förändrades både naturläran och geografin av hembygdsintresset; fokus låg inte längre på en abstrakt natur eller geografi utan gavs en konkret anknytning till det lokala landskapet. När hembygds-kunskapsämnet infördes skulle även de yngsta skolbarnen få både större kunskaper om sin hembygd och en starkare känsla för sin platsanknutna tradition och identitet kopplat till såväl natur som samhälle.⁸⁶

Både hembygdsintresset i allmänhet och skolämnet hembygds-kunskap specifikt hade samtida internationella motsvarigheter som etablerades vid ungefär samma tid. I USA användes ämnesbenämningen *Home Geography* och i Tyskland *Heimatkunde*.⁸⁷ Som Keith Barton har visat kunde hembygden betraktas antingen som oviktigt i sig men ett pedagogiskt redskap i geografiundervisningen eller som ett betydelsefullt läroinnehåll i sig självt.⁸⁸ I tysk kontext fick den senare förståelsen ett betydande inflytande under tidigt 1900-tal i och med att begreppet *Heimat* sammankopplades både med en nationalistisk anda och med lokal tillhörighet till en geografisk och kulturell kontext. Ett exempel på en sådan konstruktion av *Heimatkunde* introducerades av Eduard Spranger efter första världskriget.⁸⁹ Spranger ansåg att *Heimatkunde* var skolans viktigaste ämne då det till skillnad från de vanliga specialiserade skolämnena skulle reflektera tillvarons organiska enhet och främja utvecklandet av en nationalistiskt inbäddad tysk personlighet hos eleverna.⁹⁰ I Sprangers ämne syns en liknande koncentrationstanke som hos Lighthart och i det svenska ämnet. Men till skillnad från den svenska uttolkningen där ämnet var starkt sammanbundet med den samtida progressivismen ställdes Sprangers ämne i kontrast mot progressivistiska utbildningsidéer och kopplades i stället till den tyska bildningstraditionen.⁹¹ I det undersökta källmaterialet för denna studie framhålls holländaren Lighthart som den centrala influensen för det nya ämnet i Sverige, medan de tyska influenser som framträder mest explicit är Kerchensteiners arbetsskoleidéer.

85 Sundin (2007), Bruce (1940), 416; Bruce (1935), 416–21.

86 Hultén (2008), kap 4; Rantatalo (2002), 72–76.

87 Barton (2009); Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

88 Barton (2009).

89 Applegate (1990).

90 Daniel Tröhler, "Curriculum History," i *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Education*, red. John L. Rury och Eileen H. Tamara (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 530.

91 Ett annat fall som skiljer sig från det svenska är det japanska, där Spranger var huvudinspirationen för en hembygdsorienterad undervisning på 1930-talet, se Toshiko Ito, "Love of Nation and Heimat-Oriented Education in Imperial Japan of the 1930s: The Rhetoric of Japanese Identity in Peripheral Regions," *Paedagogica Historica* 56, nr 4 (2020).

Ett skolämne med hembygden i fokus var alltså inte unikt för Sverige men dess utformning fick särskilda drag i den svenska kontexten.

Samtidigt är det genom hela perioden påtagligt att begreppet hembygd inte hade någon fastslagen eller självklar innebörd i läroplansformuleringarna. Termen tycks ha betraktats som allmänspråklig och gavs en intuitiv innebörd och den roll som hembygden gavs förändrades över tid i takt med samhällsliga och idémässiga förändringar. Det starka intresset för hembygd som inledningsvis färgade ämnet och bidrog med namnet försvagades över tid. Som vi har sett ville redan Skolkommissionen på 1940-talet stryka termen hembygd i ämnesnamnet, även om det inte vid den tidpunkten kom att genomföras. På slutet av 1970-talet när ämnets borttagande föreslogs fanns visserligen återigen ett stigande hembygdsintresse. Men begreppet hembygd hade då, som museivetaren Maria Björkroth har visat, fått en starkare historisk konnotation och uppfattades mindre handla om nutidens lokala förhållanden utan mer om kultur i det förflutna. Björkroth noterar i sammanhanget att skolämnet självt kan ha bidragit till denna begreppsfrskjutning genom att Sjöholms lärobok i hembygds-kunskap som ursprungligen producerades på 1910-talet kom att återutgivas och användas ända in på 1950-talet utan att samtidskopplingen uppdaterades.⁹²

När ämnets ströks 1980 hade hembygden inte längre den roll den inledningsvis haft. För det första hade alltså hembygdsbegreppet fått en mer antikvarisk innebörd och hade inte längre de samlande, positiva konnotationer som 60-70 år tidigare. För det andra innehöll benämningen hembygds-kunskap en geografisk avgränsning till den näraliggande hembygden som fungerade för de tidigaste skolåren men gjorde den omöjlig för högre stadier. Då det tankesätt om ämnesövergripande undervisning som i och med hembygds-kunskapen hade etablerats på lågstadiet i läroplanen 1980 skulle utsträckas till hela grundskoletiden utgjorde hembygdsavgränsningen ett hinder och benämningen behövde vara en annan allmännare. Den tanke om ämnesövergripande och koncentrerad undervisning som varit en drivande idé bakom inrättandet fanns således kvar i slutet av 1970-talet, men hembygds-kunskapsämnet erbjöd inte längre en fungerande realisering av tanken.

Konklusion

Med sitt läroplanshistoriska perspektiv utgår denna studie ifrån att det sätt på vilket skolkunskap organiseras i skolämnena är betydelsefullt. Hembygds-kunskapsämnet fungerade som ett sammanhållet ämne – en gruppering innehåll sammanhållet under ett eget namn, som Goodson uttrycker det – i läroplanerna från 1919 till och med 1970-talet även om dess namn och innehåll varierade något.⁹³ Ämnesinnehållet fanns visserligen till stor del kvar även i efterföljande läroplaner men det spreds över de samhälls- respektive naturorienterande ämnesområdena och man kan svårigen säga annat än att hembygds-kunskapsämnet i och med lgr 80 försvann ur den svenska skolan, både som benämning och som sammanhållet kunskapsområde. Att hembygds-kunskapsämnet, till skillnad från de enskilda orienteringsämnen, inte återinfördes efter lgr 80 visar att dess relevans som konceptuell skapelse var överspelad.

92 Maria Björkroth, "Hembygdsrörelsens utmaningar," i *Idéer om hembygden: Utmaningar för en folkrörelse med lokalsamhället i fokus i en globaliserad värld*, red. Peter Aronsson och Annika Sandén (Norrköping: Linköpings universitet, 2007), 21.

93 Goodson (1993), 84.

I denna artikel har jag presenterat hembygdskunskapsämnets karriär i svensk läroplanshistoria, och särskilt lyft fram pedagogiska och kunskapsorganisatoriska idéer bakom hembygdskunskapsämnets inrättande och avskaffande. Jag har visat att hembygdsbegreppets innebörd och roll var sammanflätat med hembygdskunskapsämnets curriculära karriär. Inledningsvis bidrog hembygden med ett koncentrerande, innehållsligt tema som hjälpte ämnet att bli till. Hembygden gav en innehållslig fokusering för omvärldsorienteringen som gjorde det möjligt att skapa ett sammanhållet orienteringsämne för de tidigaste årskurserna. I slutet av undersökningsperioden var det snarare tvärtom. Termen hembygd fungerade inte längre bra som gemenskapsskapande innehållstema och kunde inte längre på det symboliska och retoriska planet hålla samman de orienterande ämnena varför hembygdskunskapens tid i läroplanshistorien var över.

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Vems ansvar? En studie av sfi-utbildningens organisation och invandrarlärarnas kvalifikationer, 1960–1998

Johanna Ringarp

Abstract • Whose responsibility? The organization of teaching in Swedish for Immigrants and the qualifications of teachers, 1960–1998. The importance of people with a foreign background learning Swedish and establishing themselves at the labour market, in order to become part of the society, has for a long time been a political goal. Education in Swedish for immigrants and labor market measures have in this context been seen as important components. Nevertheless, the following article shows that the organization and management of education in Swedish for Immigrants and the competence requirements for teachers working in the field, have been an unregulated history with many temporary solutions and without any consensus from the actors involved. The purpose is to investigate why and how it comes about that the responsibility for the educational has varied over time.

Keywords • Swedish for Immigrants [svenska för invandrare], education [utbildning], labour market [arbetsmarknad], marketisation [marknadisering]

Introduktion

Det råder i stort sett politisk konsensus om att nyanlända invandrare så snabbt som möjligt ska etablera sig i samhället. Utbildningsinsatser – som svenska för invandrare (sfi)¹ – ofta i kombination med arbetsplatsförlagd praktik har provats för att underlätta integrationen.² Under 2010-talet försökte den dåvarande borgerliga regeringen stimulera integreringen via en prestationsbaserad ersättning.³ Samtidigt infördes en språklag som bland annat reglerade att alla som var bosatta i Sverige skulle ges möjlighet att lära sig svenska.⁴ Därefter har, inte minst till följd av 2015 års flyktningkris, ytterligare en rad åtgärder för att integrera nyanlända gjorts.⁵

Behovet av utbildning och möjligheten att integreras har skilt sig åt över tid. De som invandrade efter andra världskriget kom relativt enkelt in i arbetslivet och hade därmed inte samma behov av svenskundervisning.⁶ När invandringen skiftade över från arbetskraftsinvandring till flyktinginvandring var situationen i samhället en annan. Dels började arbetsuppgifterna bli mer komplexa vilket krävde andra typer

- 1 Det vill säga det som idag benämns kommunal vuxenutbildning i svenska för invandrare.
- 2 Andreas Fejes och Magnus Dahlstedt, "Att bli en fullvärdig medborgare," i *Medborgarskap och utbildning för vuxna: Om komvux, folkhögskola och medborgarskapandets praktiker*, red. Andreas Fejes m.fl. (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2018), 11–17.
- 3 Regeringens proposition 2009/10:188, *Nationell sfi-bonus* (Stockholm: Integrations- och jämställdhetsdepartementet 2010). För en diskussion om hur vuxenutbildningen, dit sfi-utbildningen idag hör, generellt har blivit ett verktyg för allt fler politikerområden, se SOU 2018:71, *En andra och en annan chans – ett komvux i tiden* (Stockholm: Utbildningsdepartement, 2018), 104, 122.
- 4 Svensk författningssamling (SFS) 2009:600, *Språklag*, 14 §.
- 5 Magnus Dahlstedt och Andreas Fejes, "Inledning: Utbildning i migrationens tid," i *Utbildning i migrationens tid: Viljor, organisering och villkor för inkludering*, red. Magnus Dahlstedt och Andreas Fejes (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2021), 17ff.
- 6 Johan Svanberg, *Migrationens kontraster: Arbetsmarknadsrelationer, Schleswig-Holstein-aktionen och tyskorna vid Algots i Borås under 1950-talet* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2016).

av kompetenser. Dels hade flertalet, trots att de hade en akademisk examen, problem med att få arbete. Svårigheten handlade både om bristande språkkunskaper och att nyanlända, till följd av vad de hade varit med om, inte klarade av att koncentrera sig på språkundervisningen. Därtill var handläggningstiderna för uppehållstillstånd långa. Det senare medförde att många blev kvar på förläggningarna under en längre tid.⁷

Efterföljande flyktingströmmar stod inför ytterligare komplikationer. Den ekonomiska nedgången och påföljande kris på 1990-talet innebar att fler stod långt ifrån en arbetsmarknad. För att lösa den finansiella krisen infördes mål- och resultatstyrning inom den offentliga förvaltningen.⁸ Förnyelsen av den offentliga sektorn påverkade även sfi-utbildningens organisation.

I en studie har tre forskare visat att utformningen av sfi-utbildningen har skilt sig åt beroende på vilka förväntningar som har funnits på språkets betydelse för inkludering.⁹ De framhåller även att sfi-undervisningen har organiserats i spänningsfältet mellan dels nationell och lokal styrning, dels rättigheter och skyldigheter.¹⁰ Andra forskare har påtalat att trots att utbildningen har ansetts viktig för integrationen, har tvetydigheten medfört en oklar ansvarsfördelning.¹¹ Det är just dessa spänningsfält och frågan om ansvar för sfi-undervisningen som följande studie ämnar analysera. Ett argument för undersökningen är att trots att den tidigare forskningen har uppmärksammat problemet med olika aktörer och intressenter för sfi, saknas det fortfarande forskning som verifierar varför och hur detta har gått till.¹²

Syfte och avgränsningar

Det övergripande syftet är att analysera hur ansvaret för sfi-undervisningen har sett ut under perioden 1960–1998. Vilka typer av politiska satsningar har gjorts och i vilken grad har dessa varit inriktade mot allmänna eller specifika åtgärder? Detta undersöks empiriskt med hjälp av teorier om medborgarskap och integration. Artikeln behandlar främst den nationella policynivån och de olika myndigheternas argumentation angående ansvaret för sfi-utbildningens organisation och lärarnas kvalifikationer utifrån följande frågor:

7 SOU 1997:128, *Verkställighet och kontroll i utlänningsärenden* (Stockholm: Utrikesdepartementet, 1997), 87.

8 Paula Blomqvist och Bo Rothstein, *Välfärdsstatens nya ansikte: Demokrati och marknadsreformer inom den offentliga sektorn* (Stockholm: Agora, 2000), 161–65; Jonas Vlachos, *Friskolor i förändring, i Konkurrensens konsekvenser: vad händer med svensk välfärd?* red. Laura Hartman (Stockholm: SNS förlag, 2011), 66–110.

9 Helena Collinder, Sofia Nordmark och Maria Rydell, ”Sfi:s olika skepnader,” i *Utbildning i migrationens tid: Viljor, organisering och villkor för inkludering*, red. Magnus Dahlstedt och Andreas Fejes (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2021), 89–112.

10 Helena Collinder, Sofia Nordmark och Maria Rydell (2021), 89.

11 Marie Carlsson, *Svenska för invandrare – brygga eller gräns?: Syn på kunskap och lärande inom sfi-undervisningen* (Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet, 2002), 116f; Karin Sandwall, *Att hantera praktiken: om sfi-studerandes möjligheter till interaktion och lärande på praktikplatser* (Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet, 2013), 10; Inger Lindberg, ”Svenskundervisning för vuxna invandrare (sfi),” i *Tvåspråkighet med förhinder? Invandrar- och minoritetsundervisning i Sverige*, red. Kenneth Hyltenstam (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1996), 234; Inger Lindberg och Karin Sandwall, ”Nobody’s darling? Swedish for adult immigrants: A critical perspective,” *Prospect* 22 nr 3 (2007), 88.

12 Kenneth Hyltenstam och Tommaso M. Milani, ”Flerspråkighetens sociopolitiska och sociokulturella ramar,” i *Flerspråkighet – en forskningsöversikt*, red. Kenneth Hyltenstam m.fl. (Stockholm: Vetenskapsrådet 2012), 86.

1. Undervisningens organisation: vem skulle vara huvudman och anordnare av sfi-utbildningen? Staten, kommunen eller civilsamhället? Vilka delar av staten, Skolöverstyrelsen eller Arbetsmarknadsstyrelsen? Vilka föreningar och förbund i civilsamhället?
2. Lärarnas kvalifikationer: hur formulerades kompetens- och behörighetskraven för sfi-lärare av olika aktörer?

Frågorna analyseras i teman som också följer tidsperioden kronologiskt. Först analyseras sfi-utbildningen och invandrarlärares under perioderna 1960–1975 och 1975–1980, det vill säga under den korporativistiska erans glesdagar. Därefter behandlas sfi-utbildningen när kommunernas ansvar för utbildningen ökade under 1980-talet. Därefter följer dels ett avsnitt som skildrar tre utredningar som 1989 hade till uppgift att utvärdera sfi-utbildningen, dels ett som analyserar ansvaret för sfi-utbildningen under 1990-talets postkorporativistiska era. Slutligen diskuteras artikelns resultat i förhållande till tidigare forskning och dagens politiska diskussion.

I tidigare forskning görs ofta en distinktion mellan invandringspolitik och invandrapolitik. Invandringspolitik handlar om de regleringar som sätts upp för vilka som får invandra till ett land, var de får bosätta sig och arbeta samt vilka villkor som de ges, medan invandrapolitiken handlar om att ge dem som invandrat lika möjligheter att verka i samhället, dels genom utbildning i svenska, dels genom att ha kvar sin kulturella identitet och språk.¹³ Det är det senare området som denna artikel behandlar.

Valet av undersökningsperiod 1960–1998, motiveras av att före 1960-talet var invandringen till Sverige begränsad och det var först därefter som invandringen fick en annan karaktär och därmed blev behovet av språkkunskaper mer betydelsefullt.¹⁴ Som ett led i detta beslutade riksdagen att etablera en avgiftsfri försöksutbildning i sfi.¹⁵ En resolution i Europarådet 1968 anses ha bidragit till det. I den föreskrevs att utländsk arbetskraft borde få minst 200 timmars undervisning i mottagarlandets språk och att språkundervisningen helst skulle vara kopplad till en yrkesutbildning.

1972 bildades Lärarföreningen för invandrarundervisning (LFI) med syfte att verka för en professionalisering av läraryrket och för att sfi-utbildningen skulle integreras med övriga utbildningar inom skolväsendet. LFI var aktiv i debatten fram till början av 1990-talet. Därefter gick LFI:s fackförbund Svenska Facklärarförbundet och Sveriges Lärarförbund ihop till Lärarförbundet.

1994 upphörde sfi som eget regelsystem och utbildningen kom istället att regleras av läroplanen för de frivilliga skolformerna (Lpf 94). Fyra år senare, 1998, inrättades ett nationellt centrum för sfi och svenska som andra språk på Lärarhögskolan i

13 Zeki Yalcin, *Facklig gränspolitik. Landsorganisationens invandrings- och invandrapolitik 1946–2009* (Örebro: Örebro universitet, 2010), 112f; Carl Dalström, *Nästan välkomna: Invandrapolitikens retorik och praktik* (Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet, 2004), 10; Christer Lundh och Rolf Ohlsson, *Från arbetskraftsimport till flyktinginvandring* (Stockholm: SNS, 1999), 54; Tomas Hammar, "Introduction," i *European immigration policy: A comparative study*, red. Tomas Hammar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 7f.

14 Hyltenstam och Milani (2012), 118.

15 *Vem älskar sfi? Utvärdering av svenskundervisning för invandrare – en utbildning mellan två stolar* (Stockholm: Statens skolverk, 1997), 16; SOU 2013:76, *Svenska för invandrare – valfrihet, flexibilitet och individanpassning* (Stockholm: Utbildningsdepartementet, 2013), 133.

Stockholm.¹⁶ Ytterligare ett skäl att göra halt inför millennieskiftet är att den särskilda invandrapolitik som Sverige inrättade i slutet av 1960-talet fanns kvar till att den omformulerades till ”integrationspolitik i slutet av 1990-talet.”¹⁷

Förutom den tidsmässiga avgränsningen analyseras i artikeln bara den delen av svenska för invandrare som riktas mot vuxna. Därmed faller modersmålsundervisning och svenska som främmande språk i den obligatoriska skolan utanför undersökningen.

Teori, metod och material

Den förklaring som ges till det föränderliga huvudmannaskapet och sfi-utbildningens placering inom olika myndigheters sfärer är i hög grad kontextuell. Teoretiskt tar artikeln avstamp dels i forskning om statens förändrade styrning under perioden 1960–1998. Dels i diskussionen om formering av ett medborgarskap där utbildning ses som en viktig aspekt för att främja integration i ett ökat mångkulturellt samhälle.

Bo Rothstein menar att man kan tala om Sverige som en korporativistisk stat fram till 1990-talet. Banden mellan staten och de ideella organisationerna var många och förenades genom de korporativa organen inom svensk offentlig förvaltning. Genom att statsmakterna tog folkrörelserna till hjälp uppstod dels enighet på en rad områden, dels lades många av välfärdsstatens uppgifter ut på civilsamhället. Per-Ola Öberg menar att en anledning till de stora inslaget av korporativism i de statliga förvaltningarnas styrelser under 1960- och 1970-talet var att intresseorganisationerna därigenom skulle verka för allmänhetens bästa och inte bara ha sina egna särintressen i fokus.¹⁸ Det gällde inte minst arbetsmarknadspolitiken där Saltsjöbadsavtalet kan ses som en startpunkt.¹⁹

1980-talet brukar betraktas som en brytpunkt gällande de korporativistiska dragen inom svensk politik genom att ”organisationernas institutionaliserade samarbete med staten” började ifrågasättas.²⁰ I början på 1990-talet upphörde även intresseorganisationerna möjlighet att ha en beslutsfattande roll i myndigheternas styrelse.²¹ Därigenom förändrades relationen mellan civilsamhället och staten, samtidigt som marknaden kom att få ett större inflytande.²² Civilsamhällets organisationer blev en av många aktörer som staten hoppades kunde utföra välfärdstjänster på ett

16 SOU 2003:77, *Vidare vägar och vägar vidare – svenska som andraspråk för samhälls- och arbetsliv* (Stockholm: Utbildningsdepartementet, 2003), 64f.

17 Karin Borevi, *Välfärdsstaten i det mångkulturella samhället* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2002), 63.

18 Per-Ola Öberg, *Särintresse och allmänintresse: korporatismens ansikten* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1994), 14f, 20.

19 Bo Rothstein, *Den korporativa staten: Intresseorganisationer och statsförvaltning i svensk politik* (Stockholm: Norstedts juridik, 1992) 159; Filip Wijkström, ”Hybrider i civilsamhället: När filantropiskan och ekonomiskan kom till byn,” i *Civilsamhället i samhällskontraktet: En antologi om vad som står på spel*, red. Filip Wijkström (Stockholm: Stockholm European Civil Society Press, 2012) 104–107; Michele Micheletti, *Det civila samhället och staten* (Stockholm: Fritze, 1994) 144–46; Öberg (1994), 254–57.

20 Erik Lundberg, ”Det postkorporativa deltagandet: Intresseorganisationerna i den nationella politiken,” i *Låt fler forma framtiden*, SOU 2015:96, Bilaga till betänkande av 2014 års Demokratiutredning – Delaktighet och jämlikt inflytande (Stockholm: Wolters Kluwer, 2015), 295.

21 Lundberg (2015), 295, 304.

22 Blomqvist och Rothstein (2000), 9, 31 51–57; Micheletti (1994), 13; Wijkström (2012), 95f; Tommy Lundström och Filip Wijkström, ”Från röst till service: Vad hände sedan? Eller som fisken i vattnet,” i *Civilsamhället i samhällskontraktet: En antologi om vad som står på spel*, red. Filip Wijkström (Stockholm: European Civil Society Press, 2012), 253–60.

effektivare sätt, med lägre kostnader, ökad mångfald och valfrihet som följd.²³

Det finns dock en skillnad gällande korporativismen mellan den nationella och lokala nivån. Samtidigt som korporativismen minskade på den nationella nivån under 1970–1990-talen ökade föreningarnas betydelse för de lokala beslutsprocesserna.²⁴ I undersökningen är det av intresse att analysera hur förskjutningen påverkade sfi-utbildningen både när det gäller hur utbildningen organiserades och vilka kvalifikationer som krävdes för att undervisa på sfi.

Det krävs någon form av sorteringsinstrument för att kunna analysera förskjutningarna, men också de spänningar som uppstod. Karin Borevi har med utgångspunkt från bland annat Marshalls medborgarskapsteori och Robert Putnams integrationsteori skapat ett analytiskt redskap för att förstå den offentliga diskursen gällande invandrapolitiken i Sverige under samma tidsperiod som denna artikel berör. Enligt Borevi finns det tre principiella idealtyper av spänningar (etnos-demos, individ – kollektiv, samt allmänt – riktat) som kommer till uttryck i måldokumentet.²⁵ Det handlar för det första om i vilken grad medborgarskapet innebär att alla medborgare delar samma etniska tillhörighet eller inte. För det andra om de politiska satsningarna som görs gentemot medborgarna främst innefattar individuella eller kollektiva element. För det tredje om de politiska åtgärderna är allmänna eller riktade mot en specifik målgrupp, som exempelvis utrikes födda.²⁶ Begreppsparen används här i likhet med Borevi som idealtyper som för att analysera de spänningar som kom till uttryck i den offentliga diskursen gällande sfi.

Med avstamp i diskussionen om korporativism samt teorier om formering av medborgarskapet och integrering samt de spänningsförhållanden som finns däri, analyseras hur sfi-utbildningens formella organisering beskrivs i offentligt tryck såsom SOU:er, regeringspropositioner och förordningar. I vilken mån sågs språket som nyckel för integrationen? På vilket sätt skulle utrikes födda inkluderas? Vilken typ av utbildning erbjöds och vem skulle vara ansvarig för utbildningen? För att analysera detta har alla SOU:er, regeringspropositioner och läroplaner som behandlar sfi-utbildningen under perioden 1960–1998 undersökts. För att komma åt hur frågorna om ansvar, lärarnas kvalifikationer och utbildningens mål diskuterades av sfi-lärarna har även styrelseprotokoll, årsberättelser och medlemstidning från LFI analyserats.²⁷ Därutöver, framförallt för att komma åt hur invandrapolitiken i allmänhet och sfi-utbildningen i synnerhet debatterades, används nyhets- och debattartiklar i de stora svenska dagstidningarna som komplement till övrigt material.²⁸ Sökningar gjordes på ”Sfi”, ”Sfi-utbildning”, samt på begrepp som användes under perioden som ”invandrarundervisning”, ”invandrare” och ”invandrarlärare”. I Sigtunastiftelsens arkiv var artiklarna placerade under ”skolfrågor” samt under de olika studieförbunden.

23 Lundström och Wijkström (2012), 253, 256f, 259f.

24 Leif Lewin, *Samhället och de organiserade intressena* (Stockholm: Norstedts juridikförlag, 1992), 101, 106.

25 Borevi (2002), 10–13, 41, 56ff, 63, 68.

26 *Ibid.*, 41, 50, 58.

27 LFI:s material finns på TAM-arkiv i Alvik.

28 Pressmaterialet kommer från *Sigtunastiftelsens klipparkiv*, samt Kungliga Bibliotekets söktjänst *Svenska dagstidningar*.

Statlig reglerad utbildning i bildningsförbundens regi

På 1960- och 1970-talen när korporativismen var som starkast i Sverige, ansågs det problemfritt att staten använde sig av civilsamhället för att utföra utbildningssatsningar. Från statligt håll var Skolöverstyrelsen (SÖ) den ansvariga myndigheten. Kravet från regeringens sida var att myndigheten skulle samråda med Arbetsmarknadsstyrelsen (AMS) och därefter även med Statens invandrarverk (SIV) innan sfi-utbildningen sattes gång. Undervisningen bedrevs sedan i huvudsak av tio av staten godkända studieförbund ute i kommunerna. De största var Arbetarnas bildningsförbund (ABF), Studieförbundet Vuxenskolan, Folkuniversitetet, Studieförbundet, Medborgarskolan samt Tjänstemännens Bildningsverksamhet (TBV).²⁹ Kritik framfördes mot att studieförbunden – framförallt ABF – var ansvariga för större delen av sfi-undervisningen.³⁰ Bland annat uttrycktes en oro för att språkstudierna fick stå tillbaka för annat.³¹ ABF gick dock till motangrepp och argumenterade för att utbildning i fackliga frågor passade väl in i sfi:s mål om samhällsorientering.³²

Förutom den utbildning som bedrevs av studieförbunden, gavs kurser i svenska dels på AMS:s och SÖ:s utbildningscentra (AMU-centra), dels på flyktingförläggningarna.³³ För att göra sfi mer enhetlig föreslog den år 1968 tillsatta statliga Invandrarutredningen att SÖ skulle ha huvudansvaret, samtidigt som kommunerna skulle se till att utrikes födda erbjöds möjlighet att gå kursen.³⁴

För att komma till rätta med skillnaderna inom utbildningen gav SÖ i början av 1970-talet ut den första läroplanen för sfi (Lsfi-71). I läroplanen framgår det att målet var ”att ge invandraren sådana språkliga färdigheter och sådan information att han kan leva och fungera i det svenska samhället”.³⁵ Här ser vi ett exempel på den betydelse som språket ansågs ha för att få utrikes födda att bli en del av det svenska samhället. Det vill säga fokus låg mer på demos än på etnos. Överlag var den politiska intentionen att utrikes födda skulle införlivas i det svenska samhället.³⁶ Frågan om vem som skulle ha det övergripande ansvaret för utbildningen återstod dock att lösa.

29 SOU 1981:87, *Svenskundervisning för vuxna invandrare 2. Kartläggning av nuläget* (Stockholm: Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet, 1981), 44, 47–51, 67, 227. Jfr Lindberg (1996), 229.

30 Lindberg (1996), 231.

31 Sten Sture Paterson, ”Äventyrligt avtal ger ABF makten,” *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning*, 21 april 1971; Margareta Wibring, ”Invandrarna – ABF:s folk?,” *Dagens Nyheter*, 29 december 1972, E1c ABF, 1962–72, Sigtunastiftelsens klipparkiv (SSK); Anders Hultman, ”ABF försöker monopolisera invandrarundervisningen,” *Svenska Dagbladet*, 21 februari 1973, E1c ABF, 1973–1977, SSK.

32 Anders Hultman, ”ABF: Arbetsgivarna talar i egen sak,” *Svenska Dagbladet*, 21 februari 1973, E1c ABF, 1973–1977, SSK.

33 Vissa kurser i svenska kunde också läsas på en del folkhögskolor och högskolor, samt i kommunal regi (Komvux och Grundvux), se SOU 1971:51, *Invandrarutredningen 1, Invandrarernas utbildningssituation. Förslag om grundutbildning i svenska för vuxna invandrare* (Stockholm: Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet, 1971), 18; SOU 1981:87, 15.

34 SOU 1971:51, 3, 10.

35 *Lsfi-71, Läroplan i svenska för vuxna invandrare. Allmän del* (Stockholm: Skolöverstyrelsen, 1971), 7.

36 Charles Westin, ”Mångfald, nationell identitet och samhörighet,” i SOU 2004:48, *Kategorisering och integration: Om föreställda identiteter i politik, forskning, media och vardag* (Stockholm: Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet, 2004), 202ff.

En utbildningsfråga eller en invandrapolitisk åtgärd?

När den statliga sfi-utbildningen startade gjordes en uppdelning mellan den ordinarie sfi-utbildningen och den som var inriktad mot arbetsmarknadsutbildning. Den sistnämnda kom att förläggas på AMU-centren.³⁷ Frågan om huvudmannaskapet för utbildningen kvarstod dock och 1978 tillsattes Sfi-kommittén för att göra en översyn.³⁸ Kommittén påpekade i sitt betänkande att det saknades ”en enhetlig ram för svenskundervisning”.³⁹ Det innebar att frågor gällande lärarkompetensen, lärarutbildning, mål med utbildningen och studiestöd behandlades olika beroende på var i landet som den bedrevs. Sfi-kommittén argumenterade därför för att ett enhetligt kommunalt huvudmannaskap borde vara att föredra.⁴⁰ Kommittén var inte enig, en minoritet vände sig mot ett kommunalt huvudmannaskap och även en del remissinstanser framförde liknande synpunkter.⁴¹

LFI som aktivt verkade för ett enhetligt huvudmannaskap för utbildningen, frågade sig varför Socialdemokraterna, genom Landsorganisationen i Sverige (LO), hade reserverat sig mot utredningens förslag. Ragne Beiming, sakkunnig i utredningen från LO, svarade att sfi inte var en utbildningsfråga utan en invandrapolitisk fråga, och därför skulle staten vara ansvarig för undervisningen.⁴² *LFI-nytt*:s redaktör Carl Magnus Hedefalk kommenterade det hela med orden ”mig verkar det som om reservationen bottnar i en egendomlig, från folkbildningshåll kommen, ovilja mot läralledd språkundervisning”.⁴³

Måhända hade Hedefalk en poäng, men även andra aspekter kan ha legat bakom folkbildningens njugghet. En sådan aspekt var ekonomin. Statsbidragen som studieförbunden fick för att bedriva sfi täckte alla kostnader för utbildningen. I ABF Göteborg utgjorde sfi en tredjedel av förbundets verksamhet läsåret 1970/71, och 1979/80 svarade ABF för 45% av den totala sfi-undervisningen.⁴⁴ Det var således ett välbehövligt tillskott i kassan som sannolikt ingen socialdemokrat ville medverka till att det försvann. Ett annat skäl var LO:s målsättning att genom sfi sprida fackrörelsens ideologiska värderingar och syn på bildning. I en undersökning om LO:s invandrapolitik 1945–1981 framkommer det att för LO var det viktigt att rörelsen genom ABF fortsatt hade inflytande över utbildningen. Med ett kommunalt huvudmannaskap skulle ABF:s möjlighet att prägla utbildningen minska betydligt.⁴⁵

37 *Vem älskar sfi?* (1997), 16f.

38 SOU 1981:87, 9.

39 SOU 1981:86, *Svenskundervisning för vuxna invandrare 1*, Övervägande och förslag (Stockholm: Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet, 1981), 37.

40 *Ibid.*, 37, 79f, 113f, 140.

41 *Ibid.*, 246f, 256, 264. Jfr. Regeringens proposition 1983/84:199, *Om svenskundervisning för vuxna invandare*, 5, 11f, 51, 57f

42 Helena Frisell och Karin Froster, ”SFI är ingen utbildningsfråga – intervju med Ragne Beiming om tankarna bakom den socialdemokratiska reservationen,” *LFI-nytt* nr 5 (1981), 41–46; ”SFI-kommittén är färdig,” *LFI-nytt* nr 5 (1981), 9, Lärarföreningen för Invandrarundervisning (LFI), TAM-arkiv (TAM).

43 Carl Magnus Hedefalk, ”När en blind leder en blind,” *LFI-nytt* nr 5 (1981), 54, (LFI), TAM.

44 Lars Hansson, *Att producera disciplinerade amerikaner och skötsamma svenskar: Fords Engelskaskola för invandrare jämförd med Svenska för Invandrare* (Göteborg: Emigranternas hus, 2017), 12; SOU 1981:87, 49.

45 Jesper Johansson, ”Så gör vi inte här i Sverige. Vi brukar göra så här”: *Retorik och praktik i LO:s invandrapolitik 1945–1981* (Växjö: Växjö University Press, 2008), 232f, 251f.

Beimings svar att sfi var en invandrapolitisk fråga handlade också om att LO såg utbildningen som en viktig inkörsport för att få ut de utrikes födda i arbetslivet. Sfi sågs således av LO mer som en arbetsmarknads- och invandrapolitisk åtgärd, än ett utbildningspolitiskt spörsmål.

I regeringens budgetproposition från 1978 framhölls att på grund av att utbildningsnivån och -bakgrunden skiftande inom invandragruppen, var det svårt att veta hur undervisningen skulle bedrivas adekvat. Den folkpartistiske utbildningsministern Jan-Erik Wikström var dock trygg med att översynen av folkbildningsarbetets villkor som en utredning genomförde skulle ”vara av stor betydelse för utformningen av den framtida vuxenutbildningen”.⁴⁶ Wikströms svar kan dels ses som ett uttryck för att han, som själv varit aktiv i ett studieförbund, hade ett stort förtroende för intresseorganisationernas insatser på området, dels ett typexempel på att regeringen inte vågade sätta ner foten och besluta om hur utbildningen skulle organiseras. Ministern hoppades istället att ytterligare en utredning skulle lösa problematiken. Folkbildningsutredningen gav dock inga svar utan hänvisade frågan vidare till Komvuxutredningen.⁴⁷

I Komvuxutredningens betänkande beskrevs de gränsdragningsproblem som enligt utredningen fanns mellan studieförbundens utbildningar och Komvux. I samråd med Folkbildningsutredning hade Komvuxutredningen kommit fram till att Komvux skulle stå för den lagstadgade sfi-utbildningen och att invandrarlärarna inom Komvux skulle ha avtalsenliga tjänster. Studieförbunden skulle dock enligt förslaget även fortsättningsvis kunna anordna studiecirklar för att nå ut till utrikes födda.⁴⁸

Från offentligt håll öppnade man således upp för en särskiljande praktik gentemot gruppen utrikes födda. Samtidigt var åtgärderna, trots att de var riktade, ändå tänkta som allmänna då studiecirkelnas uppgift var att ge utrikes födda kunskaper om det svenska samhällslivet. För Folkbildningsutredningens del betydde överenskommelsen att den i sitt slutbetänkande skrev att det var viktigt att utrikes födda stimulerades ”att engagera sig i folkbildningsarbete” och att bidrag skulle utgå till utrikes föddas ”kulturella aktiviteter och till cirkelstudier i svenska språket, i hemspråk och i samhällsorientering”.⁴⁹

Att ta vägen över modersmålet blev i slutet av 1970-talet allt vanligare inom sfi.⁵⁰ Sfi-kommittén kallade i sitt betänkande riktlinjen för en idékantring.⁵¹ Möjligheten att erbjuda studiecirklar i hemspråk gav följaktligen studieförbunden chansen att få med utrikes födda i sina ideella organisationerna.⁵² Därigenom kunde invandrarna både integreras i civilsamhället och förankras i det samhällspolitiska samtalet. Från politiskt håll försökte man således ”undvika en social konflikt” mellan

46 Regeringens proposition 1977/78:100, *Med förslag till statsbudget för budgetåret 1978/79*, bilaga 12, 549, 551, 592f. Citat s. 551.

47 SOU 1979:85, *Folkbildning för 80-talet* (Stockholm: Utbildningsdepartementet, 1979), 218.

48 SOU 1979:92, *Komvux och studieförbund: Arbetsfördelning och samråd* (Stockholm: Utbildningsdepartementet, 1979), 10, 19f, 25.

49 SOU 1979:85, 29.

50 Linus Salö, *Invandrarutredningen och 1970-talets språkideologiska omvälvningar: Till frågan om modersmålsundervisningens kunskaps sociologi* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2020), 15f.

51 SOU 1981:87, 59f.

52 Tobias Harding, ”Från folkbildningskonsensus till ifrågasättande?” i *Lärande i civilsamhället: En forskarantologi*, red. Niklas Hill och Aron Schoug (Stockholm: Trinambai, 2020), 51.

majoritetssamhället och de nya invandrargrupperna.⁵³ I stället sökte man hitta en brygga mellan majoritetssamhällets etniska tillhörighet och minoriteternas önskan och behov att bevara sin etniska tillhörighet.⁵⁴

En annan förändring under perioden var att sfi alltmer kom att behandlas i utredningar och i politiska debatter tillsammans med andra delar av utbildningsväsendet. Samtidigt menade LFI att samhället trots allt inte riktigt hade förståelse för sfi-utbildningens speciella karaktär. Enligt föreningen handlade det om personer som stod långt ifrån både arbetslivet och samhället. En konsekvens av förslaget, att sammanföra sfi med andra delar av skolväsendet, innebar emellertid att frågan om behörighetsfrågorna för invandrarlärares kom att diskuteras.⁵⁵

Spänningen mellan de aktörer som ansåg att studieförbunden – trots avsaknaden av formell behörighet – skulle ansvara för sfi-undervisningen och de som tyckte att den skulle ingå i kommunernas övriga åtaganden kvarstod likväl. Motiven för de förstnämnda var både ideologiska och ekonomiska. De ideella organisationerna hade av tradition haft hand om utbildningen och målet med deras verksamheter var att integrera utrikes födda i samhället. Studieförbundens undervisning ansågs också vara billigare än den som bedrevs i statlig regi, samtidigt som studieförbunden fick ett välbehövligt tillskott till sina verksamheter. De korporativistiska inslagen i sfi-utbildningen fortsatte följaktligen på 1980-talet, även om en viss uppdelning gjordes mellan statliga myndigheter och bildningsförbund när det gällde vem som ansvarade för olika delar av utbildningen.

Kommunalisering och ett ökat fokus på behöriga lärare

I mitten av 1980-talet ifrågasattes alltmer civilsamhällets institutionaliserade samarbete med staten, parallellt som kommunerna fick huvudansvaret för sfi-utbildningen. Kommunerna kunde dock välja om de ville anordna grundläggande sfi (grund-sfi) själva, via Komvux, eller om de lade ut kursen på andra utbildningsanordnare. Påbyggnadskursen (påbyggnads-sfi) förlades samtidigt till studieförbunden och AMU-centren.⁵⁶

I samband med de organisatoriska förändringarna kom SÖ ut med en ny läroplan med särskilt fokus på grund-sfi. I den betonades att utbildningen skulle bestå av cirka 700 timmar fördelat på 400–500 timmar till grund-sfi och resterande på påbyggnads-sfi. Dessutom markerades tydligare än tidigare behovet av att höja lärarnas kompetens och kvalifikationer. Bland annat genom fortbildningssatsningar för lärare och etablering av en lärarutbildning i svenska som främmande språk inom ämneslärarprogrammet.⁵⁷

53 Westin (2004), 204f.

54 Borevi (2002), 31.

55 ”Lära sig ett nytt språk på 8 veckor – är det möjligt?” i *Läroplan för invandrarundervisning* (Stockholm: LFI, 1978), 5; ”Invandrarlärares måste få en grundutbildning” i *Läroplan för invandrarundervisning* (Stockholm: LFI, 1978), 3, (LFI, TAM).

56 SFS 1986:159, *Lag om grundläggande svenskundervisning för invandrare*; SFS 1986:207, *Förordning om grundläggande svenskundervisning för invandrare*; Regeringens proposition 1985/86:67, *Med vissa bestämmelser om svenskundervisningen för vuxna invandrare*, 1, 23; Utbildningsutskottets betänkande 1985/86:UbU10, *Om svenskundervisning för vuxna invandrare*; Regeringens proposition 1983/84:199, 1, 6, 23f, Utbildningsutskottets betänkande 1984/85:UbU6, *Om svenskundervisning för vuxna invandrare*.

57 Regeringens proposition 1983/84:199, 35; *Lsf-86, Läroplan för grundläggande svenskundervisning*

LFI var positiva till de ökade kompetenskraven för lärare, däremot var de kritiska till att såväl många sfi-lärare på studieförbunden och AMU blev uppsagda till följd av kommunaliseringen. LFI var förvånade över att kommunerna verkade så oförberedda på ett övertagande när reformen hade diskuterats under flera år.⁵⁸ Följden av kommunaliseringen blev att många sfi-lärare som både hade varit med att bygga upp utbildningen och som reformen var tänkt att skydda blev av med sina arbeten. Parallellt ställdes de lärare som blev kvar inför ett svårt uppdrag. De skulle bygga upp en ny organisation i kommunal regi, men med flera olika utbildningsorganisationer som anordnare.⁵⁹ Besparingskraven inom den offentliga sektorn hade följaktligen förändrat förutsättningarna till den grad att när LFI:s krav väl förverkligades fanns inte samma ekonomiska förutsättningarna som tidigare.⁶⁰ Utbildningens kvalitet och lärarnas formella kvalifikationer fick följaktligen stå tillbaka för ideologiska och ekonomiska intressen.

Splittrade insatser motverkade integrationen

1989, tre år efter sfi-reformens genomförande utvärderades den av Riksrevisionsverket (RRV) och SÖ. RRV:s uppdrag var att analysera om det fanns några hinder inbyggda i organiseringen av utbildningen och behovet av lösningar.⁶¹ SÖ:s uppgift var att utvärdera hur reformen från 1986 fungerade i praktiken.⁶² Båda rapporterna påtalade att det fanns ett övergripande problem med att integreringen av utrikes födda var uppdelad på för många aktörer. Enligt RRV:s beskrivning bollades deltagarna ”mellan olika utbildningsanordnare”.⁶³ Det fanns inte heller någon samordning mellan aktörerna – varken på nationell eller på lokalnivå.

På nationell nivå innebar det att frågan om ersättningen hamnade i fokus. Som en kompensation för förlorad arbetsinkomst eller annan arbetsmarknadspolitisk åtgärd hade deltagarna på grund-sfi laglig rätt till en timersättning på 50 kronor per lektionstimme. För dem som stod utanför arbetsmarknaden och fick sin försörjning genom socialbidrag, handlade det i stället om ett stimulansbidrag på 13 kronor per lektionstimme från Centrala studiestödsnämnden (CSN). Dilemmat var dock att Socialstyrelsen tyckte att bidraget skulle ses som en inkomst och därmed räknas in vid socialbidragsprövning. CSN och SÖ menade att detta var felaktigt. RRV var av samma uppfattning. Stimulansbidraget hade, enligt RRV, mest blivit en byråkratisk konstruktion och var inget som höjde de studerades motivation att lära sig språket.⁶⁴

för vuxna invandrare. Allmän del (Stockholm: Skolöverstyrelsen, 1986), 11, 7; SFS 1986:207, 10 §.

58 Karin Froster och Inger Lindberg, ”SFI-centralen i Stockholm,” *LFI-nytt* nr 3–4 (1986), 9–11; ”SFI-reformen är beslutad,” *LFI-nytt* nr 1 (1986), 8; Carl Magnus Hedefalk, ”SÖ:s glömska skolans lättsinne,” *LFI-nytt* nr 1 (1987), 4f, (LFI, TAM); Carl Magnus Hedefalk, ”Vilda västern,” *LFI-nytt* nr 1 (1986), 6, (LFI, TAM).

59 ”SFI-reformen är beslutad,” *LFI-nytt* nr 1 (1986), 8. Carl Magnus Hedefalk, ”Grund-sfi på gång provisoriskt. Situationen är förvirrad,” *LFI-nytt* nr 3–4 (1986), 8f, (LFI, TAM).

60 Katrina Norqvist, ”Skolstyrelsen,” *Västerbotten-Kuriren*, 19 oktober 1990; Katrina Norqvist, ”Invandrarundervisning,” *Västerbotten-Kuriren*, 19 oktober 1990.

61 *Svenska för invandrare – ett regeringsuppdrag* (Stockholm: Riksrevisionsverket, 1989).

62 Ampe Meyerhöffer och Marianne Kraft, *Intentioner och verklighet: En uppföljning av 1986 års sfi-reform* (Stockholm: Skolöverstyrelsen, 1989), 1.

63 *Svenska för invandrare* (1989), 32.

64 *Ibid.*, 22, 42.

På lokal nivå var en svårighet att det var vattentäta skott mellan de kommunala förvaltningarna. Många lösningar gjordes *ad hoc* och utan att det fanns någon större överblick av de andras insatser.⁶⁵ Den organisatoriska uppdelningen var problematisk av flera skäl. För deltagarna på sfi blev det oöverskådligt att förstå vad som gällde och vem som ansvarade för utbildningen. För de kommunala förvaltningar och statliga institutioner innebar den uppsplittrade verksamheten att det var nästintill omöjligt ”att följa upp och utvärdera de samlade effekterna av verksamheten”.⁶⁶

RRV och SÖ riktade även direkt kritik mot innehållet i utbildningen. Den var inte tillräckligt bra utan skedde ”alltför isolerat med bristande anknytning till de krav samhället” ställde.⁶⁷ Trots att det ingick i kursplanen var det många som inte hade fått någon samhällsorientering. Det innebar att utrikes födda stod sig slätt både språk- och kunskapsmässigt när de försökte ta sig in på arbetsmarknaden.

Rapporterna lyfte fram flera förslag på lösningar. För det första borde flexibiliteten och individualiseringen i utbildningen öka. Alla på sfi behövde inte exakt samma antal undervisningstimmar eller hjälp. Även om detta borde vara en självklarhet fanns det på många platser ingen nivåindelning. För det andra borde en värdering av utbildningar från andra länder kunna göras tidigare och snabbare än vad som var fallet. 1989 tog det cirka 14 månader att få utländska betyg evaluerade. För det tredje behövde såväl samhälls- och yrkesvägledningen som besök på arbetsförmedlingen bli ett tydligare inslag i sfi-utbildningen för att därigenom se till att de utrikes födda närmade sig arbetslivet.⁶⁸ Uppdelningen på grund- och påbyggnads-sfi var, för det fjärde, inte heller optimal. Den ledde till långa väntetider och att ingen kände något ansvar för att följa upp utbildningen.⁶⁹ RRV betonade även det problematiska med att det inte fanns någon enhetlig utbildning för invandrarlärares och att studieförbundens cirkelledare hade andra kompetenskriterier och därtill inte var styrda av läroplanen.⁷⁰ Att föra samman all sfi-utbildning – grund-sfi, påbyggnads-sfi och förläggningssvenska – till en organisatorisk enhet med kommunerna som huvudman sågs som en lösning på problemet.⁷¹

1989 kom även Ombudsmannen mot etnisk diskriminering (DO) med en rapport om sfi. Rapporten upprepade i stort sett alla de problem och slutsatser som redan hade påtalats av SÖ och RRV. DO:s menade att ”[O]m alla våra nyanlända lärde sig en bra svenska och hur man bär sig åt för att bevaka sina rättigheter och skyldigheter i Sverige” skulle det inte behövas ”någon ombudsman mot etnisk diskriminering”.⁷²

Utvärderingarna visade således enhälligt att intentionerna i 1986 års reform inte hade uppfyllts. Ånyo skrevs riktade språk- och utbildningssatsningar fram som lösningen för att deltagarna lättare skulle integreras i samhället.

65 Ibid., 42–45.

66 Meyerhöffer och Kraft (1989), 73.

67 *Svenska för invandrare* (1989), 9; Meyerhöffer och Kraft (1989), 73–76.

68 *Svenska för invandrare* (1989), 33–35; Meyerhöffer och Kraft (1989), 78–81.

69 Meyerhöffer och Kraft (1989), 73–75; *Svenska för invandrare* (1989), 31–32.

70 *Svenska för invandrare* (1989), 11, 19, 44.

71 Meyerhöffer och Kraft (1989), 73–75; *Svenska för invandrare* (1989), 44–45.

72 Monica Grolich, *Svenskundervisningen för invandrare (Sfi): Intryck och förslag: En rapport från DO* (Stockholm: Diskrimineringsombudsmannen, 1989), 16.

Förslag om ökad flexibilitet och samordning

1990-talet var en brytpunkt på många sätt. Under perioden gick styrningen av offentlig sektor från att vara regelstyrd till att bli mål- och resultatstyrd, samtidigt som relationen mellan staten och civilsamhället förändrades till en post-korporativistisk relation.⁷³

1991 reformerades sfi-utbildningen igen på flera punkter. Målsättningen var för det första att öka differentieringen och individualiseringen via ”deltagarmedverkan, utvärdering och kommunikativt inriktad språkundervisning”.⁷⁴ För det andra ansågs fler behöva läsa påbyggnads-sfi. Möjligheten att studera påbyggnads-sfi såg dock olika ut. På vissa platser fanns utbildningen knappast alls, medan den var fullt utbyggd i andra delar av landet. För det tredje var ett syfte att öka kommunernas frihet att själva välja organisationsstruktur och utbildningsanordnare med utgångspunkt i vad deltagarna behövde. För det fjärde ville man från regeringens sida förlänga den tid som kommunerna hade på sig att anordna sfi-utbildning.⁷⁵ I samband med reformen kom SÖ ut med en ny läroplan, Lsfi-91.⁷⁶ Parallellt upphävdes uppdelningen i grund- och påbyggnads-sfi och en ny sammanhållen utbildning under kommunalt huvudmannaskap tog form.⁷⁷

Reformen hann knappt genomföras innan det var dags för ytterligare en reform. 1994 upphörde läroplanen Lsfi-91 och sfi kom att ingå i läroplanen för de frivilliga skolformerna (Lpf 94) om än med en egen kursplan.⁷⁸ Samtidigt slogs det fast att grundläggande språkkunskaper i svenska inte bara gällde nyanlända. Alla kommuninvånare som saknade behörighet i svenska språket hade rätt till utbildning dels för att lära sig språket, dels för att få en samhällsorientering.⁷⁹ Fältet luckrades således upp genom dessa förändringar till att bli mer av kollektiva satsningar för att få fler att integreras i samhället.

Reformerna till trots fortsatte kritiken. Samverkan med övriga samhällsinsatser för utrikes födda behövde öka och frågan om inte sfi skulle inordnas i Komvux togs upp på nytt.⁸⁰ I propositionen *Sverige, framtiden och mångfalden* skrevs den framtida politiken på området fram. Invandrarpolitiken skulle bli en integrationspolitik som

73 Lundberg (2015), 295, 304. Anders Ivarsson Westerberg, ”New Public Management och den offentliga sektorn,” i *Det långa 1990-talet. När Sverige förändrades*, red. Anders Ivarsson Westerberg m.fl. (Umeå: Borea 2014), 85–119.

74 *Svenskundervisning för invandrare (sfi). Egen skolform eller del av komvux?*, Rapport 2000:27, (Stockholm: Statskontoret, 2000), 24; Regeringens proposition 1989/90:102, *Om reformerad svenskundervisning för vuxna invandare*, 8.

75 Regeringens proposition 1989/90:102, 7ff.

76 *Lsfi-91, Läroplan för grundläggande svenskundervisning för vuxna invandrare. Allmän del* (Stockholm: Skolöverstyrelsen, 1991).

77 Regeringens proposition 1989/90:102, 1, 9–11; Utbildningsutskottets betänkande 1989/90:90UbU27, *Reformerad svenskundervisning för vuxna invandrare*.

78 *Lpf 94, 1994 års läroplan för de frivilliga skolformerna* (Stockholm: Skolverket, 1994), 7f.

79 Regeringens proposition 1993/94:126, *Om svenskundervisning för invandrare (sfi)*; SFS 1994:895, *Om svenskundervisning för invandrare*; Skolverkets författningssamling (SKOLFS) 1994:28, *Förordning om kursplan för svenskundervisning för invandrare*.

80 SOU 1998:51, *Vuxenutbildning och livslångt lärande. Situationen inför och under första året med Kungskapslyftet* (Stockholm: Utbildningsdepartementet, 1998), 17, 225f, 274; SOU 1999:39, *Vuxenutbildning för alla? Andra året med Kungskapslyftet* (Stockholm: Utbildningsdepartementet, 1999), 30, 225–227. Jfr Regeringens proposition 1997/98:16, *Sverige, framtiden och mångfalden – från invandrarpolitik till integrationspolitik*, 57–59.

verkade för ”lika rättigheter och möjligheter oavsett etnisk och kulturell bakgrund” och ”ge stöd till individers egen försörjning och delaktighet i samhället”, därutöver skulle en ny myndighet bildas.⁸¹ Den nya myndigheten skulle ha ansvar för den övergripande invandrapolitiken. SIV skulle emellertid finnas kvar, men fokusera på nyanlända och asylsökande.⁸²

Utgångspunkterna för den kommande integrationspolitiken hade förts fram av Invandrapolitiska kommittén. I slutbetänkandet beskrevs hur det nya Sverige präglades av kulturell mångfald, men också av social segregation. Flera insatser för att integrera utrikes födda, inte minst i arbetslivet från statsmakterna erfordrades.⁸³ År 1998 bildades därför Integrationsverket med uppdrag att arbeta för att de integrationspolitiska målen uppnåddes, samt motverka etnisk diskriminering.⁸⁴ I *Göteborgs-Tidningen*, kritiserades det politiska beslutet, det var inte en ny myndighet som behövdes utan integrationsfrågor måste diskuteras i hela samhället.⁸⁵ En av de sakkunniga i Invandrapolitiska kommittén, SIV:s generaldirektör Björn Weibo, var dock av en annan uppfattning. I *Aftonbladet* poängterade han att den dåvarande politiken var utformad utifrån hur samhället hade sett ut på 1970-talet. Nya tider behövde en ny politik och möjligen också en ny myndighet med större möjligheter att integrera utrikes födda i samhället.⁸⁶

Invandrapolitiska kommittén diskuterade även sfi-utbildningen som de såg som en grundpelare för integrationen. Utbildningen som fanns var dock enligt utredningen för spretig och ibland också felinriktad. Utrikes födda med olika typer av (utbildnings)bakgrunder sattes i samma klasser och undervisningen utgick inte från ”deltagarnas kunskaper, erfarenheter och intressen”.⁸⁷ Kritiken känns igen sedan tidigare. Kommitténs förslag var att utbildningen än mer skulle fokusera på ”språket, kunskaper om samhället, svensk social kompetens och tillträde till arbetsmarknaden”.⁸⁸ Utbildningen borde också bli mer flexibel, individualiserad och framförallt bedrivas på heltid. För att göra det möjligt att varva teori och praktik skulle kursstart ske året om. Kommittén ansåg även att det var viktigt för motivationen och för att kunna nivåändela studenter att det fanns prov och tester inom sfi.⁸⁹ Idéen om nivåtester erhöll genklang och hösten 1996 infördes nationella prov i sfi.⁹⁰ Ett tydligare fokus på riktade satsningar oavsett hur länge en person hade bott i landet, sågs alltmer som lösningen på integrationsproblematiken under perioden.

81 Regeringens proposition 1997/98:16, 1f, 98–101. Citat s. 1. Jfr Regeringens skrivelse 1998/99:121, *Utvecklingsplan för förskola, skola och vuxenutbildning – samverkan, ansvar och utveckling*, 104–106.

82 Regeringens proposition 1997/98:16, 89–91, 100, 102–105.

83 SOU 1996:55, *Sverige, framtiden och mångfalden* (Stockholm: Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet, 1996), 9–12; 17–19, 309, 312, 325–327. Jfr SOU 1995:76 *Arbete till invandrare* (Stockholm: Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet, 1995).

84 SFS 1998:201, *Förordning med instruktion för integrationsverket*.

85 *Göteborgs-Tidningen*, ”Verk botar inte verkl.” 28 december 1995. Jfr *Dagens Nyheter*, ”Öppna arbetsmarknaden för de nya svenskarna,” 31 december 1995; *Svenska Dagbladet*, ”Integrationens ingenjörer,” 30 december 1995.

86 *Aftonbladet*, ”Ska slussa ut invandrare,” 28 december 1995.

87 SOU 1996:55, 336f. Citat s. 337.

88 Ibid., 337–39. Citat s. 339.

89 Ibid., 337–40.

90 Regeringens proposition 1997/98:16, 59.

Frågan om huvudmannaskapet för sfi-utbildningen och lärarnas behörighet togs också upp. Enligt kommittén var systemet att kommunerna kunde upphandla utbildningen av flera utbildningsanordnare bra. Det ledde till konkurrens och god kvalitet i utbildningen. När det gällde lärarnas kompetens behövdes en relevant grundutbildning och därefter fortbildning för invandrarlärare ske kontinuerligt. Att undervisa i svenska som andra språk krävde nämligen andra pedagogiska verktyg och kunskap om språkinläring.⁹¹

I *Sverige, framtiden och mångfalden* behandlades även Invandrapolitiska kommitténs förslag. Frågan om heltidsstudier fanns redan inskriven i förordningen och det var nu, enligt propositionen, upp till kommunerna att få till en flexiblare organisation. Kunskapslyftets tankar om utbildningens organisation och funktion lyftes som ett sätt att pedagogiskt förnya sfi-utbildningen.⁹² Kunskapslyftets idé var att den ”organisatorisk-pedagogiska utvecklingen” handlade om att dels lägga över mer ansvar på individen att söka efter kunskap. På så sätt skulle man komma bort från förmedlingspedagogiken. Dels om att satsa på att öka lärarnas kompetens i vuxnas lärande.⁹³ I propositionen framhölls att förändringar gällande lärarnas kvalifikationer redan var på gång. Lärarhögskolan i Stockholm hade nämligen utsetts till ett nationellt resurscentrum för svenska som andraspråk och sfi.⁹⁴ Året efter föreslog Lärarutbildningskommittén i sitt slutbetänkande att en sammanhållen lärarutbildning, med olika profilering och inriktning, varav en mot sfi, skulle införas.⁹⁵

Kompetens- och behörighetskraven såg därmed ut att få en lösning, samtidigt diskuterades frågan om sfi-utbildningens organisatoriska hemvist. Kunskapslyftskommittén föreslog att sfi-utbildningen borde bli en del av vuxenutbildningen.⁹⁶ Den höll nämligen med om den kritik som bland andra Skolverket hade fört fram om otydligheter i kursplanen, nivåskillnader inom samma kurser och skillnader i utbildningens innehåll hos olika utbildningsanordnare.⁹⁷

Statskontoret fick i uppdrag att analysera de organisatoriska konsekvenserna av ett samgående av sfi och Komvux.⁹⁸ I rapporten betonades att problemet var att det varken centralt eller lokalt fanns någon samsyn gällande sfi. Det var inte tydligt om man primärt förde en utbildnings-, en arbetsmarknads- eller en integrationslinje.⁹⁹ Till saken hörde också de heterogena klasserna som gjorde det svårt för kursdeltagarna att nå målen.¹⁰⁰ Statskontorets förslag var att sfi som egen skolform skulle upphöra och utbildningen inordnas under Komvux. Däremot ställde Statskontoret sig tveksam till att all sfi skulle ske i kommunal regi. Deras förslag var istället att kommunerna även fortsättningsvis skulle ha möjlighet att lägga ut undervisningen på andra

91 SOU 1996:55, 340f.

92 Regeringens proposition 1997/98:16, 59f.

93 SOU 1998:51, 17, 233f, 274, 279.

94 Regeringens proposition 1997/98:16, 59f.

95 SOU 1999:63, *Att lära och leda: en lärarutbildning för samverkan och utveckling* (Stockholm: Utbildningsdepartementet, 1999), 123f, 148f.

96 SOU 1998:51, 17.

97 Ibid., 123–26.

98 *Svenskundervisning för invandrare* (2000), 13.

99 Ibid., 9f.

100 Ibid., 44.

utbildningsanordnare.¹⁰¹ Regeringen valde att inte föra samman sfi med Komvux. Däremot markerades att erfarenheterna av Kunskapslyftet skulle tas tillvara genom att göra utbildningen flexiblare samt tydligare anpassad efter deltagarnas och arbetsmarknadens behov.¹⁰²

Statskontoret var även tydliga med att poängtera att sfi inte bara handlade om språkundervisning, utan om en integrationsprocess både i samhället i stort och på arbetsmarknaden specifikt. För att det skulle vara möjligt att samordna dessa delar behövde kommunerna samverka med lokala aktörer.¹⁰³

Komplexiteten och kritiken mot utbildningen betonades följaktligen i de rapporter och utvärderingar som regeringen tillsatte under början av 1990-talet. De fortsatta förändringarna under 1990-talet hade som uttalade mål att möjliggöra en ökad valfrihet och individualisering av utbildningen. Sfi-utbildningen följde därmed i samma spår som övriga utbildningsväsendet, där valfrihet och individualisering var paradord i tiden.¹⁰⁴

Otydlig ansvarsfördelning försvårar integrationen

I artikeln har ansvaret för sfi-undervisningen undersökts under perioden 1960–1998 utifrån två centrala teman: undervisningens organisation och lärarnas kvalifikationer. Vem skulle vara huvudman och anordnare av sfi? Vilka kompetenser och behörighetskrav skulle sfi-lärarna ha? Genomgående har det handlat om att analysera vilka satsningar som har gjorts och av vem, samt i vilken grad åtgärderna har varit inriktade på allmänna eller specifika insatser.

Det har framkommit att det aldrig har funnits någon samstämmighet gällande utbildningens organisation och funktion. Under större delen av undersökningsperioden ansågs det lämpligt att förlägga sfi-undervisningen till studieförbunden. Där skulle invandraren både få kunskap om det svenska samhället och språket, samtidigt som de kunde bevara sin egna kulturella särprägel. Uppdelningen av sfi på olika utbildningsanordnare och lärarnas skilda kvalifikationer medförde emellertid att undervisningen blev svår att utvärdera. Från 1980-talet kom även arbetet med att förnya den offentliga sektorn och den ökade marknadsstyrningen av förvaltningen att påverka sfi-utbildningen. Ansvaret för sfi tilldelades kommunerna, men i linje med dåtidens marknadsliberala idéer kom utbildningen samtidigt att konkurrensutsättas. Det blev upp till varje kommun att besluta om de ville driva utbildningen i egen regi eller lägga ut den på entreprenad. Spänningen mellan etnos och demos var således närvarande i de politiska åtgärderna.

Tidigare forskning har visat att mycket av synsättet gällande integrationen byggdes upp under en period när Sverige behövde utländsk arbetskraft och där sysselsättningsgraden var hög. Under 1950- och 1960-talet var det både lätt för nyanlända att få ett jobb och att integreras i samhället. Intresseorganisationernas starka ställning och nära samband med den offentliga sektorn under den korporativistiska statens glansperiod var också en drivande faktor. Under perioden gjordes således inga särskilda

101 Ibid., 95f.

102 Regeringens proposition 2000/01:72, *Vuxnas lärande och utveckling av vuxenutbildningen*, 1, 59–63.

103 *Svenskundervisning för invandrare* (2000), 97, 100.

104 Ivarsson Westerberg (2014) 84–87, 94–103.

satsningar mot invandrare, utan de sågs som självklart att de integrerades genom arbetet. När arbetskraftsinvandringen avtog och flyktingströmmen ökade var därför ingen aktör förberedd varken på mottagandet eller hur integreringen skulle åstadkommas. Ambivalensen om det var allmänna eller riktade satsningar som var mest adekvata föranledda ett vakuum.

En annan fråga, som har med ansvarsfördelningen att göra, handlar om varför det tog så lång tid att besluta om att införliva sfi med det övriga utbildningssystemet. Vid olika tillfällen har det funnits intentioner att se sfi som en del av övriga vuxenutbildningen och därmed göra SÖ till ansvarig myndighet. I det sammanhanget hade det också varit passande att införa en formell utbildning för sfi-lärarna, men så blev inte fallet. Varför spjärnade statsmakterna emot? Den frågan hör ihop med hur de olika aktörerna såg på dels vilken typ av utbildning och kunskap som sfi skulle ge, dels vem som skulle vara utbildningsanordnare.

Sfi-utbildningens mångsidiga karaktär innebar även att den både var en del av utbildningspolitikens område och samtidigt en del av två andra stora politikområden, invandrapolitiken och arbetsmarknadspolitiken. I det sammanhanget är det intressant att resonera kring Rothsteins analys av SÖ:s och AMS:s olika organisationstyper. Enligt Rothstein var SÖ ett typiskt ämbetsmannaverk med många interna strider som hade att göra med reformerna av den obligatoriska skolan. I AMS:s styrelse däremot var parterna delaktiga i besluten och myndigheten var mer flexibel i sin syn på sitt uppdrag.¹⁰⁵ Min analys av skeendet är att SÖ inte såg sfi som ett kärnuppdrag, då ansvaret och besluten om vilka utbildningar som skulle tillsättas var delat mellan AMS och SÖ. Ansvarsfrågan var följaktligen inte självklar, inte heller i vilken grad satsningarna skulle vara allmänna eller riktade. Samtidigt var behovet av sfi-platser både stort och ekonomiskt kostsamt, att förlägga delar av utbildningen på intresseorganisationerna blev då en smidig lösning.

Sammanfattningsvis var sfi en fråga som kom att tillmätas stor vikt för att lösa integrationen. Trots det axlade ingen statlig myndighet huvudansvaret för utbildningen. Under den korporativistiska eran bollades frågan mellan utbildnings- och arbetsmarknadsenheter som delegerade utförandet till civilsamhällets institutioner. Utredningar följdes av ytterligare en eller flera. På lokalnivå konkurrerade flera aktörer om att få bedriva själva utbildningen. Först var det kommunerna i samarbete med arbetsplatserna och studieförbunden. Därefter kommunaliserades sfi-utbildningen, men kommunerna valde oftast att lägga ut sfi på olika enskilda utbildningsanordnare. Sålunda fick, både under den korporativistiska och den postkorporativistiska eran, invandrarlärares utbildning och kompetensutveckling stå tillbaka då ansvarsfrågan gällande utbildningens organisation och funktion inte var klargjord. Denna tvehågsna syn genomsyrar till viss grad fortfarande integreringen av utrikes födda. Den politiska retoriken om att språket är nyckeln till inkludering försvåras således av att ansvarsfrågan gällande sfi-utbildningen ständigt har skiftat.

105 Bo Rothstein, *Den socialdemokratiska staten: Reformerna och förvaltning inom svensk arbetsmarknads- och skolpolitik* (Lund: Arkiv, 2010), 228–33, 236f.

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How School Finance Reforms Affect the Local Policy Landscape and Funding of Schools: A Case Study of the Transformation of the Swedish Model, 1989–1992

Jonathan Lilliedahl

Abstract • This article examines a specific localisation issue concerning a municipal comprehensive school in the city of Västerås, Sweden, that was brought about by two state reforms between 1989 and 1992: a) the decentralisation of the education system, and b) the introduction of school vouchers. The municipal school in question closed for the academic year 1991/1992, then re-emerged as an independent school one year later. My case study illustrates how, in historical perspective, financial reforms can affect the provision and funding of local schools in the political landscape of public–private partnerships. Documents from city archives and local newspaper accounts of the extensive debate form the basis of the analysis. A multiple streams framework is used to conceptualise the relationship between problems, policies, and politics. Policy entrepreneurs and time-specific windows of opportunities are identified as crucial to the historical understanding of how the multiple streams were coupled in the local policy landscape for the funding of schools.

Keywords • School finance, school vouchers, school buildings, educational policy, cultural policy

Introduction

The significance of the decentralisation and marketisation of the provision and funding of the Swedish comprehensive school system (1989–1992) is well-documented. The system shift, related to the transnational neoliberal agenda, aimed to enhance the quality of education and improve financial efficiency. This was to be achieved through providing greater freedom in regard to school choice and competition by vouchers. Moreover, policies of this period were meant to promote grass-roots democracy and give voice to students, parents, and special interest groups.¹

While considerable literature exists on the relationship between state funding and the local provision of schooling, the outcome of the Swedish reforms of 1989–1992 on municipal school administration has been little studied.² This constitutes a knowledge gap. Swedish school finance reforms embody the intentions of national policymaking, but their impact may include unanticipated consequences in how they affect municipal governments and local policy actors. Case studies analysing the sequence of political events on the municipal level reveal the complexities of policy implementation and the practical effect national reforms have on local financing of schools.

This article focuses on a single case study, providing a detailed examination of how the school finance reforms of the Swedish model from 1989 to 1992 affected local

1 See, for example, Inger Erixon Arreman and Ann-Sofie Holm, “Privatisation of Public Education? The Emergence of Independent Upper Secondary Schools in Sweden,” *Journal of Education Policy* 26, no. 2 (2011), 225–243; Marianne Dovemark et al., “Deregulation, Privatisation and Marketisation of Nordic Comprehensive Education: Social Changes Reflected in Schooling,” *Education Inquiry* 9, no. 1 (2018), 122–141.

2 See literature review section.

funding and policymaking. The case in point concerns a specific localisation issue concerning a comprehensive school in the city of Västerås, Sweden, brought about by two state financial reforms between 1989 and 1992: a) the decentralisation/municipalisation of the Swedish compulsory education system, and b) the introduction of school vouchers. These reforms were responsible for the closure and subsequent reopening of the Fryxellska school (*Fryxellska skolan*, hereafter: Fryx), whose specialised music classes went from being part of a municipal school to coming under the auspices of an independent school in 1992. This case illustrates how financial reforms influenced various policy actors, their policy problem definitions, and the conflicts between proposed policy solutions. The findings highlight the relationships between the state, the municipal government, the private sector, and civil society when a new funding landscape was introduced in the local provision of schooling. In addition, school vouchers are seen to have been of crucial importance in setting the municipal agenda and making political decisions. Although the present study does not examine causality or draw conclusions regarding the impact of state reforms, it does aim to offer insights into the complex interactions between policy makers, their varying problem definitions, and the solutions proposed when the system shift was implemented in Sweden. The research question is how the municipal implementation of the Swedish state finance reforms between 1989 and 1992 impacted the local policy landscape and funding of schools.

Literature review

Research in the field of school finance reforms has largely dealt with the question of public or private provision of schooling, and the relationship between centralised versus decentralised systems of publicly funded education.³ Both issues are crucial to understanding the Swedish school reforms during the 1980s and 1990s. Moreover, prior studies have demonstrated intricate contextual circumstances and policy-making principles that determine the local administration and governance of education.

The centralised/decentralised school system

There is great variety concerning the administrative and financial control of public education across the globe. Different countries have had different models for providing mass schooling, including various forms of national, regional, and local government support.⁴ The balance between centralised and decentralised school systems has also shifted from time to time due to political transformations.

Centralised solutions have often been considered the key to mass education. One reason is that centralised funding may compensate for local variations in resources and infrastructure.⁵ Another is that standardised curricula can transmit what is considered in the public interest the most worthwhile educational knowledge, while at the same time minimising the influence of special groups. Thus, centralisation is supposed to uphold standards that will guarantee democracy, welfare services,

3 David F. Mitch, "School Finance," in *International Handbook on the Economics of Education*, ed. Geraint Johnes and Jill Johnes (Cheltenham: Elgar Publishing, 2004).

4 Mitch (2004).

5 Johannes Westberg, "The Distribution of Government Grants in Sweden 1865–1900," in *History of Schooling: Politics and Local Practice*, ed. Carla Aubry and Johannes Westberg (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012), 15–37.

and the systematic development of expertise.⁶ In contrast, decentralised systems are claimed to promote efficiency. Shifting responsibilities to municipalities and schools is meant to provide greater flexibility and responsiveness to local needs and circumstances. Such benefits are said to foster local initiatives, pedagogic pluralism, and improved academic performance. From the state government's point of view, a decentralised school system may also allow it to transfer the financial burden of education to municipalities.⁷

For most of the twentieth century, Swedish policy tended towards centralisation. Educational policies and curricula were streamlined, and the state government covered most of the costs.⁸ Thus, the state used both legal regulations and financial incentives to standardise and control the growing comprehensive school system. While the process of centralisation began by the mid-nineteenth century, systemic development was intensified in the post-war period between 1946–1970.⁹

During the 1940s, public investigations concluded that a more centralised system would guarantee equal education. State funding was meant to compensate for local variations in economic resources, student population, and infrastructure due to size differences among municipalities.¹⁰ Moreover, the comprehensive school system and its national curriculum was held up as a corrective for socioeconomic variations, and a means to counteract the risk of fragmentation based on special interests. However, the late 1970s and the 1980s saw a growing legitimacy crisis in the centralised school system. Decentralisation was demanded, and proposals for school vouchers were put forward in the policy debate. Such issues were not limited to Sweden: decentralisation by means of school vouchers was reflected in global trends.¹¹

The transnational introduction of school vouchers

Vouchers have long been used by government bodies to distribute public funds among various types of educational providers. For example, in such countries as Australia, Belgium, and The Netherlands, vouchers have served the public–private infrastructure relationships of religious (catholic and protestant) and non-religious schools.¹² My focus, however, is on the transnational movement towards decentral-

6 Edward B. Fiske and Helen F. Ladd, *Decentralization of Education: Politics and Consensus* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1996); Mitch (2004); Donald R. Winkler, "Empowering Municipalities or Schools? The Decentralization of Education," in *Beyond the Center: Decentralizing the State*, ed. Shahid Javed Burki, Guillermo E. Perry, and William R. Dillinger (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1999).

7 Winkler (1999).

8 Fay Lundh Nilsson and Johannes Westberg, "Utbildning och ekonomi," in *Utbildningshistoria*, ed. Esbjörn Larsson and Johannes Westberg (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2019).

9 Johannes Westberg, *Funding the Rise of Mass Schooling: The Social, Economic and Cultural History of School Finance in Sweden, 1840–1900* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

10 Johan Prytz and Johanna Ringarp, "Local Versus National History of Education: The Case of Swedish School Governance, 1950–1990," in *Transnational Perspectives on Curriculum History*, ed. Gary McCulloch, Ivor Goodson, and Mariano González-Delgado (London: Routledge, 2020).

11 Dovemark et al. (2018); Lisbeth Lundahl et al., "Educational Marketization the Swedish Way," *Education Inquiry* 4, no. 3 (2013), 497–517.

12 Samuel E. Abrams, "Perspectives on School Vouchers," in *Handbook of Research on School Choice*, ed. Mark Berends, Ann Primus, and Matthew G. Springer (New York: Routledge, 2020); Max Angus, "School Choice Policies and Their Impact on Public Education in Australia," in *Choosing Choice: School Choice in International Perspective*, ed. David N. Plank and Gary Sykes (New York: Teacher's College Press, 2003).

isation and market-oriented vouchers due to the increasing influence of neoliberalism in educational policy.¹³ During the 1980s and the early 1990s, such policy making was considered appropriate “to decrease central bureaucracy by shifting financial and educational decision making to local governments and private households.”¹⁴ Private school management and competitiveness were supposed to improve efficiency in the public sector, and arrest failing academic performance.¹⁵ Decentralisation was also expected to promote unconventional schools that could cater to different interests among students and their parents. It was envisioned that by supporting equal opportunity to attend a private school through the tax system, vouchers were likely to enhance social mobility, especially for those of lower socioeconomic status.¹⁶ In sum, market principles were generally considered to “improve educational outcomes at the lowest cost.”¹⁷ Therefore, it was proposed that parents and their children would receive vouchers from the government that could be used at any public or private school.¹⁸ While the Right has increasingly pushed for such marketisation, the Left has been more reluctant to support proposals that would weaken the public sector.¹⁹

While voucher programs were usually introduced to enable school choice mechanisms, in appearance they seemed to be public grants to certain types of schools which received funds based on the number of students enrolled.²⁰ As a result, the 1980s and the 1990s saw public–private partnerships in the school system, and the establishment of a variety of non-government providers. The Swedish historical policy context should be viewed in light of these international developments and models.

In the mid-1980s, the US phenomenon of magnet schools (public schools with specialised curricula) grew rapidly due to federal funding.²¹ Similar growth has been noted in studies of the later introduction and financial support of charter schools. These independently run schools provided a basis for school choice programmes and intra-district relations, promoted by a per-student funding allocation.

In England, the 1980 Education Act and the 1988 Education Reform Act supported the increase of quasi-market competition by introducing funding per student enrolled.²² Guided by neoliberal ideas of market mechanisms, these reforms encouraged parental choice, school autonomy, and accountability.²³ Similarly, the establish-

13 Anne West, “Academies in England and Independent Schools (fristående skolor) in Sweden: Policy, Privatisation, Access and Segregation,” *Research Papers in Education* 29, no. 3 (2014), 330–350.

14 Martin Carnoy, “National Voucher Plans in Chile and Sweden: Did Privatization Reforms Make for Better Education?” *Comparative Education Review* 42, no. 3 (1998), 310.

15 John F. Witte, “An Introduction to Educational Vouchers,” in *The Wiley Handbook of School Choice*, ed. Robert A. Fox and Nina K. Buchanan (Chichester, Wiley, 2017).

16 Carnoy (1998).

17 Witte (2017), 278.

18 Milton Friedman, “The Role of Government in Education,” in *Economics and the Public Interest*, ed. R. A. Solo (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1955).

19 Jane R. Gingrich, *Making Markets in the Welfare State: The Politics of Varying Market Reforms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

20 Carnoy (1998).

21 Jia Wang and Joan Herman, “Magnet Schools: History, Description, and Effects,” in *The Wiley Handbook of School Choice*, ed. Robert A. Fox and Nina K. Buchanan (Chichester: Wiley, 2017).

22 Anne West and Elizabeth Bailey, “The Development of the Academies Programme: ‘Privatising’ School-Based Education in England 1986–2013,” *British Journal of Educational Studies* 61, no. 2 (2013), 137–159.

23 West (2014).

ment of city technology colleges (CTCs), and the later introduction of academies, are illustrative of the political strategies of promoting public–private partnerships. Both CTCs and academies were established as private non-profit, specialised schools, and were accepted and publicly funded by the central government in combination with sponsorships.²⁴ The 1993 Education Act similarly offered public funding on a matching basis to schools promoting a special interest, including the introduction of specialist schools, to improve educational performance and allow parental choice.²⁵

The parallel policy movements in Chile, New Zealand, and Sweden are comparable with regard to their decentralisation and marketisation of publicly-funded education.²⁶ In New Zealand, open enrolment options were supported starting in the late 1980s. The Chilean voucher plan was launched earlier, at the beginning of the 1980s. The later-introduced model in Sweden had some similarities: the provision of schooling was transferred from the national government to municipalities, and teachers became municipal employees. This included a voucher plan involving national government funding at a fixed per student grant, whether the school was public or private. However, the Swedish education system has since been recognised as one of the greatest examples of privatisation because of the financial support it gives to for-profit schools side-by-side with not-for-profit independent schools.²⁷

The context of school finance reforms in Sweden, circa 1989–1992

The post-war expansion of secondary and tertiary education in Sweden was guided by a social democratic design of the national comprehensive school system. Curricular guidelines, legal regulations, and state funding were supposed to guarantee equality of educational opportunity among municipalities. In the late 1970s, however, the centrally regulated, uniform allocation of resources came into question as a legitimate principle of equality. The system was criticised for being bureaucratic and beset with difficulties adapting to municipality concerns. Moreover, the social democratic government was accused of not listening to the voices of stakeholders and various interest groups. A flexible system of compensatory resource allocation was sought.²⁸ Thus, the principle of achieving equality through national uniformity was modified into a system of enabling equivalent conditions.²⁹ From the state government's perspective, decentralisation was also a response to the societal call for cost effectiveness.

To provide flexibility and local empowerment, municipalities were given greater freedom to dispose of state government grants according to their needs and circum-

24 Geoffrey Walford, "From City Technology Colleges to Free Schools: Sponsoring New Schools in England," *Research Papers in Education* 29, no. 3 (2014), 315–329.

25 Walford (2014); West and Bailey (2013).

26 Helen F. Ladd and Edward B. Fiske, "International Perspectives on School Choice," in *Handbook of Research On School Choice*, ed. Mark Berends, Ann Primus, and Matthew G. Springer (New York: Routledge, 2020); Gary Miron and Christopher Nelson, *What's Public About Charter Schools? Lessons Learned About Choice and Accountability*, (Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press, 2002); Mitch (2014).

27 Lundahl et al. (2013).

28 Lars Du Rietz, "Kampen om statsbidragen: En historia om pengar och styrning i svensk skolpolitik under efterkrigstiden," *Utbildningshistoria* 188 (1988), 36–90.

29 Gunnar Richardson, *Svensk utbildningshistoria: Skola och samhälle förr och nu* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2010).

stances.³⁰ In the end, the municipalities were given full responsibility for managing their operating budgets.³¹ Such a municipalisation was initiated in 1989, when the terms of employment for teachers, including wages, were decentralised.³² While the concept of management by objectives was expected to safeguard equality throughout the country, “funding was delegated to municipalities via an unhypothecated block grant for schools and education enabling them to make decisions as to how to use funds allocated by central government.”³³

Deregulation aimed at introducing a greater variety of providers, including a wider range of alternative pedagogies and subject matter specialisations.³⁴ The expanded supply-side initiatives were supposed to enhance freedom of choice for parents and children. In this way, market mechanisms were expected to improve the quality of education, respond to the outcry for grassroots democracy, and bring about increased cost efficiency.³⁵ While private schools were not a new phenomenon, the 1980s brought them stronger financial and legal support. In the spring of 1991, it was stated that municipalities would redistribute state government and municipal grants to both public schools and local independent providers. On the first of July 1992, independent providers that had been approved by the state were given the legal right to receive a per pupil grant equivalent to that given to public schools (*Friskolereformen*).³⁶ “In effect, it transformed the Swedish school system from a virtually all-public, bureaucratically operated system with very little room for parental choice, to one of the world’s most liberal public education systems.”³⁷

Ideologically speaking, the system shift at the beginning of the 1990s can be explained by the change of government that took place in autumn 1991. When the centre-right coalition came to power, they continued on the social democratic path towards decentralisation. At the same time, the centre-right wing put more emphasis on marketisation and privatisation, including public spending on for-profit private schools.

Municipal provision and funding of schooling

The establishment of the comprehensive educational system in Sweden included not only a unified curriculum, but also initiatives towards a standardised school administration. In 1951, a commission of inquiry was appointed to investigate relationships between the national, regional, and local levels of policy making and school

30 SOU 1988:20; Prop. 1988/89:4; Bo Lindensjö and Ulf P. Lundgren, *Utbildningsreformer och politisk styrning* (Stockholm: Liber, 2014); Florian Waldow, *Utbildningspolitik, ekonomi och internationella utbildningstrender i Sverige 1930–2000* (Stockholm: Stockholms universitets förlag, 2008);

31 Du Reitz (1988).

32 Prop. 1989/90:41.

33 West (2014), 333; cf. Prop. 1990/91:18.

34 SOU 1990:44; Prop. 1988/89:4; Prop. 1990/91, p. 106; Lindensjö and Lundgren (2014); Henrik Román, “I valfrihetens tidevarv: Friskoledebatt i fullmäktige 1980–2010,” in *Du sköna nya stad: Privatisering, miljö och EU i Stockholmspolitiken*, ed. Torbjörn Nilsson (Stockholm: Stockholmia förlag, 2013), 45–86.

35 Waldow (2008).

36 Prop. 1990/91:115; Prop. 1991/92:95; Prop. 1992/93:230.

37 Paula Blomqvist, “The Choice Revolution: Privatization of Swedish Welfare Services in the 1990s,” *Social Policy & Administration* 38, no. 2 (2004), 148.

administration. As a result, the 1956 School Board Act ruled that municipalities must have a local school board “with executive responsibility for almost all public schools, both mandatory and voluntary.”³⁸ Municipal school administrations thus grew significantly during the second half of the twentieth century and resulted in a variety of municipal policies due to differences in contextual features.³⁹

Financial reforms of the Swedish comprehensive system of education have usually involved teacher salaries and contracts. The ratio of teachers to students and special needs have been the basis of government grant calculations. Rarely does the government engage in local management and facilities. However, the municipal burden of funding school buildings has been considerable and a matter of local ideological debate.⁴⁰ The provision of material support includes appropriate premises, teaching equipment, and school transportation, to name a few examples. Municipal decisions on such financial matters are seldom guided by a single principle; they are determined pragmatically by a variety of circumstances and mechanisms, rather than based on ideological principles.⁴¹ Thus, school management issues may not only involve educational policy and financial constraints, but also different sectors and special interests, including cultural policy concerns, property issues, and urban planning.⁴² Educational policy negotiation may, therefore, involve a variety of discourses related to the norms of what is considered a healthy living environment, principles of cultural conservation, and ideas of the future city landscape.⁴³

While local politicians must balance financial needs for the provision of schooling with other municipal commitments, they are also affected by state government reforms that demand reconfiguration of public services. Moreover, the municipal policy making context is determined by power structures between policy communities both inside and outside government.⁴⁴ Further study is needed on how state finance reforms affect the local policy landscape and funding of schools, and particularly ways in which decentralising models such as voucher plans have had an impact on the municipal provision of education. While the Swedish introduction of school vouchers has been well-researched, the local implementation and policy making processes of the reform movement are understudied. This imbalance reflects the dominance of national policy scholarship and historical examinations of

38 Prytz and Ringarp (2020), 135.

39 Henrik Román et al., “Who Governs the Swedish School? Local School Policy Research from a Historical and Transnational Curriculum Theory Perspective,” *Nordic Journal of Studies in Educational Policy* 2015, no. 1 (2015), 27009.

40 Jonathan Lilliedahl, “Specialised music classes in comprehensive education: a case study of the Swedish shift from social-democratic uniformity to neoliberal diversity,” *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 52, no. 2 (2020), 228–240; Henrik Román, “I enhetsskolans tidevarv,” in *Stockholm blir välfärdsstad: Kommunalpolitik i huvudstaden efter 1945*, ed. Torbjörn Nilsson (Stockholm: Stockholmia förlag, 2011), 159–210; Román et al. (2015).

41 Henrik Lindberg, “Policy Learning and Political Pragmatism: The Social Democratic Party and the Question of Public Ownership 1982–1991,” in *Knowledge and Policy Change*, ed. Henrik Lindberg (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013); Westberg (2017).

42 Nancy Beadie, “Education and the Creation of Capital: Or What I Have Learned from Following the Money,” *History of Education Quarterly* 48, no. 1 (2008).

43 Håkan Thörn, “Governing Movements in Urban Space,” in *Transformations of the Swedish Welfare State*, ed. Bengt Larsson, Martin Letell, and Håkan Thörn (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

44 Beadie (2008); Douglas S. Reed, *Building the Federal Schoolhouse: Localism and the American Education State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

state government reforms, compared to the few case studies of the local provision of schooling as determined by contextual conditions, policy making networks, special interests, and time-specific events.⁴⁵ For this reason, I have conducted a detailed examination of how the school finance reforms of the Swedish model made from 1989 to 1992 affected local funding and policy making in a historical, cultural, and social context.

Problems, policies, and politics

A multiple streams framework (MSF) provides a conceptual toolkit to retrospectively examine interrelationships between policy problems, various policy actors, their ideas, and the constituents of a particular sociohistorical context. Political scientist John W. Kingdon argues that such policy making is the outcome of the interplay of three independent “streams”: problems, policies, and politics.⁴⁶

Problems are conditions perceived as obstacles that must be overcome. MSF emphasizes that something which did not previously present any difficulty can either suddenly or gradually come to be viewed as a problem.⁴⁷ In this article the focus is on the economic and administrative conditions in Sweden during the 1980s that ultimately were considered crucial problems for the local provision of schooling. As cited previously, state-regulated comprehensive schools were intended to ensure equal educational opportunities. However, the same bureaucratic system that was to establish equality, transparency, and predictability became an obstacle for its inflexibility and inefficiency. This can be discerned in feedback from educators and indicators such as budget deficits. Kingdon has here distinguished between “budget as a constraint,” and “budget as a promoter.”⁴⁸ Both have an impact on the governmental agenda, but in different ways. Budget considerations seek economic efficiency in the provision of schooling by controlling the rise in costs and implementing less expensive practices. Moreover, budget constraints are linked to national and local economic conditions, and may be a matter of perception:

Some policy makers can find a deficit of a given size tolerable, for instance, while others would find it outrageous. The budget constraint can be cited as an argument against a proposal that one does not favor on other grounds, and can be sidestepped for proposals that one does favor, by underestimating their cost or ignoring their long-range cost altogether.⁴⁹

The budget is also a means of placing an issue on the political agenda. In this way, financial considerations may often result in policy discussions broader than a strictly economic one.

45 Westberg (2017).

46 John W. Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies* (Harlow: Pearson, 2014).

47 Nicole Herweg, Nikolaos Zahariadis, and Reimut, Zohlnhöfer, “The Multiple Streams Framework: Foundations, Refinements, and Empirical Applications,” in *Theories of the Policy Process*, ed. Christopher M. Weible and Paul A. Sabatier (New York: Routledge, 2017), 17–54.

48 Kingdon (2014), 106

49 Kingdon (2014), 108.

The *policy stream* consolidates communities and their alternatives. Such a community may be a network of politicians, special interest groups, consultants, researchers, journalists, parents, or others. Their “pet projects” and proposed solutions may be situated in the “primal policy soup,” that is, ideas and proposals that might be considered due to their value acceptability, general appeal, technical feasibility, and financial viability.⁵⁰ One may also define the policy stream as the national and international context of policy flows. For example, the proposed alternatives to the bureaucracy of the Swedish comprehensive school system were called deregulation and decentralisation, and such concepts were discursively connected to transnational ideas of privatisation and marketisation. Thus, the policy stream provides the opportunity to integrate such discourses, including the transfer of principles from the field of economics to the field of educational policy.⁵¹

The *political stream* represents the political system and “party politics.”⁵² It conceptualises the impact of political majorities and governments in relation to the political decision-making processes involving proposals and legislation. Administrators are part of this stream. Interest groups may also join this stream when their ideas are organised in political campaigns. Thus, the political stream is the context of realisation.

Since some members of the national or local government might be supportive of a particular policy proposal, elections are an example of a *policy window*. There are points in time when an agenda might change through coupling of the problem, policy, and political streams. Kingdon defines such a policy window as “an opportunity for advocates of proposals to push their pet solutions, or to push attention to their special problems.”⁵³ Policy windows may modify the agenda in various ways and affect different streams. For example, while an election can open a window of privatisation in the political stream of educational policy making, budget deficits are located in the problem stream. Since politics are more than finding a solution to a given problem; elections include the process of “finding a problem to a given solution.”⁵⁴ Thus, the issue of privatisation may be based on a problem (such as the inefficiency of publicly provided education) or on the solution (finding problems with a pet privatisation project). In the present context, the empirical application of policy windows are about relating such windows as elections and budget negotiations to the local policy making context.

The last key concept is *policy entrepreneurs*, that is, advocates, politicians, bureaucrats, and representatives of special interest groups who invest their material or symbolic resources to push a proposal (their “pet project”) by coupling the three streams together.⁵⁵ While policy windows are time specific opportunities of action, the entrepreneurs are the actors, and they “must be able to attach problems to their solutions

50 Kingdon (2014), chapter 6.

51 Heather Lovell, “The Role of International Policy Transfer within the Multiple Streams Approach: The Case of Smart Electricity Metering in Australia,” *Public Administration* 94 (2016), 754–768; Nikolaos Zahariadis, *Markets, States and Public Policies: Privatization in Britain and France* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995).

52 Zahariadis (1995).

53 Kingdon (2014), 165.

54 Herweg, Zahariadis, and Zohnhöfer (2018), 27.

55 Kingdon (2014).

and find politicians who are receptive to their ideas, that is, political entrepreneurs.”⁵⁶

The MSF shows that policy making is not primarily rational, but is a process of coupling ideas and solutions that “fit” the current situation. Moreover, policy making is the act of individuals, wherein policy entrepreneurs have a crucial role to play. The analysis of historical policy processes focuses on policy actors: what I know about their intentions, the social interactions behind their decisions, and the situational context in which they communicated. Thus, the impact of a particular reform can be found by tracking the finances, and by examining policy relationships and the micropolitical interaction that lie in the background.

The case study

My single case research design is intended to facilitate an empirical enquiry into the interconnections between state government reforms, parallel historical events at the municipal level, and the contextual characteristics of the local setting.

The Swedish municipality of Västerås, along with the localisation issue of the Fryx school, provides a clear illustration of the impact of policy changes in Sweden between 1989 and 1992. This case was selected because of the way it reflects the state finance reforms under consideration.⁵⁷ In the late 1980s the Fryx school was affected by the municipalisation reform and the transfer of financial responsibilities to local governments. At the beginning of the 1990s, the administrative and political management of the Fryx school had significant influence on the municipality’s implementation of educational vouchers, including local governmental support for privatisation. The Fryx case brought about an intense debate that is highly instructive of the policy making process, presenting information richness that demonstrates the reform “intensely but not extremely.”⁵⁸ Although as a single case the Fryx school does not support empirical generalisations, it provides insight into the complexity of policy implementation and the local provision of education.⁵⁹

The history of Fryx can be traced back to the establishment of a grammar school for girls in Västerås in 1866 (*Västerås elementärläroverk för flickor*). Beginning in 1875, the private school received state funding, along with the stipulation that needy students would be exempted from the school’s tuition fee. In addition, from 1888 on the school was supported by a municipal operating grant. Land and building construction costs were financed during the 1890s through a joint effort between the city assembly of Västerås, the association of the girls’ school, and Västerås Saving bank (*Västerås sparbank*). In 1939, Fryx was given over to the municipality of Västerås,

56 Herweg, Zahariadis, and Zohnhöfer (2018), 28–29.

57 The informative value of this case was identified in an ongoing study of the establishment of specialised music programmes in comprehensive school systems conducted by the present writer. Until around 1990, the city of Västerås was known as an industrial urban environment. The great social changes of the late twentieth century had resulted in efforts to modify the city landscape in the interest of modernisation. However, this movement was met with resistance by those calling for the preservation of the city’s urban heritage. Another contextual characteristic was that Västerås followed the “natality trend” in Sweden, which resulted in a decreasing student population from the late 1970s to the beginning of the 1990s.

58 Michael Q. Patton, *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods: Integrating Theory and Practice* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 2015), 267.

59 Patton (2015), 264.

including all the assets of its foundation.⁶⁰ During the 1960s, the school was converted to a municipal comprehensive school (*Grundskola*). Specialised music classes (school years 4 to 9) were introduced in 1962 and have since then become the hallmark of Fryx.

During the second half of the 1980s, proposals were made to close Fryx by the School Management Department (*Skolkontoret*) because of a surplus of local schools and a municipal budget deficit. The school did close for the academic year 1991/1992 but reopened as an independent school one year later. The following is an examination of how state finance reforms during the period determined the socio-political and financial dimensions of this process.

Materials and analysis

Two primary sources, municipal policy documents retrieved from the Västerås City Archives, and the Fryx archive on the extensive debate in the local newspaper (*Vestmanlands Läns Tidning*), formed the basis of my investigation.⁶¹ I included the period between 1986, when the issue of closure was first raised, and 1992, when school vouchers were introduced, with emphasis on the most eventful years of 1989 to 1992.

Printed policy documents represent a formal record of the negotiations that took place during the decision-making process. Newspaper reports are also valuable to clarify the series of events. Taken together, these materials can be used to triangulate the chronology and verify findings.⁶² However, their distinct characteristics have different evidentiary value. While meeting documents and minutes may constitute a reliable basis for analysing political decision making, newspaper sources can help define the purposes behind policy initiatives and the public reaction to a particular decision. Such news accounts are valuable for establishing the political atmosphere of the context.⁶³

There may still be an unintentional selection bias. First, the historical documents are an incomplete record of the actual sequence of events. Second, my findings may be subject to revision due to the possibility of undiscovered documents. Restrictions put in place during the COVID-19 pandemic made visiting the archives impossible, leaving retrieval of primary source material to be carried out by archivists. The possibility of investigator bias, however, was reduced because of their familiarity with the archives and the professional handling of all requests.

There is also potential for misperception in the interpretation of the collections. The goal of identifying relationships between macro–micro policy making implies a hindsight bias. Thus, there is the risk of favouring those evidentiary materials that confirm such links.

⁶⁰ According to Per Wikner, chief lawyer, 1990-12-18.

⁶¹ The policy documents were selected and scanned electronically in collaboration with the Västerås City Archives. After identification of the case record number (see list of references), the linked documents were located and retrieved. The Fryxellska school's own archive included three binders of newspaper clippings from 1986 to 1992. In addition, contemporary legislative documents have been referenced to depict the national political policy movements relative to the political actions in Västerås.

⁶² Cameron G. Thies, "A Pragmatic Guide to Qualitative Historical Analysis in the Study of International Relations," *International Studies Perspectives* 3 (2002).

⁶³ Alexander L. George and Andrew Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences* (Cambridge, MA: MIT, 2005).

The analysis was guided by the MSF perspective as well as the research question of how the municipal implementation of the Swedish state finance reforms of 1989–1992 can be understood against the local policy landscape and funding of schools. The documents were critically interpreted with focus on how municipal decisions were made. Problems, politics, and visible participants were examined as the three crucial aspects of such an agenda setting.⁶⁴ The analysis was then guided by the political process and the arguments concerning costs and cost-effectiveness.

Findings

The closing of Fryx

In the mid-1980s, concerns were raised about low level of tax revenue in Västerås, and the result was cutbacks in municipal school funding. Since teacher salaries were then regulated by government grants and could not be touched, budget cuts needed to be made elsewhere. The previous municipal school administration had been able to support having an excess number of secondary schools, but the economic crisis now required urgent attention. In 1989–1990, the situation became acute when the new, decentralised teacher salary agreement led to deteriorating budget conditions.⁶⁵ While the centrally-located Fryx school had clear cultural-historical value, it needed extensive repairs as a result of neglected maintenance, and it was also necessary to modernise its facilities. Meanwhile, the cityscape had changed since the school had opened in 1902, and the school age population in the neighbourhood was very low. The municipality was also affected by a general decline in the number of school age children, and the trend was expected to continue: it had fallen 31 per cent from 1975 to 1992/1993. However, it was predicted that enrolment would soon rise towards a new peak in 2002/2003. About 35 classes were projected to be lost from 1990 to 1993, but then a soaring student population would require upwards of 50 new classes by the year 2000.

The decrease in student population, and thus the number of classes, resulted in a surplus of school facilities. Moreover, the growth of new residential areas caused new difficulties. Since parents wanted their children to attend a nearby school, retaining schools that would soon be phased out was not a proper solution. Another complication was the introduction of new building standards and changes in regulations pertaining to the work environment. That this constituted a multifaceted policy problem was conveyed by various indicators: economic constraints, the diminishing student population, and trends in urban development and planning.

In October 1987, the School Management Department (*Skolkontoret*) presented their localisation strategies. There were two options with regard to Fryx: close the school at the beginning of the 1990s, or maintain and modernise its facilities.⁶⁶ The social democratic Municipal School Board (*Skolstyrelsen*) decided to proceed with a closure plan. In January 1989, the leaders of the opposition group submitted a five-party motion asking for reconsideration of the decision to close the school. They argued that Fryx, as Sweden's first established grammar school for girls, and *Rudbeckianska skolan* as the oldest upper-secondary school in Sweden, provided "sig-

64 See Kingdon (2014), chapter 9.

65 Lars Höglund, *Mitt liv i skolans tjänst* (Stockholm: Vulkan förlag, 2018).

66 Official report (*Missivskrivelse*), 1987-10-13, Dnr 87:468-SKS370.

nificant cultural elements in the inner-city, which otherwise risks becoming a business and office centre only.” Moreover, since new housing was being planned in the area and student population was expected to grow, and Fryx was the only secondary school in the neighbourhood, there was no reason to consider closing the school. In addition, Fryx’s specialised music programme recruited students from beyond the local catchment area, so that retaining the school in its central location would facilitate attendance by students who commuted.⁶⁷

The Municipal School Board, however, countered with a proposal to relocate the music programme to the eastern district of the city (*Viksäng*).⁶⁸ Their decision was based on an investigation by the School Management Department,⁶⁹ whose head had argued that a renovation of Fryx would be costly and have a negative effect on the provision of schooling in the outlying neighbourhoods. Closure was considered the most cost-effective, rational decision, based on estimated sales revenue, operating costs, expenditures linked to renovation and modernisation, as well as staff redundancies.⁷⁰

In addition to the debate that took place in the decision-making bodies of Västerås, the municipality’s deliberations were challenged in a letter from the board of the Parents Association (*Hem och skola*). The municipality was accused of using figures that were questionable or demonstrably incorrect. The proposal was also criticised for disregarding non-financial issues, such as the 180 students in primary education music classes who would be forced to commute to a new school, with the attendant of safety problems and risk of social imbalance. Furthermore, parents argued that the municipality’s localisation strategy was outdated due to ongoing development in the area and the planned densification of the inner-city. The Parents Association pointed to the contribution the school would make to a lively city centre, citing Fryx as a healthy “cultural working environment,” rather than a school building in a substandard condition.⁷¹ Parents cited an inspection of the property by professionals that showed the school was well worth renovating, not least because of the cultural values of its buildings.

In response to the parents, the Municipal Executive Board (*Kommunstyrelsen*) decided to commission a reassessment of its calculations and determine whether Fryx should be preserved or closed.⁷² Roland Andersson, a professor of real estate management at the KTH Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm, was assigned the task and presented his appraisal in July 1990. He argued that the Parents Association was justified in its opposition to the closure. His audit demonstrated shortcomings in the municipality’s calculations regarding residual value and the cost of modernisation. However, he stated that the conflicting figures did not provide a sufficient financial basis for a political decision on whether closure or refurbishment would be the most rational choice. He emphasised that the school’s central location gave the property a high market value, and that relocating the music classes would involve

67 Motion to the Municipal Council (Birgitta Nilsson (fp), Lars Luttröpp (m), Olle Wärmlöf (c), Hans Thunström (mp), and Mats Ericson (vpk), 1989-01-26, [unnumbered].

68 Minutes of the Municipal School Board, 1990-05-11, § 44.

69 Official report (*Tjänsteutlåtande*) (Lars Höglind, school manager), 1990-03-03, rev. 03-20, Dnr 89:1103-SKS110.

70 Appendix 3 (*Beräkningsunderlag för diskussion om Fryxellska skolans framtid*) (Lars-Göran Vendlegård, the School Management Department), rev. 1990-03-19.

71 1990-03-16, 2.

72 Minutes of the Municipal Executive Board, 1990-05-17, Dnr 90:104-Stk01/D5.

additional expenses for school transportation services, although the municipality's alternative proposal – to reassign the music classes among three different schools – would probably limit the increase in transportation costs.⁷³

The Municipal Executive Board now proposed that the Municipal Council (*Kommunfullmäktige*) begin closing Fryx and transferring its music classes to other schools, while at the same time preserving the original structure as a “characteristically traditional building in the cityscape” and considering the fate of the other school buildings and the future disposition of the land in a separate process.⁷⁴ An extensive debate followed and the Social Democrats were accused of showing a lack of interest in cultural issues. However, in December 1990 the Municipal Council, under a ruling majority coalition of the Social Democrats and the Left (Communist) Party, decided to accept the proposal of the Executive Board.⁷⁵

The department's plan for relocating the music classes to three other schools in outlying neighbourhoods was met with protests by the Parents Association and private individuals, who petitioned the administrative Court of Appeals in Stockholm (*Kammarrätten*). The parents argued that when Fryx and the associated foundation grants were transferred to the municipality of Västerås in 1939, the municipality had agreed to be responsible for running the school. The Parents Association also complained that the Property Management Committee (*Fastighetsnämnden*) and the Building Committee (*Byggnadsnämnden*) had not been properly involved.⁷⁶ Finally, parents challenged the legality of the order, since the manager of the construction company *Riksbyggen*, Bengt-Åke Rehn, was in league with the Social Democrats who had voted for the closure of Fryx. Letters to the Editor of *Vestmanlands Läns Tidning* (*VLT*) argued that the building site had probably already been promised to the company, since as early as 1986 they had created a blueprint for housing construction in the area.⁷⁷ Anders Olsson, the head of investigation at the Organisation Department (*Organisationskontoret*), stated that the land on which Fryx stood was more valuable as a construction site than as a school building.⁷⁸ The public debate piqued the interest of other companies, such as the Swedish Central Organisation of Condominium Associations (*Sveriges bostadsrättsföreningars centralorganisation*, *SBC*). They determined that the school could be converted to approximately 50 apartments for seniors. The Municipal Commissioner, Åke Hillman, agreed that the sale option was attractive, as the school was located in a desirable area of the Västerås inner-city. However, since “several stakeholders have shown interest, SBC must stand in line and take a queue ticket.”⁷⁹

73 Report (Roland Andersson), 1990-07-25.

74 Meeting documents of the Municipal Council, 1990-11-15, no. 95, Dnr 90:0162-KS56.

75 Minutes of the Municipal Council, Kfm § 194, Dnr 90:0162-KS56, 1990-12-20, Dnr 90:102-Stk01/D5.

76 The complainants argued that the decision of the Municipal Council was against the Swedish Local Government Act. Opposition members of the assembly agreed in this regard (meeting documents of the Municipal Council, 1991-03-07, Dnr 91:0292-KS500; minutes of the Municipal Council, Kfm § 31, Dnr 91:0292-KS500, 1991-03-21, Dnr 91:102-Stk01/D5).

77 Pensionär med lite ATP, ”Kommunen låst av löften?” *VLT*, May 7, 1990, [page unknown]; Att skola är att vårda, ”Risk för snedkrytering,” *VLT*, May 9, 1990, [page unknown].

78 Eva Kanger, ”Fryxellskas öde beseglat? Troligt att skolan läggs ned,” *VLT*, April 4, 1987, 24.

79 Ingrid Andersson, ”Fryx blir hus för äldre? Bostadsföretag vill köpa skolan,” *VLT*, May 8, 1990, 19.

The debate during the period 1989–1991 demonstrates the interaction between problems, policies, and politics in the local policy making context. The ruling bodies argued that the policy solution to the budget deficit was to cut costs by liquidating surplus real estate. Fryx was a financial burden due to its current condition, and the high market value of its location made it difficult for the Fryx proponents to fight for its preservation. To upgrade the school would be costly and draw funds away from the urban development of school buildings in the municipality's family neighbourhoods. By contrast, the stakeholders of the Fryx school downplayed the need for financial restraint; they defined the proposed closure as the actual policy problem. The local administration was accused of being both short-sighted and narrow-minded in their public management and political decisions. They refused to consider the cultural resources that should be preserved. In addition, advocates argued that the property could be improved within a reasonable period of time. However, such arguments did not achieve legitimacy because of the power structure of the political stream. Nevertheless, as we shall see, the agenda setting and policy decisions rapidly changed. Although the Fryx school did close for the academic year 1991/1992, the municipal decision in December 1990 resulted in the establishment of a new policy network in support of the school's re-opening. In 1991, supporters took advantage of the policy window afforded by the state voucher reform and the election to the Municipal Council.

The private takeover

Simultaneously with the municipal decision on school closure, advocates of the Fryx school; stakeholders from cultural institutions and the business sector, including the Confederation of Swedish Enterprise (*Svenskt Näringsliv*); prominent individuals (three vice presidents of *ABB*); and the CEO of the leading grocery retailer (*ICA*) announced their support for a private takeover.⁸⁰

As a result of the state's decision on school vouchers, the Fryx Foundation was established to urge re-opening the school as "the city's 'cultural centre'."⁸¹ Among the 31 founders, a number of well-known people from the local cultural sector and industry were listed.

The state of public opinion resulted in a promise from non-leftist parties to save the school if they came to power in the forthcoming election.⁸² In September 1991, after 72 years in opposition, the centre-right coalition achieved a majority, a result the outgoing chairman of the Municipal Council, Åke Hillman, claimed was partly due to their management of the localisation issue.⁸³ Given the election promise and the current reforms in government grants, a pragmatic economic–educational policy was sponsored by a consortium of politicians, the municipal school administration, and the newly-constituted Fryx Foundation. Thus, various stakeholders came together in a collective interest group to re-establish Fryx. They mobilised as policy

80 Mårten Enberg, "Inga pengar för Fryx," *VLT*, December 20, [page unknown].

81 [Author unknown], "Stiftelsen ska återerövra Fryx," *VLT*, August 16, 1991, [page unknown]. The chairman, Olle Bjelfman, stated that private not-for-profit schools could be run with up to 30 per cent lower operating costs than public schools.

82 Lars Luttröpp (m), Birgitta Nilsson (s), Olle Wärmlöf (c), Hans Thunström (mp), "Valet avgör Fryx öde," *VLT*, September 12, 1991, [page unknown].

83 Höglund (2018).

entrepreneurs and joined forces with the political bodies in submitting proposals for financing the private takeover. A window had been opened for coupling policy actors outside of the municipal government with politicians and administrators on the inside, based on what could be considered a common policy problem. The special interest of those who wanted to save Fryx was joined with the policy intention of liberals and right-wing politicians to privatise the public provision of education.

When the centre-right coalition did come to power, they were bound by their promise to reopen Fryx for the academic year 1992/1993. During the fourth quarter of 1991, the public debate in *VLT* centred around the ongoing privatisation, but there was uncertainty about the financial details of the proposed voucher system.⁸⁴ In the budget for 1992, the Municipal Executive Board, the Child and Youth Welfare Services Committee (*Barn- och ungdomsnämnden*), and the Property Management Committee were commissioned to investigate how Fryx could be restructured as a private school, with the inclusion of the music classes. Since the national Government had announced that municipalities would be obliged to provide grants to private schools, unforeseen expenses were projected by municipal administrators pending the Government's decision on the voucher system. Moreover, in January 1992, the Municipal Executive Board set aside 240,000 kronor for a project manager, and in February, the Child and Youth Welfare Services Committee decided to allocate 6.7 million kronor to finance the restart of Fryx, including initial costs (800,000 kronor), furnishings and equipment (2,500,000 kronor), permanent teaching materials (3,150,000 kronor), and teaching aids and consumables (250,000 kronor). Furnishings and equipment were to remain the property of the municipality for the next 10 years and be budgeted through depreciation deductions during the same period.⁸⁵ Simultaneously, a letter of intent was signed by the municipal school manager (*skoldirektören*) and the chairman of the Fryx Foundation. In this context, the debate was increasingly divided ideologically. The Social Democrats argued that Fryx had become a symbol of privatisation. They believed officials at the Municipal School Department had been assigned to serve as "office boys" to the politicians and the Fryx Foundation in order to establish a private school, no matter what the cost. Moreover, politicians on the left argued that the re-opening of Fryx would likely result in inequality, not just financially, but also in terms of social imbalance.⁸⁶

In March 1992, the Government proposed that students in private schools would be funded by the state subsidy given to the municipality (*sektorsbidrag skola*). At the same time, the municipalities would be obliged to allocate funds corresponding to the average cost per student at a municipal school, with a possible reduction of no more than 15 per cent.⁸⁷ A few weeks later, the School Management Department in

84 E.g., Mats Wikman, "Fryxellska blir friskola redan till höstterminen" *VLT*, December 19, 1991, [page unknown]; Lena Hörngren, "Fryx vann striden om musikklasserna," *VLT*, December 19, 1991, [page unknown].

85 Minutes of the Child and Youth Welfare Services Committee, 1992-02-18, BUN § 21, Dnr 92:1081-SKS124.

86 E.g., Mats Ericson (vpk), "Önsta offras för Fryx," *VLT*, December 04, 1991, [page unknown]; Lena Hörngren, "Varför ska Fryx få ensamrätt till musikklasserna?" *VLT*, December 31, 1991, [page unknown]; Åke Hillman (s), "Dyrbar springpojke," *VLT*, February 1, 1992, [page unknown]; Kjell Wadelius (s), "Fryx – symbol för maktskiftet," *VLT*, February 3, 1992, [page unknown]; Britt Sandström (s) and Kjell Wadelius (s), "För en utvald elit," *VLT*, April 18, 1992, [page unknown].

87 Prop. 1991/92:95.

Västerås suggested a model for implementation: a flexible grant corresponding to the average cost per student in the school district with the lowest special needs allocation, increased by 20 per cent of the municipality's average local cost. The remaining 80 per cent of such expenditures would be fixed and based on the school's actual expenses for premises and equipment. Since the flexible grant aimed to promote efficiency, the municipality introduced an "efficiency factor" of a 10 per cent deduction on the total grant. However, to promote privatisation, the committee decided to give a discount on this factor for the first two years, plus one-month free rent, and an allowance of 500 kronor per student for the first year. The municipality's cost for the stimulus package was covered by the unforeseen expenses reserve of the Municipal Executive Board. In this way, the municipality fulfilled its task of initiating publicly funded, but independently run, schools.⁸⁸ The case of Fryx created both the need for such local implementation and became the model for its realisation.

Since the private takeover occurred in the middle of the national introduction of school vouchers, the foundation began the school year with a strong enrolment of 440 students (17 classes, 13 of which had music specialisation) multiplied by 35,083 kronor per primary school student and 44,629 kronor per secondary student. This amount was equivalent to 90 per cent of the average cost per student in the municipal schools (in the Government bill 85 per cent had been requested).⁸⁹ The remaining 10 per cent was expected to be covered by lower overhead expenses. However, due to the elimination of a savings directive (the "efficiency factor" of 10 per cent), the Fryx Foundation received full financing from the municipality so that it could generate a financial surplus that could be set aside for investments.

The school building remained the property of the municipality. Since it had been completely emptied of equipment, new purchases were necessary. The 37.7 million kronor cost of renovation and expenditures was covered by the municipality; financed with loans but expected to be repaid by the tenant (the Fryx Foundation). However, the foundation received a rental contract in which the cost was reduced by 80 per cent. The Social Democrats raised objections concerning the lack of financial resources in the foundation or guarantees for bank loans granted to the foundation. They argued that the municipality was likely to incur additional costs for education. Moreover, they believed there had been an act of "ministerial governance" (*ministerstyre*) because the administrative handling of the case of Fryx appeared to be carried out by the parties in power, who wanted to use Fryx as role model of privatisation. The policy making process was run solely by the School Management Department, following instructions from the ruling parties, rather than based on roles assigned by the decision-making bodies of the municipality.⁹⁰ As a result, the Social Democrats increasingly shifted from economic to ideological arguments in discussions of the local management of schools.

Based on suggestions from the School Management Department and the Child

88 Official report from the School Management Department, 1992-04-05, rev. 04-10, Dnr 92/Sk 1170:2; Minutes of the Child and Youth Services Committee, 1992-04-14, BUN § 61, Dnr 92/Sk 1170:2; Meeting documents for the Municipal Council, 1992-04-23, Nr 43, 92:0484-KS57.19.

89 The Official report from the School Management Department, 1992-02-20, rev. 03-02, 04-03, Dnr 92/Sk1035:200, appendix 2.

90 Meeting documents of the Municipal Council, 1992-04-23, Nr 41, Dnr 92:0410-KS57.12; Minutes of the Child and Youth Services Committee, 1992-02-18, BUN § 21, Dnr 92:1081-SK5124.

and Youth Services Committee, in May 1992 the Municipal Council decided to add 250,000 kronor for the foundation's extraordinary costs for temporary premises as a result of the renovation of Fryx.⁹¹ In addition to funds provided by the decentralised voucher system, the Fryx Foundation was awarded a start-up allowance of 3 million kronor. Taken together, the municipal expenses for the first year amounted to 61.5 million kronor. This caused a debate among politicians.⁹² Social Democrats and communists believed the budget was excessive. Since the management of Fryx resulted in increased costs, rather than income, privatisation had worsened the municipality's economic situation. Moreover, since there had been no change in the municipality's surplus of secondary schools, it was thought that other municipal schools would be threatened with closure.

Municipal employees were granted leaves of absence to serve in the private school. Teachers and students returned to Fryx, which has operated since then as an independently run non-profit school in its original building in the inner-city of Västerås.

To conclude the privatisation action, the introduction of the voucher plan was the policy opportunity that politicians and local entrepreneurs seized upon to launch their common project of saving Fryx and introducing the privatisation of public schools. The takeover also demonstrates a new way of setting a political agenda. While the Social Democrats were in power, the local school administration was mainly driven by the School Management Department. Politicians received input from officials and made decisions based on rational economic criteria. Although the centre-right coalition that followed were concerned with financial matters, their policy making process appears to have been more ideologically driven. Their administrators calculated the costs of privatisation, rather than investigating options focusing on the budget deficit.

Discussion

The study demonstrates the complexities of municipal school administration and how, in the case of Fryx, multiple streams of local policy making in Västerås were affected by state finance reforms. The introduction of the voucher system appears to have had a great impact on policy agenda and political decisions, while the influence of municipalisation that preceded the vouchers was more indirect.

In the late 1980s, a policy problem arose due to the municipality's budget deficit, the surplus of schools, and the decline in the number of school-age children. In addition, the decentralisation of the education system brought about a transition to full municipal responsibility for the provision of education, including matters of employment for teachers. The resulting administrative and financial challenges caused conflicts in the political stream, that is, between the ruling bodies of Västerås and the opposition parties, together with their accompanying stakeholders and interest groups in the broader policy making context. Disagreements were caused by different attitudes towards the Fryx school's survival. While the municipal government and its agencies tried to guide themselves by economic rationality, other voices were

91 Minutes of the Child and Youth Services Committee, 1992-04-14, BUN § 62, Dnr 92/Sk1171:2; meeting documents of the Municipal Council, 1992-04-23, Nr 44, Dnr 92:0485-KS57.19.

92 E.g., [Author unknown], "Nytt Fryx till varje pris?" *VLT*, April 30, 1992, [page unknown].

raised on behalf of cultural interests. From the latter's perspective, the policy problem was rooted in a short-sighted, narrow-minded view among Social Democrats and administrators of the School Management Department. The Fryx interest group and their political allies argued that the proposed solution to the budget problem should have also taken into account non-financial aspects, such as the value of cultural heritage, rather than the economic situation alone.⁹³

The Social Democratic majority in Västerås was devoted to the founding ideas of the Swedish comprehensive school system. For them, the principle of equality through uniformity did not allow for an exception to managing the public interest efficiently by purely economic decision making.⁹⁴ Because of how the municipal organisation was structured, educational and cultural policies were overseen by separate departments and boards, putting issues of cultural values beyond the scope of the Municipal School Administration. With the political stream divided into separate areas of responsibility, the future of Fryx was determined by distinctions between educational and cultural policy. The policy making setting, however, rapidly changed by the interconnection of two types of policy windows: the election, and the voucher reform. These events coupled the streams of problems, policies, and politics in a unique way.

In the 1991 election of state and municipal governments in Sweden, both the national leadership and local ruling body of Västerås changed from the Social Democratic majority to centre-right coalitions. These changes set the stage for the passage and implementation of a school voucher plan. The voucher system, in turn, opened a window of opportunity to privatise public schools and establish new ones run by independent providers.⁹⁵ In this way, the state reform reflected a neoliberal idea that had gradually taken root in the Swedish policy stream, namely, the project of introducing market competition to promote efficiency and diversity.⁹⁶ However, the policy-making processes at the municipal level in Västerås were not so much motivated by consumer choice and arguments of efficiency; instead, the newly-appointed centre-right coalition was guided by their election promise of re-establishing Fryx. The Social Democrats and the communists, for their part, saw the ruling majority as totally pre-occupied with the desire to financially support a reopening plan and simultaneously implement the national voucher system, instead of investigating the most cost-effective way to provide education and manage the municipality's financial deficit. Contrary to the stated aims of proponents, the implementation resulted in additional costs rather than savings and cost-efficiency.

One may interpret the policy-making process in at least two different ways: either the municipal government had the fulfilment of their promise in sight, regardless of cost; or they were guided by finding a policy problem that would facilitate their pet project of privatisation.⁹⁷ In any case, the historical events related to the issue of Fryx exempli-

93 The debate was similar to that in Stockholm regarding the Adolf Fredrik's Music School in the beginning of the 1980. See Lilliedahl (2020); Román (2011).

94 Fiske and Ladd (1996); Richardson (2010); Winkler (1999).

95 Kingdon (2014).

96 Arreman and Holm (2011); Dovemark et al. (2018); Lilliedahl (2020); Waldow (2008); West (2014); Witte (2017).

97 Herweg, Zahariadis, and Zohlnhöfer (2018), 27.

fies how national finance reform promoted local initiatives and non-public schools that could cater to the special interests of individuals and social groups.⁹⁸ The MSF perspective shows that policy making and implementation are not necessarily purely logical; rather, that policies and politics often transform objectives in unpredictable ways.⁹⁹

While the constitutional situation in Sweden has favoured national governance, the municipal management of education has not always followed a strict implementation of government regulations. Policy issues at the local level are complex matters due to the many responsibilities of the municipality. There may be clashes between various policy areas such as education, culture, and urban planning. Political decisions, therefore, require the prior support of committees, ruling bodies, stakeholders, and interest groups.¹⁰⁰ In this regard, the present study emphasises the often-neglected impact of policy entrepreneurs and the local political stream.¹⁰¹ We have seen how a parents association, industry and trade groups, local cultural workers, and municipal politicians formed a private–public partnership in order to re-establish Fryx by appropriating the principle of privatisation. On the one hand, the debate took place primarily in the political stream between politicians, administrators, and the parents association. On the other hand, there were those in the private sector who acted more covertly by providing symbolic support. In the end, state finance reforms and policy actors inside and outside municipal government were involved in the project. A change in the governing party and the introduction of the voucher system were crucial in coupling the streams of problems, solutions, and the political context, in all of which overarching budget considerations may have had both limiting and enabling effects.¹⁰²

This case study illustrates how state finance reforms may affect the local policy-making landscape, and how a specific municipal implementation was determined by contextual conditions and time-specific circumstances. The narrative descriptions highlight the factors that influenced policymakers' calculations and decisions. MSF has aided in examining policy flows and transitions by condensing findings into a systemic architecture, thus providing a toolkit for translating context-specific events and statements into a common language of historical knowledge-building.

My findings suggest the need for further case studies of localisation issues. Under-researched topics in the field include relationships between the marketisation of school funding and urban planning strategies. While researchers in the history of education have documented the growing establishment of private–public partnerships in the provision of schooling, urban studies have demonstrated how market principles operate in the public management of premises and facilities, resulting in municipal companies, sell-off estates, and rental contracts.¹⁰³ From such a perspective, localisation issues may provide a fruitful basis for examining of the intersection between the municipal privatisation of public education and the new phenomenon of public property management.

98 Blomqvist (2004); Román (2013).

99 Kingdon (2014).

100 Lindberg (2013); Westberg (2017).

101 Westberg (2017).

102 Kingdon (2014).

103 Thörn (2012).

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Channelling Nationalisms: Yugoslavisms in Croatian and Serbian Schoolbooks in the 60s and 70s

Mersija Fetibegović

Abstract • This article examines how common histories were represented in Yugoslavian schoolbooks in 1960s–1970s Serbia and Croatia. National discourse analysis is used in combination with Benedict Anderson’s notion of imagined communities to define central themes in the sources. Yugoslavia’s Marxist education aimed to create socialist citizens and pioneers beyond national boundaries. At the same time, schoolbook authors used nationalisms as keys to evoke a class consciousness. These “national filters” in describing class struggle relate to tribal nationalisms in the 60s. In the 70s, socialist patriotism gradually replaced tribal narratives in schoolbooks. Schoolbook authors were however still (re)creating nationalities for seemingly instrumental purposes to accomplish a revolution. This article shows how supranational Yugoslavism(s) was constructed and negotiated and how tensions between socialism and nationalisms were mediated via mass education.

Keywords • schoolbooks, nationalism, socialism, Yugoslavia, nationalities

Introduction: “Yugoslav socialist consciousness” and schoolbooks as mediators in SFR Yugoslavia

After the end of WWII, when the Communist party replaced the monarchy in Yugoslavia, the party members claimed to have finally solved the national question in the multicultural state. The solution was socialism—based upon the idea of Brotherhood and Unity among the peoples—as a new cultural approach to the national question. Cosmopolitan socialism would prevail over nationalism. However, this solution soon became more complex as the concept of “Brotherhood and Unity” was already rooted in an older and nationally oriented South Slavic kinship. As a consequence of this link, the cultural content of Yugoslav socialism became the subject of continuous debate between those party members who were federalists and those who were centralists. Due to this debate, the party members gradually shifted focus from socialist South Slavic aspirations towards an overarching principle of socialist patriotism. Through a Marxist interpretation, the party members treated the national consciousness as false while the real one was considered to be the class consciousness. In line with this view, the state was seen as predestined to wither away.¹

These political issues, debates and parallel existing efforts of conceptualising Yugoslavia in new ways occurred over several decades and permeated the educational system, which, in turn, was reorganised during the post-war period. Education became mandatory for every child and illiterate adult, schools took shape as crucial socialising arenas, and educational teaching materials became important as prime mediating tools for communicating new ideas and political directives to future citizens. As is well known, Yugoslavia disintegrated in the 90s.

¹ Katrine H. Haug, *Creating a Socialist Yugoslavia: Tito, Communist Leadership and the National Question* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2012), 1–8, 119; Dejan Jović, “Yugoslavism and Yugoslav Communism: From Tito to Kardelj,” in *Yugoslavism: Histories of a Failed Idea*, ed. Dejan Djokić (London: Hurst & Co, 2003), 156–61.

Aim and research questions

In tracing back to identify Yugoslav socialism in this political setting, this article aims to highlight how this supranationalism was presented, renegotiated and mediated through schoolbooks in the socialist republics of Croatia and Serbia in the 60s and 70s. There is a specific focus on how common histories was represented, which leads to the question: What kind of conceptions are launched in terms of cultural history and how does these conceptions relate to different perceptions of Yugoslavism vis-à-vis sub-nationalisms? How is supranationalism renegotiated? Furthermore, what is the relationship between nationalism and socialism in the schoolbooks and can tensions between these two ideological concepts be discerned? All in all, this article aims to shed light on how educational material helped to mediate representations of common pasts and contributed to the re-creation of multiple nationalities in former Yugoslavia.

The source material

The focus of this article in relation to the mentioned political changes is thus educational material in the form of schoolbooks. The main principle guiding the selection of data is that the books were authorised by the republican administrators. Thus, the source material for the study was officially approved for educational purposes within the framework of party politics and its official historiography. This means that the cultural content that was provided by the authors could not clash with the official agenda of the authorities.

What started out as a rather broad selection process—including some 50 books—in the end resulted in an empirical sample consisting of twelve officially approved schoolbooks published during the 1960s and 1970s in the socialist republics of Croatia (SRC) and Serbia (SRS). To fulfil the aim of this article, the schoolbook material also needed to contain ideologies of Yugoslavism. Since the supranational concept of socialist Yugoslavism predominantly relied on the ties between two major groups—Serbs and Croats—the empirical sample was chosen from the socialist contexts of Croatia and Serbia. This selected material thus reflects only how supranationalism was mediated through and renegotiated in the educational media in these two republics and not in other republics or autonomous regions.

Five of these schoolbooks were published in Croatia while seven originated from Serbia, making the sources quite evenly distributed between the two republics. Six were published in the 60s and six in the 70s, which reflects the political renegotiation of the socialist Yugoslavism in the educational material. The material consists of two Croatian textbooks, one in geography and one in history, for upper secondary school, and also eight reading books and two handbooks for secondary and upper secondary school. These reading books are called *čitanke* and were frequently used for educational purposes in order to combat illiteracy, along with school handbooks (*priručnici*). These schoolbooks were often accompanied by textbooks that contained maps and descriptions of historical events. The selection of schoolbooks thus consists of a certain variation of genres. The reading books and handbooks are selected from within the field of cultural history, consisting of Yugoslavian literature with selections of prominent authors. Other reading books consist of collections of folk tales, lyrics and poems with supplementary descriptive and interpretative content for the pupils.

As scholars like Simone Lässig have pointed out, textbook research alone reduces the overall underlying complexities of historical, social, and cultural contexts in which textbooks become produced and renegotiated. It is therefore desirable to go beyond the textbook in the narrow sense and include a greater variety of source materials. Different types of schoolbooks will reflect how national discourses are constructed through various genres in the broader educational context in which textbooks are conditioned.² The combination of different types of schoolbooks highlights the cultural ideals and values in the educational media in these two republics during the Socialist era. Because all selected schoolbooks were authorised by the republican administrators and addresses Yugoslav ideologies, they are appropriate sources for a study that sets out to examine patriotic Yugoslavism as a part of the Titoist historiography.

Theoretical approach and methodological considerations

In order to conduct a study of the production and renegotiation of supranationalism in schoolbooks, the theoretical question of what constitutes a nation needs to be addressed. This article takes a general theoretical stance in Benedict Anderson's concept of the nation as an imagined political community that is both inherently limited and sovereign. Narratives of a cartographic space and histories of group inclusion and exclusion in turn determine the boundaries and limitations of the nation. The notion of sovereignty is provided with, for instance, narratives of liberation, and thus it contributes to a national biography and projects a mental image with a notion of individuality.³

This theoretical approach thus presupposes the view on the origins of *national identities* as a non-static and mobile process which is dependent on politics and historical bonds between social groups.⁴ Recent research stresses the significance of co-existence between multiple nationalities, which enables supranational communities.⁵ The texts from the schoolbooks are analysed through the lenses of national discursive representations. This means that the national discursive representations could not be handled mere as a text, but will reflect the overall historical and socio-political reality with the standardised norms, values, attitudes and practices of that time.

In the initial stage of the analysis, sentences, titles, words, citations and paragraphs that represented any form of national content were extracted from the schoolbooks. Furthermore, the analysis consisted of a categorisation of the subjects in the representations and their positions in the narrative. The subjectification highlights which in-groups become alienated in the sentences and what this means in terms of oppression and hostility. Three main themes were initially formulated for the analysis: a) *The development of national territory or territories*, b) *The reactionaries—internal and external enemies*, and c) *The cultural uniqueness(es)—The revolutionaries*.

2 See Simone Lässig, "Textbooks and Beyond: Educational Media in Context(s)," *The Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 1, no. 1 (2009), 7–11.

3 Benedict Anderson, *Den föreställda gemenskapen: Reflexioner kring nationalismens ursprung och spridning* [Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism] (Göteborg: Daidalos, 2005), 21–22.

4 See the work of Fredrik Barth (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co, 1969).

5 David Corkill, "Multiple National Identities, Immigration and Racism in Spain and Portugal," in *Nation and Identity in Contemporary Europe*, ed. Brian Jenkins and Spyros A. Sofos (London: Routledge, 1996), 155–60.

These themes are inspired by the works of Wodak, de Cillia, and Reisigl.⁶ These three themes, can in turn be seen as linking to a process of territorialisation, alienation and homogenisation that together shape conceptions of an imagined community. These three methodological themes are thus operationalised through Anderson's theory and expose histories and a metanarrative that contribute to a greater understanding of what kinds of teleological narratives such as supranationalism relies on. The chronologies and histories vary from the medieval period to modern times and are presented in the same way in several themes in which nationality (-ies) can be shaped.

After examining and analysing the three themes, an additional fourth theme also emerged in the schoolbooks labelled: d) *Embodied tensions between socialism and nationalisms*. Anderson argued that Marxists in essence are nationalists but they have largely ignored rather than confronted issues concerning nationalism.⁷ In regard to Anderson's critique, nationalism within a Marxist theoretical outlook is treated in this fourth theme that deals with ideological antagonisms and postulations in the schoolbooks between socialism and nationalisms. Because the class struggle takes place within the nation according to Marxist theoretical frameworks, these four categories together can be seen as exposing the class struggle and how tensions between socialism and nationalisms appear. These representations in turn creates a conception of "us" versus "them," which shows the unique abstraction of how a socialist community ought to be portrayed.

Previous research: History, political context and historical representations in schoolbooks

In the aftermath of the Yugoslav conflicts of the 90s, scholars began looking at the ideological and structural conditions for the integration and disintegration of the various Yugoslav state structures.⁸ However, these studies did not provide clear and specific knowledge as to how histories were mediated through education, let alone how representations in schoolbooks can launch historical conceptions that help mediate supranationalism. In order to understand how supranationalism was developed and renegotiated, we have to pay close attention to research regarding the political and educational contexts.

The various levels at which collective identification patterns circulated in Yugoslavia in the 60s and 70s do not have hard boundaries, and are therefore not easily distinguished. A notion of commonality among various peoples operated on several levels during this time. State buildings in the Kingdom period and in the Socialist era functioned as unified wholes through a patchwork of nationalities. However, Yugoslavism was not *one* ideology, but rather several ideologies that became a subject of negotiation by various elites in the 20th century. Therefore, the notion of commonness among the Yugoslav peoples had different connotations at different times. The state composition and renegotiation of the concept of "Brotherhood" among the elite can be more easily categorized into a *South Slavic* brotherhood, a *socialist brotherhood* among the working class, a *centralist* arrangement, and a *decentralist* arrangement.

6 Ruth Wodak, Rudolph de Cillia, and Martin Reisigl, "The Discursive Construction of National Identities," *Discourse & Society* 10, no. 2 (1999), 153–55.

7 Anderson (2005), 19, 154.

8 See the works of Haug (2013); Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics* (Ithaca: U.P. Cornell, 1984); Sabrina Ramet, *The Three Yugoslavias: State-Building and Legitimation, 1918–2005* (Washington D.C: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2006).

Consequently, the historical representations in schoolbooks regarding nationalism and socialist patriotism underwent too many changes in this region due to regime changes or political reforms in the 20th and 21st centuries. This lack of stability in turn led to clashes between generations regarding knowledge, identities, cultural values, attitudes and notions concerning “us” versus “them.”

Prior to the unification of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, schoolbook researcher Charles Jelavich claimed that students in Serbia were unprepared for South Slav nationalism introduced in some schoolbooks a couple of years before the unification. Instead, schoolbooks in Serbia in the late 19th and early 20th century were filled with Greater Serbianism. Bosnia, for instance, was described as a land of Serbs (including three religious faiths) and the Croatian language was presented as a western Serbian dialect. The idea of South Slavism was simply introduced too late to prepare future Serb students to live under the same roof with Croats and Slovenes.⁹ Along with unification and the creation of a new state, *narodno jedinstvo* (national oneness) was introduced, which proclaimed that Serbs, Croats and Slovenes were not distinct, but rather one South Slavic kindred folk with three names (*troimeni narod*).¹⁰ This idea, however, was not favoured by many Croats and Slovenes in a centralist state.

A schoolbook study conducted by Pieter Troch focused on the interwar period (1920–1940), during King Alexanders’ rule. Troch highlights how tribal Yugoslavism was promoted through what he calls parallelism in the textbooks. This parallelism connected several historical and religious cultures into one greater overarching South Slavic national experience in which Serbs had a specific leading and normative role among these national representations. The nation was a subject of negotiation, making Yugoslavism in the Kingdom indecisive, according to Troch.¹¹

Bearing in mind that both Greater Serbianism, South Slavism, and confessionalisms in schoolbooks were continuously renegotiated and became a subject of social design, it came as no surprise that the Communists later treated these nationalisms in schoolbooks as “false,” meaning that they were designs invented by political elites rather than reflections of “objective” national boundaries.

The bourgeois invention of nationalism can be seen through the prism of historical materialism in schoolbooks where history was presented as progress to advanced stages of human relationships and social orders. History starts from primitive life, proceeds to slavery, feudalism, and capitalism, for which imperialism and fascism serve as a superstructure of the bourgeoisie. The Marxist framework has in this sense ultimate means and functions, with the ultimate point of human development being the classless society. Nationalism and ethnocentrism were however encouraged in Yugoslav schoolbooks, although international solidarity in a socialist sense was advocated. Revolutionary leaders were idolized, while the ruling classes were denounced.¹²

9 Charles Jelavich, “Serbian Textbooks: Toward Greater Serbia or Yugoslavia?” *Slavic Review* 42, no. 4 (1983): 605, 609, 614–15, 618.

10 Zdenko Zlatar, “The building of Yugoslavia: The Yugoslav Idea and the First Common State of the South Slavs,” *Nationalities Papers* 25, no. 3 (1997), 391; Dejan Djokić, *Elusive Compromise: A History of Interwar Yugoslavia* (London: Hurst & Co, 2007), 21; Banac (1984), 98..

11 Pieter Troch, “Between Yugoslavism and Serbianism: Reshaping Collective Identity in Serbian Textbooks Between the World Wars,” *History and Education* 41, no. 2 (2012), 193; Pieter Troch, “Yugoslavism Between the World Wars: Indecisive Nation Building,” *Nationalities Papers* 38, no. 2 (2010), 227, 239.

12 John Georgeoff, “Nationalism in the History Textbooks of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria,” *Comparative Education Review* 10, no. 3 (1966), 442, 448. John Georgeoff, “Social Studies in Yugoslav Elementa-

Given the fact that nationalisms were to be regarded as false *within a nation*, the remnants of integral (tribal) Yugoslavism in schoolbooks were supposed to be meaningless in a socialist sense. Socialist Yugoslavism was however, elaborated by various literary historians, party officials, intellectuals, educational ministers, lawyers and ideologues. In the 70s, the ideas of the economist Edvard Kardelj increasingly replaced those of the conservatives and unitarists.¹³ These political decisions by the authorities increasingly supported the rights of minorities, strengthened ethnic individualities and particularities, with the overall principle of “unity in diversity.” Decentralisation and self-management politics were the expression of de-étatism, with party members working actively to achieve a process in which the state would wither away. By so doing, the authorities never attempted to create nationalities at all. The notion of “Brotherhood” and “Yugoslavhood” became exclusively socialist, meaning brotherhood among the working class.¹⁴ Jović claims that the official narrative of socialism divided people exclusively into “forces of the past” and “progressive forces.”¹⁵ However, Haug points out that the political elite wanted to promote a “Yugoslav socialist consciousness” that would complement and not deny existing individual national cultures.¹⁶ Following Marx’s view that the proletariat must gain political power and “constitute itself *the nation*,” the Yugoslav elite argued that class consciousness could arise by the means of national emancipation.¹⁷ Previous research thus clearly shows that Yugoslav supranationalism was rooted in co-operation among several historical cultures.¹⁸ In the present study, Yugoslavism(s) is regarded both as a form of *supranationalism* and *socialist-civic* citizenship. The Yugoslav state was a social contract between federal units, but the state was provisional and any attempt to create a nation was undesirable.

Although the concept of “ethnos” was meant to be abolished theoretically in accordance with the anti-statist ideological narrative, Jurica Botić pointed out that we can follow an (ethno)-terminology wandering from three nations (Serb, Croat and Slovene) to six nations/people (*narod*) in Yugoslav history textbooks (adding Macedonian, Muslim, Montenegrin, but not counting “Yugoslav” as one more national

ry Schools,” *The Elementary School Journal* 66, no. 8 (1966), 436–37. Wayne S. Vucinich also notes when reviewing a wider Yugoslav historiography, that the historians must be careful not to emphasize achievements of one ethnicity at the expense of another. These representations, as he states, “could not further create exclusive ethnical monopolies.” Wayne S. Vucinich, “Post-war Yugoslav Historiography,” *The Journal of Modern History* 23, no. 1 (1951), 41–42.

13 Ramet (2006), 217–19; Haug (2012), 163, 182, 185; Tomaž Ivešić, “The Yugoslav National Idea Under Socialism: What Happens When a Soft Nation-Building Project Is Abandoned?,” *Nationalities Papers* 49, no. 1 (2021), 142–61.

14 Jović (2003), 161, 165–66.

15 Dejan Jović, “Communist Yugoslavia and Its ‘Others,’” in *Ideologies and National Identities: The Case of Twentieth-Century Southeastern Europe*, ed. John Lampe and Mark Mazower (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2004), 280–83.

16 Haug (2012), 150. See also the development of a “Yugoslav socialist consciousness” with Marxist perspectives on South Slavic aspirations in Sanimir Resić, *En historia om Balkan: Jugoslaviens uppgång och fall* [A history of Balkans: The rise and fall of Yugoslavia] (Lund: Historiska media, 2010), 238–39.

17 Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967), 102.

18 Vesna V. Godina, “The outbreak of nationalism on Former Yugoslav Territory: A Historical Perspective on the Problem of Supranational Identity,” *Nations and Nationalism* 4, no. 3 (1998), 409, 416.

category) while also adding minorities/peoples (*narodnosti*) to socialist patriotism.¹⁹ Jelena Marković studied the (re)construction of identities in schoolbooks for Croatian children from 1945 up to today. Marković pointed out that the wartime enemies were simply those who were the “stealers of the common good” of the peoples or those who “weren’t satisfied” with the brotherhood of the Yugoslav peoples.²⁰

Class conflict and representations of the bourgeoisie needed to be introduced as something tangible at the earliest ages and later develop into something abstract. In order to develop and expand the microcosm of the child, Marković claimed that educational material needed to start from the closest surroundings of a child (home and family) and then expand into the public domain and more distant social surroundings—following the local, regional, republican, the federation and lastly the global.²¹ This hierarchy that appears in Croatian schoolbooks creates identities that are ideological, communal and territorial-political rather than ethnic.

Tea Sindbæk focused mainly on how internal warfare during WWII was presented in the educational material. She mentioned that national hatred was externalised and blamed on occupational forces, ruling classes and the fascists who were marionettes of the Axis powers. The people, however, were not to be blamed for this hatred.²² According to history didactics researcher Snježana Koren, this above-mentioned narrative of the People’s Liberation Struggle provided the basis for legitimizing the socialist regime, along with Tito and CPY.²³ By comparing newer and older Croatian textbooks, Koren concluded that those under the socialist regime were heavily ideologised, while those from the 90’s were ethnicised. Marxism and Yugoslavism were then abandoned at the expense of Croatism.²⁴ Similar processes of fragmented and ethnicised content in schoolbooks took place in Serbia.²⁵ From the 90’s onward, schoolbook content in post-socialist countries has increasingly replaced the concept of “class” with exclusivist and mono-national identities. This process has correlated with socio-economic conditions like globalisation and neoliberal policies.²⁶

19 Jurica Botić, “Problem nacije u jugoslavenskim udžbenicima povijesti [The Issue of the Nation in Yugoslav Schoolbooks in History],” *Školski vjesnik* 61, no. 4 (2012), 498, 502–4.

20 Jelena Marković, “(Re)konstrukcije identiteta u udžbeničkoj produkciji: Analiza sadržaja udžbenika za prva četiri razreda osnovne škole od 1945. godine do danas [(Re)constructions of identity in the production of schoolbooks: Content analysis of schoolbooks from the four first years of elementary school from 1945 until today],” *Narodna umjetnost: Hrvatski časopis za etnologiju i folkloristiku* 43, no. 2 (2006), 72–73.

21 Marković (2006), 69, 72, 87.

22 Tea Sindbæk, *Usable History? Representations of Yugoslavia’s Difficult Past From 1945 to 2002* (Copenhagen: Aarhus University Press, 2012), 82–86.

23 Snježana Koren, *Politika povijesti u Jugoslaviji (1945–1960). Komunistička partija Jugoslavije, nastava povijesti, historiografija* [The politics of History in Yugoslavia (1945–1960): The Communist Party of Yugoslavia, History Education, Historiography] (Zagreb, Srednja Europa, 2012), 309–77.

24 Snježana Koren, “Slike nacionalne povijesti u hrvatskim udžbenicima uoči i nakon raspada Jugoslavije [Images of National History in Croatian Textbooks Before and After the Breakup of Yugoslavia],” *Historijski zbornik* 60 (2007), 259–63.

25 Irena Rejić, “Национална историја у школским уџбеницима: од југословенске до националистичке интерпретације: компаративна анализа уџбеника историје из 1978, 1994. и 2002. године [National History in Schoolbooks: From the Yugoslav to the Nationalist Interpretation: A Comparative Analysis of History Schoolbooks from 1978, 1994 and 2002],” *Часопис Архива Југославије* 1–2 (2016), 171, 186–87.

26 Tatjana T. Kostić, “Образовање у друштвеном контексту [Education in the Social Context],” *Sociološki pregled* 54, no. 1 (2020), 144–47.

The present article focuses specifically on the pre-90s. The objective is steered towards how Yugoslav socialism was developed and renegotiated in educational material in the 60's and 70's and how the relationships between sub-identities were intertwined and connected to (Yugoslav) socialism. In previous research about Yugoslavian schoolbooks, tensions and interactions between nationalism, socialism, ideology, and class have either been overlooked or ignored. This article analyses national representations and imagined communities in Yugoslav schoolbooks through a dynamic analytical approach, where tensions between ideological concepts are seen as conflated. This article shows how supranationalism and national representations appeared in schoolbooks in a socialist country where nationalism was aimed to be contained on the one hand and obliterated on the other.

The development of multiple national identities through common pasts in schoolbooks

What follows in this article are the four themes a) *The development of national territory or territories* b) *The reactionaries - internal and external enemies* and c) *The cultural uniqueness(es)—The revolutionaries*. Taken together, these themes could be seen as generating, to use Anderson's word, "a limited imagined community." A fourth and final theme that is introduced in the analysis can be regarded as consisting of elements in the schoolbooks that aims to contain and undermine nationalisms, namely d) *Embodied tensions between socialism and nationalisms*.

The development of national territory or territories

This theme refers to the geographic dimension of the state, for example the national territory being the creation of a geographical space within its specific national boundaries. The nation is portrayed through a discursive interpretation as a place, a landscape in which a metaphoric "homeland" appears. What is very apparent in the schoolbooks, is that the authors provided descriptions in order to form national attachment to the space even before the creation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and later Socialist Yugoslavia. The history of the territory was represented in a teleological way, with the borders evolving in a certain direction and being finally determined in the second Yugoslavia. Metaphorically speaking, the borders prior to the second Yugoslavia were thus presented as something temporary and incomplete while the borders of the second Yugoslavia were presented as completed space. In a Croatian geography textbook this was articulated as follows:

Some parts of present-day Yugoslavia were liberated from the Turks only in 1913, and others from Austria-Hungary as late as 1918. Turkish domination caused a centuries-long stagnation in the development of the eastern parts of our country, and Austria-Hungary—the subordination of the development of the western parts of present-day Yugoslavia to economic centres located outside our national territory.²⁷

What is evident in this sentence is that the national space is depicted as an eastern and a western part, equally lacking freedom in different ways. While the eastern parts are

²⁷ Veljko Rogić and Stanko Žuljić, *Geografija Jugoslavije: Udžbenik za 4 razred gimnazije* (8th ed. Zagreb: Školska knjiga 1972), 191.

described as underdeveloped, the western parts are portrayed as economically exploited. The sentence indirectly implies that the state is now a complete totality that was formerly a space that lacked national independence. What is evident in the text books is that this space didn't have a specific name prior and geographical possession was created by referring to the space as the "Pannonian peninsula," "our regions," "our soil," "our countries," or simply "our neighbourhoods."²⁸ Geographical conceptualisations was widely used, as in this example with overlapping descriptions of the Serbian statehood and the Austro-Hungarian Empire prior the unification:

The beginning of the 20th century in many ways meant the continuation of the already ushered in movements in the socio-political life of the Yugoslav peoples. For some, like the Serbs, it was a time of unquestionable ascendancy of capitalist economic and social relations. Similar socio-economic processes were taking place among the Croats and Slovenes, who remained under the rule of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Capitalism had finally shattered traditions and old patriarchal relations, fully consolidating its power and its rule.²⁹

Likewise, one Croatian geography textbook presented students with questions such as: "What was the geographical position of Ljubljana and its development?" or "Give a geographical explanation of the economical and the cultural-national role of Kruševac!"³⁰ Using the educational system to create a socialist Yugoslav mind-set in geographical terms entailed creating a scope that would incorporate not just the territory of just one people or one republic, but the territory of the state as a whole. In a Serbian reading book, Croatian territories were represented where it also created geographical conceptualisations that overlapped empires:

While the Turks ruled almost the entire Balkans, Dalmatia was held by the Venetians, and northern and western Croatia by the Austrians. Fighting went on for centuries on the border between these parts of our country and the Turkish Empire.³¹

Such geographical conceptualisations create an image of a proto-national space. Pupils were given explanations as to why the border with Hungary was the oldest one, formed after the first world war, while the "youngest border" was with Italy, which was "definitively decided" after the Second World War. By using words such as "youngest" and "oldest," to specify the *ages* of the borders, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia is conceptualised teleological, as a preliminary stage of the nation, and the second Yugoslavia as an ultimate stage.³² In that sense, the state was to be regarded as born in 1945, while the Kingdom was described as a *prelude* to the second Yugoslavia.

28 See for example Rogić and Žuljić (1974); Miroslav Krleža, *Eseji i Zapisi: lektira za srednje škole* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1977); Petar Gudelj, *Na zvezdanim drumovima: Čitanka za VIII razred osnovne škole* (6th Rev. ed. Belgrade: Naučna knjiga, 1971); Tomo Čubelić and Dragutin Plavličević, *Povijest 2: Udžbenik za srednje škole*, (4th ed. Zagreb: Školska knjiga 1979); Tvrtko Čubelić, *Narodne pripovijetke* (4th. Rev. ed. Zagreb: Školska knjiga 1963), 29.

29 Dragutin A. Stefanović and Vukašin Stanislavljević, *Pregled jugoslovenske književnosti: Priručnik za srednje škole* (Vol 4, 5th. ed. Belgrade: Prosveta, 1968), 34.

30 Rogić and Žuljić (1972), 92.

31 Gudelj (1971), 323.

32 Rogić and Žuljić (1972), 10.

The work of the Croatian partisan poet Vladimir Nazor was presented in a Croatian reading book, with the author using Nazor's lifetime to highlight the evolution of unification:

In early adulthood, he experienced the Balkan War with victories over Turkey, the First World War with a reversal of the fortunes of war, the collapse of Austria-Hungary, the creation of Yugoslavia, and the tension and injustice within it. In his old age, he saw the collapse of Yugoslavia, the occupation, lived through the People's Liberation Struggle, and welcomed its victorious end.³³

For students in Croatia, the sentence produces a conceptualisation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia initially as an historical achievement, while the occupation during the WWII is presented as a threat of potential annihilation of the nation. Depicting the "old" Yugoslavia as a prelude to the second was also the case in a Serbian reading book where questions were directed to students such as: Have you heard about the fall of old Yugoslavia? What was the reason for its fall? Did the people want to protect their country and their freedom?³⁴ In a Croatian textbook from the 70's, a sentence marks how the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was in a sense "incomplete" due to the politics relating to the national question and because it "lacked" national territories that formed part of Italy and Austria:

The territory of the new state consisted of these countries: Serbia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Slovenia (excluding parts that were under Italian and Austrian rule). The total area of the new state was 247,542 km² with approximately 12 million inhabitants. According to the interpretation of the ruling circles, the population of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes included only three recognised tribes (Serbs, Croats and Slovenes), which they considered to be one people. Macedonians and Montenegrins were not granted the right to a tribal and national name but were considered Serbs, whereas Muslims were treated as Croats or Serbs of the Islamic faith. There was a large number of people living in the country whose rights were not respected. The most numerous among them were Albanians, Hungarians, Germans, Turks, followed by Czechs and Slovaks.³⁵

This passage shows how a new approach was taken in the 70's history textbook where socialist patriotism was advocated instead of the former integral, trinomial Yugoslavism. In this paragraph, a lack of equality for unrecognised tribes and peoples is stressed. The word "tribal" and "national" are used as synonyms with no further distinction between the words. The second Yugoslavia with its federal borders thus becomes justified, while the first one is represented as problematic with unsolved national issues. In this paragraph, Macedonians, Montenegrins and Muslims are nationally recognised as part of the state. This in turn creates a conceptualisation of "extended" tribes, synonymous nationalities, where also minorities, or "peoples" are

33 Dimitrije Vučenov and Radmilo Dimitrijević, *Čitanka za IV razred gimnazije*, (9th ed. Belgrade: Beogradski izdavačkografički zavod, 1971), 67.

34 Radmilo Dimitrijević and Dimitrije Vučenov, *Čitanka za VIII razred osnovne škole* (9th. ed. Belgrade: Štampa vojno štamparsko preduzeće, 1963), 248.

35 Čubelić and Plavličević (1979), 44.

acknowledged in the socialist representation. Even though negative representations regarding the first centralistic, bourgeois Yugoslavia are stressed, it is still associated with a progressive historical achievement and thus creates a mind-map of an old nation that is connected with the new state which creates a notion of consecutiveness. The space was described as being of importance for foreigners in a reading book, meaning the imperial powers. One empire was replacing another, and foreign powers were constantly trying to block the territorial integrity of the people who populated the area. For instance:

Even during Kočić's life, the Bosnian villages and peasants were severely oppressed by serfdom, the remnants of Turkish feudalism, Aghas and Beys. On the other hand, the capitalist mode of exploitation brought by Austria with its occupation of Bosnia was just as harsh. Now, instead of one, there were two masters, and each sought for himself the benefit of peasant labour. The Bosnian peasants fought against this as best they could. Petar Kočić was one of their most prominent political leaders and a tireless fighter for the liberation of the Bosnian peasantry.³⁶

Here, the Bosnian peasants were described as first suffering under the Ottoman authorities and later under Austro-Hungarian rule. While the Ottoman Empire was described as an old, backward feudal order, the capitalist Austro-Hungarian rule was portrayed as equally onerous as the Ottoman rule. Different *types* of imperialism were described in one Croatian reading book by means of cardinal points depending on which areas of the territory were subjected to imperialism. For instance:

Križanić came from Croatia, occupied by enemy troops of northern (Austrian), southern (Italian) and Turkish (eastern) imperialism, which was the object of foreign spheres of interest, a Balkan battlefield and a post of German mercenaries.³⁷

The subject of this sentence is not the totality of Yugoslav space, but rather the Croatian space, and the Croatian author Juraj Križanić, who was "the first great pan-Slavist" during the 17th century. The schoolbooks thus provided students with mind-maps of the existing proto-nations prior to the nation-building processes. In that sense, the educational system provided pupils with proto-Yugoslav and at the same time proto-Croatian and proto-Bosnian descriptions of the territory prior to the existence of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and Communist Yugoslavia. However, such conceptualisations also create an idea that world powers rule over the territories. Sometimes, the self-management politics also reflected geographical mental pictures of the republics and territories as demonstrated in a Croatian textbook through Titos words to the pupils:

I would like to tell you a thing or two about brotherhood and unity. It is a great, holy thing. Without brotherhood and unity, there can be no strong and happy Yugoslavia, and without a strong and happy Yugoslavia, there can be no strong and happy Croatia, Serbia,

³⁶ Dimitrije Vučenov and Ljubica Živanović Klajn, *Čitanka za VII razred osnovne škole* (13th ed. Belgrade: Štampa vojno štamparsko preduzeće, 1964), 104.

³⁷ Krleža (1977), 254.

Macedonia, Montenegro, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina. One cannot exist without the other. When we talk about a federal Yugoslavia, we do not mean separatism, but a new model of the state, a model of a new Yugoslavia, in which everyone will be able to govern themselves, and at the same time be part of a single state, of which we will be proud in front of the whole world and which already today enjoys such a reputation among all advanced civilisations as no other country in the Balkans has ever done.³⁸

The quote to the pupils does not create conceptual hierarchies in terms of mental borders, however, creating mental borders for socialist republics and socialist Yugoslavia did not completely cover up older national ideologies. In one Croatian reading book, the South Slavist intellectual and Croatian bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer was mentioned, who in 1867 founded the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb.³⁹ An opponent to Strossmayer's South Slavic aspirations was Ante Starčević, who promoted Greater Croatian aspirations and was described in the Croatian schoolbook as a rightist regarding the Serbian Question. In the further passage that follows, the schoolbook author describes how the Greater Croatian aspirations does not contradict the Yugoslav idea:

There is no need to overthrow the Old Man [Ante Starčević] in Strossmayer's favour, for there must be room on our altars for both the Shepherd and the Leader. Like anything great, they complement each other. Greater Croatia and Yugoslavia are in fact one and the same. For Harambašić, the Croatian homeland—that of Illyrians, spans from Triglav to the Balkans.⁴⁰

The sentence above shows that the author implements the historical notion of a Greater Croatia within a Yugoslav territorial framework. This shows how different nationalisms were channelled into a revolutionary cause in the educational material. Therefore, all forms of nationalism become simply a prerequisite for Marxism. In that sense, the ideology of Greater Croatism was adjusted and channelled into the ideology of Yugoslavism. These representations of the space thus stressed the historical nation(s) and socialist republics both in sovereign *and* integral frameworks. As a result, many different ideological and conceptual options appear.

According to Anderson, the function of maps contributes to a cartographic discourse that is composed of a politico-biographical narrative linked to a specific space. This cartographic discourse in turn is vital for the creation of a national consciousness.⁴¹ In this particular case, we see how proto-national geographical spaces were presented in schoolbooks prior to the creation of the two Yugoslav state buildings. In summary, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was presented as a prelude space, incomplete and with political issues concerning the national question, while the second Yugoslavia was presented as the final space in which both socialist-republican countries were represented, while at the same time older national ideologies were intertwined

38 Čubelić and Plavličević (1979), 280.

39 Resić (2010), 128.

40 Vice Zaninović, *Čitanka s pregledom jugoslavenskih književnosti za IV razred gimnazije*, (9th ed. Zagreb: Školska knjiga 1965), 89.

41 Anderson (2005), 168.

in a Yugoslav territorial landscape. Given these multiplicities of representations, several types of national conceptualisations appear, all within the framework of the finite, second Yugoslav geographical image. Spaces-within-space are presented within this theme, thus consolidating multiple (national) and socialist identities on several levels due to the use of several ideologies and different geographical conceptualisations in the schoolbook.

The reactionaries—internal and external enemies

In this theme I am analysing the in-group and out-group of the discursive interpretation of the nation. In other words, inclusiveness and exclusiveness as studied through the representations of “we” and “them” throughout history. By defining the antagonists in the historical representations, protagonists could also be identified, thus determining conceptualisations of nationhood. These in-groups in turn create a metaphoric nation, or at least the idea of *becoming* a nation while enemies of the nation are therefore traitors of a specific struggle. Such narratives create a conception of comradeship, thus consolidating an idea of collectivism. From this historical biography of alienation, any form of identity can be shaped.⁴²

In the socialist Yugoslav national identity that was implied in the textbooks, many enemies of the nation could be identified. First of all, every empire was portrayed as an enemy. The Roman Empire, the Ottoman Empire, Hungary, Austro-Hungary were portrayed as enemies, to name just a few. The West was also portrayed as an enemy. One author pointed out to the pupils, applying a Marxist perspective on why the whole of Balkans was materially colonised on behalf of the West:

The superiority of the Western European spirit followed the criminal victories of certain imperialisms as a shadow. This magnificent edifice of Western European civilisation was built on the bones of defeated and trampled peoples, among whom, unfortunately, were we, from Carinthia and Lake Balaton to Istria and Thessaloniki. The greatness of Byzantium and Constantinople, Aachen and Venice, the Lateran and the encyclopaedic case (let's call it that) is unfortunately quite dissimilar to the Western European versions of the justification of the victory of Arms and Spirit, because we belong to the category of those civilisations which could not develop because foreign forces denied us right to moral and material survival.⁴³

If we further view these representations in relation to previous research, they can be linked to Marxism, as Georgeoff found in the textbooks. But as can be seen, this passage surpasses even South Slavism. Instead, the conception of “we” is simply the trampled peoples in the Balkans. However, Troch identified representations of the South Slavs as being “Slaves of other peoples: Turks, Germans and Hungarians” in the textbooks prior the Communist rule.⁴⁴ Combining these results, it rather seems that this Marxist anti-colonial spinoff did not collide with the colonial representations of the interwar period.

A frequently used word in the textbooks in the context of different historical

42 Anderson (2005), 192.

43 Krleža (1977), 267.

44 Troch (2012), 183.

epochs in the region was the Serbo-Croatian word *tuđinci* or туђинци, meaning “foreigners” and another, *velike sile* which means “great powers.”⁴⁵ South Slav parallelisms could be found in the schoolbooks, which was also found by Troch in the pre-war period. A great example of the mutual South Slav subjection is in the representations of the battle of Kosovo Polje in 1389:

The Battle of Kosovo was the last joint attempt to stop the Turkish wave that was increasingly sweeping the Balkan Peninsula. The collapse of the Serbian army and the death of Prince Lazar reverberated in all South Slavic countries. The dam was breached and nothing more stood in the way of the Turkish torrent. One by one, our provinces lost their independence and fell under the Turks.⁴⁶

This representation opens up for a pluralistic South Slav historical consciousness. Kosovo was also presented in a Croatian geography textbook from the 70s as “Kosovo and Metohija,” thus primarily in favour for pan-Serb representations while also Macedonian historiography was developed.⁴⁷ At the same time, while the schoolbooks did provide histories of fraternity among the exploited South Slavic peoples, the out-groups in the books referred to South Slav ruling classes that historically found benefits from an empire. For instance, Serbian vassals were negatively portrayed and various elites, such as “Austrophiles,” “Germanophiles,” “Magyarophiles,” “Slovenian bourgeoisie,” “Croatian bourgeoisie” or “domestic bourgeoisie” in the schoolbooks.⁴⁸

During the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the “Serbian bourgeoisie” became an internal group during WWII that was negatively presented in the schoolbooks, representing an unequal, unitaristic and hegemonic society. The out-groups therefore become the trinominal “domestic bourgeoisie.” These results lie in line with Höpken’s findings of the South Slavic bourgeoisies as enemies in textbooks.⁴⁹ The ordinary Croat and Slovene people, however, were presented in a Serbian reading book as being subjected to denationalisation, Germanisation and Hungarisation.⁵⁰ The greater part of the population was presented as yearning for national freedom:

It was not easy for foreigners who in the past ruled over some of our peoples or parts of our lands, to hold on to power since the people offered constant resistance. At certain moments, that resistance turned into more serious and major conflicts. The desire for national freedom was expressed in other ways, too.⁵¹

45 Čubelić and Plavličević (1979), 6; Rogić and Žuljić (1972), 46; Krleža (1977), 268; Dragutin A. Stefanović, *Pregled jugoslovenske književnosti: Priručnik za srednje škole* (Vol 3, 3rd. ed. Belgrade: Štampa vojno štamparsko preduzeće, 1962), 23; Vučenov and Živanović-Klajn (1964), 69.

46 Gudelj (1971), 321.

47 Rogić and Žuljić (1972), 45.

48 Dimitrije Vučenov and Radmilo Dimitrijević, *Čitanka za III razred gimnazije* (11th ed. Belgrade: Beogradski izdavačkografički zavod, 1975), 6; Stefanović and Stanislavljević (1968), 130.

49 See Wolfgang Höpken, “History Education and Yugoslav (Dis)-Integration,” in *Öl ins Feuer?: Schulbücher, Ethnische Stereotypen und Gewalt in Südosteuropa* [Oil on Fire? Textbooks, Ethnic Stereotypes and Violence in South-Eastern Europe], ed. Wolfgang Höpken (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1996), 109.

50 Vučenov and Dimitrijević (1975), 92, 129.

51 Vučenov and Živanović-Klajn (1964), 69.

The in-groups in relation to the 60's integral Yugoslavism in the schoolbooks are therefore the lower classes of the trinomial people—Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The lessons to be presented to the student was that several elites sought to consolidate their economic positions throughout history, and foreign empires took advantage of this. These descriptions aim to evoke a class consciousness but are rather filtered through nationalisms.

The analysis of this theme has shown how in-groups and out-groups were strongly linked to the author's Marxist understanding of the histories of South Slavs and the Balkan region. Negative connotations of groups such as Turkish vassals, Austrophiles, Germanophiles, Magyarophiles and domestic bourgeoisie could be understood as the out-groups, meaning that the South Slavic political elite sought to hold on to power and consolidate their economic positions within empires, thus maintaining the empires and eliminating the possibility of socio-economic change and liberation for the in-groups, that is, the lower classes. Being under different empires, the South Slavs was being subjected to "denationalisation" in various ways. In one sense, a colonial past was presented in which out-groups referred to groups that supported foreign rule. These out-groups were the ruling elite, from which students were expected to distance themselves emotionally.

Supranationalism (being the class consciousness) was shaped in schoolbooks through representations of a deep fellowship between peasants and workers while denouncing South Slav upper classes and foreign forces. Such mediation creates conceptualisations of a specific community for the working class. But who was actually be seen as the Yugoslav working class differed and pupils' encountered various representations of national workers, of "us," in the 60s and 70s. In the next theme, findings concerning internal and external enemies are highlighted as an outcome of historical representations and experiences that together bring about a symbolic ethos—the *cultural uniqueness of revolutionaries*.

The cultural uniqueness(es)—The revolutionaries

In this theme I refer to the representations of "attitudes" or "behaviour" of the nation. The mental projection of a nation consists of "a way of being," a mentality, thus providing a cultural approach to the nation. Representations of distinctiveness in texts function to create a national uniqueness. These cultural attributes in the texts in turn create a conception of "us." In this sense, I am considering the cultural references to the nation in the texts. What cultural attributes were presented prior to the nation-building processes of the 20th century?

Primarily, it seemed to be a rebellious fighter with a love of freedom. As Anderson states, the notion of a sovereign state lies on the idea of liberation.⁵² One schoolbook author pointed out that the main history of the area should be that of centuries-old non-conformism, drawing parallels between the myth of the heretic Bogumils in medieval times and "Tito's heresy" with respect to Stalin in 1948. The Croatian peasant and ringleader Matija Gubec, who led the Croatian-Slovene Peasant revolt in 1573. In the following extract the ordinary Serb peasant Stanko becomes an opposer of the forces of the past, in this case the Ottomans but also of Serbian traitors. He chooses to leave his family and village to fight for a better role alongside the hajduks in the mountains:

52 Anderson (2005), 22.

The honourable village boy Stanko Aleksić was slandered by the traitors of the Serbian people, who conspired with the Turks, alleging that he stole a bag of money from his neighbour. In that way, the Turks wanted to fued a fight between fellow peasants in Crna Bara and embarrass one of the best and strongest cooperatives in the village. When the authorities came to search and found bags of money, which the Turkish flunkey Marinko buried in the dung in Stanko's yard, the suspicion of theft fell on Stanko whom they wanted to tie up and take to the Turks for trial. Stanko wouldn't let himself be tied up and instead took arms and went to the mountains to take revenge on those who wanted to tarnish his honour and that of his family. The hajduks took him on as a comrade after first testing his abilities.⁵³

There was praise for various groups that had fought the Ottomans during the Middle Age, such as the Uskoks.⁵⁴ However, much of this content was left over from the pre-war period.⁵⁵ Combining these pre-war elements with the new socialist order then created pre-revolutionary conceptualisations. One author that abandoned the integral Yugoslavism in a 70s Croatian reading book still projected a Slavocentric representation of Marxism to upper secondary school students:

The vital criterion and the fundamental axis of our civilisation is the developmental curve: Bogumils – Križanić – Kranjčević, while in the socio-national sphere it begins with Matija Gubec, the fall of the Bastille and the victory of the October Revolution as the only valid landmarks in the assessment of the past, critiques of the present, and projection of the future.⁵⁶

While on the one hand pointing to the Croatian author and missionary Juraj Križanić, who was the first recorded pan-Slavist, the French Revolution was of major significance for the “behaviour” of the state; it was after all a *socialist* peasant state born out of a class struggle. The national struggle was historically constrained by the “great powers” and differentiation and divergences among the peoples was created as a result of the territory being an economic sphere of interest for empires throughout history. Furthermore, the churches had negative connotation. The church institutions were propagating their ideas among the masses:

Even at the time of the Christianisation of our peoples, various churches waged a persistent and relentless struggle for the strongest possible influence over our peoples, to most fully, in ideological and moral terms, encompass and guide the people's feelings and opinions. For the churches to succeed to the fullest extent possible, and since they could not approach the people with their ecclesiastical and scholarly language, they used the vernacular in their work and to promote their ideas, that is, they tried to get closer to the phraseology and vocabulary of the spoken language.⁵⁷

53 Dimitrijević and Vučenov (1963), 106–7.

54 Čubelić (1963), 223.

55 See Ljubodrag Dimić and Danko Alimpić, “Stereotypes in History Textbooks in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia,” in *Öl ins Feuer?: Schulbücher, Ethnische Stereotypen und Gewalt in Südosteuropa* [Oil on Fire? Textbooks, Ethnic Stereotypes and Violence in South-Eastern Europe], ed. Wolfgang Höpken (Hanover: Hahnische Buchhandlung, 1996), 92.

56 Krleža (1977), 8. There is a lack of sources that support that Bogumils existed in the region. There were, however, people who referred to themselves as “Bošnjani,” who were Slavic Christian heretics with an autonomous Bosnian church. See Resić (2010), 33; Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: A Short History* (London: Macmillan, 1994), 31, 38–39.

57 Čubelić (1963), 9.

According to this text, the peoples of the territory were subjected to religious propagation from the churches. Religion was, in a Marxist sense, associated with backwardness and pupils were given questions such as: “Why did the church prevent people from becoming better acquainted with the laws of nature?” and “Has Christianity succeeded in stopping human research of nature and can it be permanently stopped by the pursuit of progress?”⁵⁸ Cultural uniqueness was, in a socialistic sense, primarily to be an atheist. For instance, one author instructed pupils not to address or title God; “The noun god, goddess, allah and jehova, are written with *small* letters.”⁵⁹ The word “anti-clerical” was a positive word, while the opposite was the case for “clerical.” Such historical representations shape a conceptualisation of Yugoslavia as a secular country that belongs to people of different backgrounds.

While fostering pupils into atheism, religion was indeed presented as something negative for the people. In a classical Marxist sense, religion was presented as the opium of the people, and as hindering them from understanding the scientific and material world. According to Banac, some proponents of the idea of South Slavic unification in the early 20th century presented religion as an obstacle, and the national approach within this tradition was seen as anti-clerical with a decline in religious sentiments.⁶⁰ In order to overcome religious barriers, the early South Slavic elites argued that commonalities could be stressed through anti-clericalism.

However, cultural pluralism was not presented as an obstacle in the schoolbooks, but rather as a source of national pride. The question of religious or cultural differences was therefore either denounced, ignored, or highlighted as a form of wealth. The paragraph below for instance, implicates cultural wealth despite diverse cultural and linguistic traditions. National pride was supposed to promote the atheist and secular progress of the nation, while exhibiting a pluralistic approach and promoting cultural diversity:

Our folk literature is a unique cultural and artistic heritage of all Yugoslav peoples and the single Yugoslav territory. As a thematic, ideological and linguistic whole, it could only emerge on such foundations and within such frameworks, overcoming narrow national interests and horizons. However, national themes and problems, as well as the fate of some of our peoples, provided the basis and roots for certain types of folk literature. In terms of the vital and most important element—the way in which the corpus is formed and its shared characteristics—a broader and common, Yugoslav criterion and aspect has been achieved.⁶¹

The apparent intention of the paragraph is to promote 60’s integral Yugoslavism, since it refers to folk literature traditions that are nationally coherent. In this quote, diverse national characteristics are treated within a broader cultural space. Cultural differentiation among the Slavic groups was acknowledged, often treated through parallelisms in the 60s educational material while ethnic particularities was strengthened in the 70’s. The narrative about the cultural uniqueness of the peoples before the na-

58 Vučenov and Živanović-Klajn (1964), 141.

59 Vučenov and Dimitrijević (1971), 560.

60 Banac (1984), 411.

61 Čubelić (1963), 48.

tion-building processes in the 20th century was the story of the rebellious freedom fighter, who was an ordinary, poor, exploited peasant who rose up against empires. The lesson for the ordinary student was that the heretical Bogumils, the rebellious Serb or Croat peasants, and the legends of irregular infantries of uskoks and hajduks symbolised popular uprisings against foreign rule and the ruling classes. In that sense, the representations of the 60's in schoolbooks were often coupled with the pre-war South Slavic excerpts and these groups and figures symbolised "us," the "progressive forces." Such cultural attributes and conceptualisations in the narratives strongly support workers and peasants' historical struggle for liberation.

Embodied tensions between socialism and nationalisms

With the exception of South Slavic parallelisms, Greater Serb and Greater Croat ethnocentrism that appeared in the educational material, there were also elements that could be seen as an expression of criticism and avoidance of all forms of nationalism. The educational material did, for instance, contain a lot of focus on humanism, social realism and cosmopolitanism, with nationalism described primarily as an ideology used by the bourgeoisie to manipulate the masses. One schoolbook was compiled with essays and poems of the prominent author Miroslav Krleža. The upper secondary school students got to rehearse and elaborate on questions such as: "How does Krleža define narrow-minded historicism, especially small-minded, narrow-minded nationalism? Where do you see the class angle in Krleža's interpretation of national, political and social issues?"⁶² What is evident in these questions is that students are supposed to disaffiliate with a specific kind of nationalism that is associated with pettiness, backwardness, and parochialism.

Students were supposed to draw the conclusion that national conflicts is an expression of camouflaged class conflicts. Narrow-minded nationalism could thus pose a threat to this new modern, progressive peasant nation born in 1945 as a defence against the occupying Axis forces and domestic traitors. The pupils got questions about the Second World War such as:

How did our peoples respond to the threats? Who in those fateful days showed remarkable determination and a highly developed consciousness of the right of every man and every nation to independent survival?⁶³

The national framework thus becomes rooted in anti-fascism, anti-imperialism and anti-nationalism. Students were also asked questions such as: "Explain what is meant by 'withering away of the state'"⁶⁴ However, in the creation of socialists and the "new man," nationalism was presented as a prerequisite, or freedom, for the peasants:

The peasant is the people, and while the peasant is a slave, the people cannot be free either. National policy must, therefore, also be socially liberating. He who does not fight for the freedom of the peasants, does not fight for national freedom either, because social slavery does not exist in any free nation.⁶⁵

⁶² Krleža (1977), 378.

⁶³ Vučenov and Živanović-Klajn (1964), 111.

⁶⁴ Čubelić and Plavlićević (1979), 272.

⁶⁵ Vučenov and Dimitrijević (1971), 43.

The “nation” was represented as a space for freedom while backwards forms of nationalisms, such as the bourgeois nationalisms, or “narrow-minded nationalisms” were rejected. Therefore, socialism and nationalism contained elements of each other. This theme thus brings forth, according to Anderson, a national ignorance within a Marxist framework. Nationalism enables the revolutionary road of the working class, creating in turn an imagined community of the “peasant nation.”⁶⁶ This shows that nationalisms were not to be eradicated but rather overlooked in the schoolbooks. Nationalisms did not have a purpose of their own, but were highly important for the revolutionary cause and for the liberation of the working class. Socialist Yugoslavism lies therefore at the intersection between containing and surpassing nationalisms.

Conclusion and discussion: Channelling contextual nationalisms as emancipatory tools

This analysis has shown that the examined schoolbooks primarily aimed to create *socialists*, which is in line with previous research. The development of a “Yugoslav socialist consciousness” in the schoolbooks worked as a way to override underlying national identities.

However, this analysis also showed that the mediation of a broader “Yugoslav socialist consciousness” was intended just as much to create a “Serbian socialist consciousness” (or other socialist consciousness relating to the republic-, region-, the local-, or to nations). Socialist identities (new and old) therefore appear through local, communal, regional, provincial, territorial-political and ethnocentric filters. National historical elements and mind maps remained in the background of the schoolbook genre, thus providing students with a complex conceptual fabric of a broader Yugoslav identification.

The first theme identified in the analysis highlights the teleological development of the “old” Yugoslavia as it transitioned towards the “new” Yugoslavia, with several spaces-in-space that allowed for a multiplicity of national conceptualisations. The second identified theme shows the presence of reactionary outgroups, which were the ruling South Slavic elites that had collaborated with different empires in order to maintain their economic positions. The third identified theme demonstrates how schoolbooks promoted cultural uniqueness of the revolutionaries, building for example on the legends of *uskoks*, *hajduks*, Serb and Croat peasants, which symbolized the conception of “us” that is, the exploited, revolutionary masses that rose up against the ruling elites and the colonial order. The fourth identified theme shows how nationalism was simultaneously stressed and undermined in the schoolbooks. These four themes together reflect how the class struggle appears and which place nationalism has within this particular struggle.

The analysis also demonstrates how different forms of socialist Yugoslavism were expressed in the schoolbooks. Formulations such as “we” in schoolbooks were used to refer to the working class of “tribes” in the 60s, and such terms evolved into notions of “we” as referring to “trampled peoples,” or concerning the working class of “our peoples and nationalities” in the 70s. Ideological ambivalences between nationalisms and socialism lingered and schoolbooks reflected a gradual shift away from the bourgeois remnant of (ethno-) socialism towards (non-ethnic) socialism. Regardless

66 Anderson (2005), 150–52, 154.

of group inventions and recognitions in the 60's and 70's, all ethnicities and patriotisms can be seen as (re)created localisms and regionalisms of the working class in this particular context.

Socialism and nationalism were interdependent and various kinds of nationalisms were channelled through Yugoslav ideologies. Nationalisms interacted with the socialist notion of self-determination, which makes the nationalisms used in the schoolbooks overtly socialist in their essence. Targeting the trinomial "domestic bourgeoisie" drew the connection to a wider Marxist historiography, where nationalism was viewed as a superstructure that served the interests of the bourgeoisie. A materialist concept of history was thus developed and framed through national matrices. The representations in these schoolbooks could therefore both disguise and reveal nationalisms. Either a class consciousness could be evoked among the pupils or in the other circumstances it's camouflaged due to national filters. However, the (re)creation of nationalities appears as a side-product of social engineering for seemingly revolutionary purposes. Nationalisms were therefore instrumental and used by schoolbook authors as emancipatory tools to evoke a class consciousness and align pupils with progressive forces within a national framework.

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Intersecting Power Fields Steeped in Tradition: The Radical Left and Administrating Higher Education in Finland during the 1970s

Jukka Kortti

Abstract • The student activism of the 1970s was strongly linked to the university administrative reforms in Finland. Especially after the radical faction of Finnish leftist students turned to pro-Soviet orthodox communism, the debunking of the professoriate's "bourgeois power" became one of the main goals of the vocal student movement. In this article, I analyse how the old professoriate was challenged and how they responded to this challenge. The conclusion drawn by this article is that Finnish university professors managed to resist the radical reforms and the pressure from the radical student movement in 1970s because their elite positions were not derived exclusively from one field, academia; rather, they also participated in other sets of elite practices, namely politics. Moreover, the close relationship between the state and academia was also manifested in the activities of students, who were historically also part of the Finnish elite. The starting point of this article is a case study of the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Helsinki

Keywords • educational reform, higher education, elite studies, student movement, Finland

Introduction

[T]he university field is, like any other field, the locus of a struggle to determine the conditions and the criteria of legitimate membership and legitimate hierarchy, that is, to determine which properties are pertinent, effective and liable to function as capital so as to generate the specific profits guaranteed by the field.

Pierre Bourdieu: *Homo Academicus*¹

During the 1960s and 1970s, universities faced many profound changes throughout the Western world. The system of higher education was reformed, and the number of universities expanded. The consequences of the arrival of the post-war baby boomers at these universities were drastic and multidimensional. The turning point was, of course, 1968. "The year that rocked the world,"² signified global political and cultural turmoil. "The year of the barricades"³ was characterized, in particular, by the collision of traditions and institutions. Bourgeois hegemony, a fashionable term in 1968, was challenged, and one of the main areas of social unrest was the international student revolt.

In most countries, and most specifically on the main battlefields in France and the United States, the clash was much more than just a dispute over studying, teaching, science or administrating higher education. As is well known, it was also to a large

1 Pierre Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*. Translated by Peter Collier (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), 11.

2 Mark Kurlansky, *1968: The Year that Rocked the World* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2004).

3 David Caute, *Sixty-Eight: The Year of the Barricades* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1988).

extent a conflict between the faction of baby boomers and their parents' generation.⁴

In terms of universities, Finnish student activism of the late 1960s and early 1970s was linked to the university administrative reform.⁵ It formed the context for the battle over the authority of professors. Moreover, the student movement behind this battle was strongly politicized. Especially after the radical faction of Finnish leftist students turned to pro-Soviet orthodox communism at the turn of the 1970s, the debunking of the professoriate's bourgeois power became one of the main goals of the vocal student movement.

In this article, I investigate how intersecting societal power fields of the elite—professors, students, politicians—took part in reforming the university administration during the 1970s. I concentrate on the questioning of the hegemony of the old university elite in the university administrative reform of the 1970s.⁶ The diatribe against the professoriate came not only from the radical student movement but also from politicians. Secondly, I ask how the ideological and political activism of the internationally influenced movement had an impact on the reform. I show how national peculiarities moulded by history, traditions and organizational procedures and practices can shape the major university reforms that were common in higher education worldwide in the 1970s. The article focuses on the question of how the elite tradition of a nation affects student activism. This also makes the Finnish case interesting in the context of global student activism.

I begin by defining what I mean by the elite fields in my approach. Then, I describe the historical legacy of the Finnish student movement. This is important for understanding the peculiarities of the Finnish development against the global development. After that, I analyse the interaction of the different power fields in society during the major Finnish university reform of the period. The starting point of this article is a case study of the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Helsinki. The students of sociology at the faculty, in particular, were the main ideological bellwethers in the Finnish radical left movement of the seventies.

4 The number of studies conducted on the student revolt of 1968 and its aftermath is enormous, especially concerning the American development. They began already in the 1970s, and late student radicals wrote a noteworthy proportion of them. On the global movements, see, e.g., Carole Fink, Philip Gassert, and Detlef Junker, eds., *1968: The World Transformed* (Washington, D.C.: German Historical Institute, 1998); Martin Klimke, *The Other Alliance: Student Protest in West Germany and the United States in the Global Sixties* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010). On the European movements, see, e.g., Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth, eds., *1968 in Europe – A History of Protest and Activism, 1956–1977*, Palgrave Macmillan Transnational History Series (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Kristin Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); On the communist ideologies in the American radical movement, see, e.g., Max Elbaum, *Revolution in the Air: Sixties Radicals turn to Lenin, Mao and Che* (New York: Verso, 2006).

5 In addition, the degree reform also divided universities. On the degree reform, see Marja Jalava, *The University in the Making of the Welfare State* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012).

6 Professor of Political Science Ilkka Heiskanen (1935–2019) used the term “civil war” to describe the juxtaposition between students and professors at the Faculty of Social Sciences in the 1970s. Ilkka Heiskanen, “Epilogi: Yhteiskuntatieteet, käytännön yhteiskuntateoria ja maamme älyllinen ilmastoto,” 297–335, in *Valtio ja yhteiskunta: Tutkielma suomalaisen valtiollisen ajattelun ja valtio-opin historiasta*, ed. Jaakko Nousiainen and Dag Anckar (Helsinki: WSOY, 1983), 323–28.

University elite(s) between the fields

Elites were not a popular subject of research during the latter part of the 20th century. Earlier, however, social scientists were interested—often in terms of class theories—in scrutinizing the high and the mighty during the modern history of industrializing nations. There are many reasons for the lessening interest in elite studies after WWII, such as the changing interdependencies between upper and lower class groups evoked by shifts in the relations between capital and labour and the overall diminishing of economic inequalities in Western countries. Indeed, elite studies have often focused on economics. This has also been the case with the new rise of elite research in the 2000s, a case in point being Thomas Piketty’s influential study on wealth and income inequality since the 18th century.⁷ Also, new trends, such as the rise of the “history from below” approach in academic history research decreased interest in elites at the end of the 20th century.

One reason for the growing interest in economic elites is globalization, in which the dependency of national economic elites on the working classes and their organizations has weakened.⁸ Nonetheless, with respect to the “academic elite,” globalization has diminished rather than increased the power and influence of university professors since the last part of the 20th century. In terms of political or governmental power, external factors such as managerialism and the new ways of measurement and comparison in universities have, step by step, undermined these institutions’, and hence professors’, power of autonomy during the marketization of higher education.⁹ On the other hand, the significance of cultural, political and knowledge capital among elites has increased interest in elite studies among sociologists in the 21st century.¹⁰

The roots of the renaissance in elite studies can be traced back to 1968. The New Left, the counterculture and various forms of baby boomer movements revolted against the “establishment,” which often meant professorial power. Overall, issues of power and power structures were fuelled by critical thinking, more specifically by Marxism.¹¹

In the late 20th century, one of the most influential scholars to focus on university elites was undoubtedly the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu.¹² This article explores, in particular, Bourdieu’s idea of elite positions in “fields,” which consist of sets of practices. In these practices, an elite is aware of and abides by the common rules and norms of a particular field. According to Bourdieu, “a field is a field of force within which the agents occupy positions that statistically determine the positions they take with respect to the field, these position-takings being aimed either at conserving or

7 Thomas Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014).

8 Johan Heilbron, Felix Bühlmann, Johs. Hjellbrekke, Olav Korsnes and Mike Savage, “Introduction,” 1–27, in *New Directions in Elite Studies*, ed. Olav Korsnes, Johan Heilbron, Johs. Hjellbrekke, Felix Bühlmann, Mike Savage (London: Routledge, 2017), 1–2.

9 See, e.g., Sheila Slaughter and Gary Rhoades, *Academic Capitalism and the New Economy: Markets, State, and Higher Education* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004); Stefan Collini, *Speaking of Universities* (London & New York: Verso, 2017).

10 See, e.g., Shamus Rahman Kahn, “The Sociology of Elites,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 38 (2012), 361–77.

11 Heilbron et al. (2017), 5.

12 Bourdieu (1990); Pierre Bourdieu, *The State Nobility* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996a).

transforming the structure of relations of forces that is constitutive of the field.”¹³ In the academic world, this means that professors, among other things, have a certain cultural legitimacy through their position as agents of expertise.

What makes the Finnish case interesting in terms of elite studies is that university professors were able to move to other fields as well—not only to business but, as was still the case in the 1970s, particularly to politics. Moreover, the long and strong relationship between intellectual labour and the Finnish state also left its mark on the struggles between professors and students during the era.¹⁴ In this relationship, Finnish academia traditionally included students as well, meaning they played an exceptional role in the Finnish public sphere.

As for Bourdieu, the present article uses the idea of elite fields as a research tool. The starting point is the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Helsinki. The empirical research data consist of the minutes of the Faculty Council (then simply the “Faculty”) from 1969 to 1978 and the volumes of the student paper *Tutkain!* at the turn of the 1970s.¹⁵ The article also uses two interviews with one student leader. The semi-structured interviews were conducted for a student association history project in the mid-1990s.¹⁶

Accordingly, I use “historical method,” meaning assembling information critically and heuristically by the close and cross reading of different data and exposing a synthesis.¹⁷ In this article, it means utilizing archival material, magazine articles, interviews, memoirs and secondary sources in reference to the research literature in a case-based study in order to look at the Finnish university elite from many angles and to understand the interconnectedness of the elements comprising it.¹⁸

Historical background: The intellectual historical legacy of the 1970s Finnish left-wing radicalism

In November 1968, the Student Union of the University of Helsinki (*Helsingin yliopiston ylioppilaskunta*, HYY) celebrated its 100th anniversary. The jubilee, with full academic splendour and the presence of the cultural and political establishment and honoured guests, including the then President of Finland, Urho Kekkonen (1900–1986), was supposed to be held in the Old Student House. However, a group of students who had not been invited to the formal celebration with tailcoats and evening gowns decided to occupy the building, and the event had to be moved to another

13 Bourdieu (1990), 36–37; Pierre Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996b); Pierre Bourdieu, “The Political field, the Social Science field, and the Journalistic Field,” 27–47, in *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field*, ed. Rodney Benson and Erik Neveu (Cambridge: Polity, 2005), 30 (citation).

14 See Jukka Kortti, “Intellectuals and the State: The Finnish University Intelligentsia and the German Idealist Tradition,” *Modern Intellectual History* 11, no. 2 (2014), 359–84.

15 The amount of archival material during the period is approximately 4300 pages, which have all been thoroughly scrutinized. The minutes of the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Helsinki is stored in the University’s Archives and Registry, Arkki, University of Helsinki and the volumes of *Tutkain!* in Helsinki University Library.

16 The interviews were conducted by John Lagerbohm. The history of the student association Kannunvalajat has not, however, been published yet.

17 E.g., J. Laurence Hare, Jack Wells, and Bruce E. Baker, *Essential Skills for Historians: A Practical Guide to Researching the Past* (London: Bloomsbury, 2020), 105–40.

18 Gary Thomas and Kevin Myers, *The Anatomy of the Case Study*. (London: Sage, 2017), 11.

location. This “spontaneous” occupation—it had actually been prepared for months and the same kind of occupation had occurred in Stockholm earlier the same year in May—which was soon to become a mythical occurrence, became a major event for the Finnish student movement of the era, yet the students of the radical left of the coming seventies played a minor role in the proceedings. However, the occupation of the Old Student House was a turning point in forming the Finnish New Left.¹⁹

While the target of this action was basically themselves, the Student Union, it was very much aimed at an old elite. Although owned by students themselves, the Student Union, as an institution, represented the same elite as university professors, the old elite. According to the new radical student movement, and also the front-rank Finnish politicians of the day, these professors were representatives of an ancient world that failed to meet the demands of the democratic and egalitarian society with which the new student generation identified. What makes this formative event in Finnish radicalism interesting in a wider international context is that the battle began within a university subfield, the Student Union.

The Student Union of the University of Helsinki is an old and exceptionally strong institution both in terms of academic life and especially wealth (the Student Union owns substantial properties in the heart of Helsinki, which makes it one of the richest student unions in the entire world). Because it is basically students who decide how the Union uses the profits from its business operations and because the Union is such an important cultural institution, it has always functioned as a kind of elite school, preparing its members for the top positions in Finnish Society. That is why students are regarded as one elite field in this article (see Figure).

The Student Union provided students with direct access to the very heart of the University’s power fields. Not only did the Student Union enjoy economic capital within those fields, providing facilities (premises, restaurants, etc.) to the University, but students also possessed significant cultural capital in both the university and wider societal power fields.

For instance, students occupied a central position in creating the idea of the Finnish nation, “the national mind,” in the 19th century.²⁰ Another example of the significance of students in Finnish history is *Ylioppilaslehti* (“Student Magazine”), established in 1913 by student nations (*osakunnat*, regional associations of students at the University of Helsinki), which has been a major cultural and political institution throughout the history of independent Finland. Its editors have included most of the major figures in the Finnish political (such as Urho Kekkonen) and cultural intelligentsia of the 20th century.²¹

Because students have held this kind of cultural and symbolic capital in the national sphere, major Finnish elite associations have often invited students onto their

19 About 1968 in Finland, see, e.g., Laura Kolbe, “From Memory to History: Year 1968 in Finland,” *Scandinavian Journal of History* 33, no. 4 (2008), 366–81; Olli Kleemola, “The Visual Narrative of Student Radicalism in Finland: The 1968 occupation of the Old Student House in the Finnish media,” *Media History* 27, no. 1 (2021), 86–105.

20 Matti Klinge, *Kansallismielen synty. Suomen ylioppilaiden aatteet ja järjestäytyminen ilmentämässä yleisen mielipiteen ja kansalaistietoisuuden kehittymistä v. 1853–1871* (Helsinki 1967).

21 Jukka Kortti, “Generations and Media History,” 69–93, in *Broadband Society and Generational Changes Series: Participation in Broadband Society* – Volume 5, ed. Leopoldina Fortunati and Fausto Colombo (New York: Peter Lang, 2011).

boards. For instance, the Paasikivi Society (*Paasikivi-Seura*), founded in 1958 with the aim of strengthening and stabilizing Finland’s official foreign policy among the nation at large during the Cold War, included several student leaders at its inaugural meeting.²² From its inception, the Paasikivi Society represented a central forum for discussing foreign politics and international issues in Finland, including, as it did, the presidents of the Republic, leading politicians, government officials, academics and other members of the national elite in its gatherings.

Hence, in terms of elite studies, belonging to the student elite meant that the step to other elite fields was relatively small. Moreover, this concerned not only universities but also cultural and political life in Finland. In other words, students at the University of Helsinki were traditionally in close interaction with the professoriate and other power elites. Or, to express this idea in Bourdieu’s vocabulary, the student elite were “linked by relations, constitutive of the structure of the field, that contribute to determining their efficacy and their value in such a way that, within the field they *contribute* to defining, they are able to produce effects different from the ones they would produce in another field.”²³ However, it should be noted that rather than approaching students and their associations as “fields of power,” Bourdieu mostly treats students as the targets of power production, as children of societal classes, as a growing mass or as the agents of change.²⁴ This different approach is obviously due to the different university and intellectual traditions between France and Finland—or, more precisely, to the unique Finnish intellectual tradition.

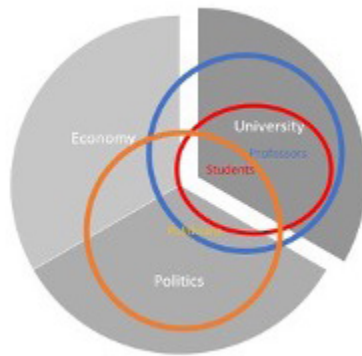


Figure 1: The elite fields during Finnish university reforms in the 1970s

In terms of intellectual history, another Finnish peculiarity compared to many Western European countries, including other Nordic countries, was the near absence of a Marxist tradition. This was because after the Reds lost the Finnish Civil War in 1918,

²² The driving force behind the Paasikivi Society was Professor of Political Science Jan-Mangus Jansson from the Faculty of Social Sciences. The student representatives at the inaugural meeting included many student leaders of the current and previous generation, who later became university professors, high-ranking officials and public intellectuals.

²³ Bourdieu (1996a), 264.

²⁴ See, e.g., Bourdieu (1990), 159–93.

leftist intellectuals, for the most part, escaped to Soviet Russia. The Communist Party of Finland was also banned in the early 1930s as a result of the rising influence of right-wing nationalism in Finnish political life. Therefore, when the post-positivist and neo-Marxist movement of the 1960s began to transform the social sciences, as in many Western countries, there was almost no leftist intellectual tradition in Finland to refer to. Consequently, the actions by the Marxist-Leninist student movement were unprecedented, which obviously accentuated the shock felt by the elite.

The student elite: The Finnish New Left joins the party and plays the Moscow card

Until 1968, the Finnish New Left of the 1960s had been a more central-leftist, social-democracy-led radical movement. Overall, what distinguishes Finnish and Scandinavian student movements from the larger European movements of the era is the strong social democratic consensus in society and hence the avoidance of conflicts among students as well.²⁵ The Finnish New Left of the sixties was characterized by its demands for social and universal reforms, such as disarmament, helping disadvantaged alcoholics and promoting sexual and social equality.

After 1968, the Finnish New Left nonetheless became more ideologically extreme as were its peers in many Western countries. However, the central figure for the movement was not Trotsky or Mao, as in most other radical movements in the West at that time, but Lenin.²⁶

One of the central venues for the formation of the Finnish radical leftist student movement was the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Helsinki. Similar to other social movements, significant tools for creating the worldview of intellectuals were periodicals and magazines. In Finland, the student newspapers exerted a disproportionate influence within the Finnish public sphere because they were read in wider areas—or fields—than just student circles.

The editorial group of the student paper *Tutkain!* gathered at the office of the Faculty's student society, *Kannunvalajat* (speculators) in early 1969, soon after the occupation of the Old Student House. The student paper was one of the major forums in the forthcoming highly ideological battles at the Faculty and in the Finnish university sector in general. The group had just been elected at the general meeting of the student society. The general meeting was also the first time that one of the student leaders who addressed the meeting had called for the movement to follow the political stances of the Finnish Communist Party SKP (*Suomen Kommunistinen Puolue*) and, first of all, to approve of the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet-led Eastern Bloc armies.²⁷ Two years later, this policy was officially adopted at a meeting of the national Socialist Student League SOL (*Sosialistinen Opiskelijaliitto*). The meeting of the *Kannunvalajat* student society in early 1969 was a turning point in the radical left's transformation into what would become a pro-Soviet communist movement in the 1970s.

Thus, the so-called *Taistoism* was born. The name, which was given to the move-

25 Kolbe (2008); Thomas Ekman Jørgensen, "The Scandinavian 1968 in a European Perspective," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 33, no. 4 (2008), 326–38.

26 Of course, Finland was not the only country where Lenin was adopted by radical-left activists. Even in the US, the 1968 radicals established the Leninist Party (Elbaum [2006], 55–58).

27 Juhani Ruotsalo, Interview by John Lagerbohm, June 19, 1995. Personal collection.

ment by journalists a few years later, came from the Finnish communist leader Taisto Sinisalo (1926–2002), a controversial figure in the Finnish Communist Party, SKP. Unlike Sinisalo, the party had denounced the invasion of Czechoslovakia, for instance. Although the Taistoists never enjoyed majority support—not even within the SKP, which was dominated by a more Euro-communist faction—they were influential in the Finnish public sphere due to their small but vocal representation among the cultural and academic elite. Above all, they possessed a powerful ally, the Soviet Union.²⁸

In contrast to other Western extreme left-wing movements of the time, the Taistoists were members of an established political party, The Communist Party of Finland, SKP from the very beginning. As such, the idea of “the party” was central to both Lenin’s theoretical thinking and action. Moreover, the role of the Bolshevik Party in the Russian Revolution was seen as an analogy to the post-1968 situation among certain factions of the revolutionary movement worldwide.²⁹ However, instead of establishing a new Finnish Leninist Party, the young Finnish radical left decided to join the SKP, which had been founded in 1918 in Russia by Finnish exiles after the Civil War. The party had been outlawed until 1944. In other words, the radical revolutionary movement operated as an official political subfield from the very start. This peculiarity is also a result of the history of Finland.

While Finland had been brutally divided after the bloody Civil War of 1918, the country nonetheless continued as a parliamentary democracy, which also included the losing side in the war, the Social Democrats. In fact, the SDP won almost 40 per cent of the seats in 1919 in the first parliamentary election after the war. The country also remained a democracy during the rise of right-wing nationalism in the early 1930s and after the so-called post-war “Years of Danger,” when communists gained momentum.³⁰

Since then, even the communists had predominantly restricted their actions to the realms of parliamentary party politics and participated in civil society as part of the state apparatus. In the late 1960s and the 1970s, the parent organization of the SKP, the Finnish People’s Democratic League, SKDL (*Suomen Kansan Demokraattinen Liitto*) had participated in several Finnish governments, and the Taistoists also followed the tradition of the Finnish communist movement in this sense.

Finland has historically been a country of associations and movements. When Finnish civil society was formed in the 19th century, the Association of Popular Enlightenment (*Kansanvalistusseura*), the Fennomans movement (promoting Finnish language and Finnic culture), and the temperance movement, labour movement and women’s movement played an even more important role than political parties in de-

28 Concerning the first years of the movement, see, e.g., Kimmo Rentola, “Keväällä 1968,” in *60-luku. Seminaarien aineistot 20.3.93 ja 17.4.93 pidetyistä seminaareista Kirjan talolla Helsingissä* (Helsinki: KSL, 1994); Kimmo Rentola, “Kevään 1968 isänmaan toivot,” in *Työväen verkostot*, ed. Sakari Saari and Kari Teräs (Tampere: Työväen historian ja perinteen tutkimuksen seura).

29 Elbaum (2006), 55–57.

30 “The Years of Danger” refers to political historian Lauri Hyvämäki’s book (*Vaaran vuodet 1944–48*) published in 1954. It was feared that, through either Soviet occupation or communist revolution, the Soviet Union might turn Finland into a communist Soviet satellite, as had happened namely in Czechoslovakia in the late 1940s. However, this mythical and controversial—especially among historians—concept was part of the wider anti-communist movement in the post-war western world. On the other hand, the late 1940s was also a period of strong political organization and unionization in Finnish society.

fining what Finland would become. Indeed, the modern Finnish party system was not formed until the turn of the 20th century.

This tradition of participating in civil society through formal societies and associations has characterized the actions of Finnish radicalism as well. Hence, a favoured strategy among Finnish radical movements has been to infiltrate organizations. This also—or indeed particularly—includes student movements. For instance, the nationalistic right-wing student movement the Academic Karelian Society (*Akateeminen Karjala-Seura*) took over the Association of Finnish Culture and Identity (*Suomalaisuuden liitto*) in 1927 in their campaign to Fennicize the University of Helsinki during the interwar period.³¹

For the radical leftist students of the 1970s at the University of Helsinki, this first meant capturing the Academic Socialist Association ASS (*Akateeminen Sosialistiseura*). Social Democratic students were forced to leave the association when the Leninists began to reshape the ASS into a Marxist “paramilitary organization.” The ASS was the largest sub-organ of the national Socialist Student League, SOL.

The party politicization of the extreme left student movement lifted the university reforms to the level of national politics and the national public sphere, which is why the operative realm of the 1970s radical student elite extended to the field of national politics.

Although the Taistoists lost practically all their campaigns, they enjoyed wide influence in the Finnish public sphere during the 1970s—often by playing the “Moscow card.” The relationship with the Soviets was crucial in all areas of Finnish society during the era. In international relations during the Cold War, the process by which a small independent country was forced to abide by the politics of a bigger more powerful country had begun to be called *Finlandization*.³² Finland’s geopolitical position was etched on the activities of the student movement. One of the weapons most used by students against the university authorities was accusing them of anti-Sovietism—whether it concerned the teaching or the required reading for the courses. As the student leader of the time, Juhani Ruotsalo, put it, “it’s impossible to understand our actions if you don’t understand that we identified ourselves as a part of the global system led by the Soviet Union. To put it simply and bluntly, we were doing the revolution under the baton of the Soviet Union.” One part of this was the promotion of Soviet and socialist science.³³

During the 1970s, the most infamous example of the Taistoists using “the Moscow card” in the university power field was the case of blacklisting the content of courses at the Faculty of Social Sciences. In the 1970s, conflicts between professors and students were often linked to the degree requirements, especially to the required reading. For instance, the department councils requested course synopses from teach-

31 Jukka Kortti, “Ylioppilaslehti and the University’s Language Struggle in the 1920s and 1930s,” *Kasvatus ja aika* 3, no. 4 (2009), 7–73.

32 On the position of Finland and the concept of Finlandization during the Cold War, see, e.g., Norbert Götz, “Finlandization,” in *Encyclopedia of the Cold War: A Political, Social, and Military history*, Vol. 2, ed. Spencer C. Tucker (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO cop., 2008); Jussi M. Hanhimäki, *Scandinavia and the United States: An Insecure Friendship* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1997), 150–52; Esko Salminen, *The Silenced Media: The Propaganda War between Russia and the West in Northern Europe*, translated by Jyri Kokkonen (New York: St. Martin’s, 1999).

33 Juhani Ruotsalo, Interview by John Lagerbohm, January 24, 1996, personal collection.

ers for review and occasionally even asked teachers to present the content of their courses beforehand. By 1972, the ASS had mostly occupied the course and department councils, which critically appraised course content. Usually, adjunct professors (docents) declined these requests, and the student activists labelled them anti-democratic and reactionary individuals. At first, the department council system compensated for the unrealized principle of one-man-one-vote (more about the principle later), but dissatisfaction re-emerged later in the 1970s.³⁴

Not only the political agenda, to increase Marxist course content in the curriculum, but also students' efforts to occupy the professors' field of expertise in teaching drove the professoriate to seek tactics that, while effective, were not overly conspicuous. Thus, the establishment of such committees was a shrewd strategy by the Dean and the Faculty administration. The professor elite was thus able to mitigate the actions of students by using the bureaucratic power of its field and thereby occupy a hegemonic position in the battle.

"The Moscow card" was played regularly in conflicts between students and professors during the 1970s. Nevertheless, the first clash of the decade where questions of university and political power fields played a central role in higher education was the so called one-man-one-vote battle—the principle that students should enjoy equal representation in university administration voting—at the turn of the 1970s. In that case, students already possessed significant power capital in the field of national politics.

The professoriate and political elite: Reforming the university within rivaling power fields

It was a value in itself to organize a strike and it interweaved with the effort to speed up the law [one-man-one-vote] to be passed. So it is hard to say which was more important. We wanted to pressurize Parliament. Of course, it was a great feeling. We ruled the University.

Former left-wing student leader Juhani Ruotsalo in 1995³⁵

The turning point for the occupation of the ASS was the university administrative reform, which had already begun in 1968. The administrative reform mobilized students much more than any of the student activities of the 1960s, and it staged a more important student demonstration than the occupation of the Old Student House a year and a half earlier.

The administrative reform of higher education was part of an international trend to adapt higher education to the needs of a rapidly changing society: The system of higher education was to be expanded and universities were to become more efficient factories of knowledge and skills in order to help nation states remain competitive in global markets. Thus, politicians attributed growing significance to higher education, especially in terms of "evidence-based policy-making." One of the best-known and most influential starting points for the ideology was the so-called Robbins Re-

³⁴ Eevi Heikkinen, "Poliittisen historian laitosneuvosto. Mies ja ääni -periaatteen puntarointia vuosina 1968–1972," 30–37, in *Tiedettä & kaljaa 1965–2015. Poliittisen historian opiskelijoiden 50 vuotta yhteistyötä, yhteisöllisyyttä ja aktivismia*, ed. Lyydia Aarnisalo, Ilari Leskelä, and Sara Nurmilaukaus (Helsinki: Polho, 2015), 32–34.

port commissioned by the British government in the early 1960s.³⁵ Finnish higher education reformists were already familiar with the Report by the mid-1960s.³⁶

In Finland, the reform was very much intertwined with the welfare state project, which underwent its formative years in the 1960s. The question was not only administrative democracy in universities, concerning especially a form of grass-roots democracy (university departments), but also workplace democracy, which was the framework for the Left in particular. Thus, active citizenship became an important idea in the forming of the Finnish welfare state at the turn of the 1970s.³⁷

Therefore, post 1968 radical movements were concerned not only with seizing state power but also with the question of equality. This was manifested in the combination of the workers' class struggle with that of students. As Kristin Ross puts it in her analysis of May 1968 in France, 'the union of intellectual contestation with workers' struggle' was the central idea in the French movement.³⁸ In Finland too, the radical student movement supported and made contacts or at least sympathized with the workers.

In 1970s Finland, this was characterized by the comprehensive party politicization of this state-organized democratization—as was the case in almost all societal, even cultural, activities in Finland during the era. Overall, the reform was politically loaded from its very inception in the mid-1960s. At the level of state politics, it was a tool of President Kekkonen for decreasing the power of university professors, who had traditionally been a powerful force in Finnish political life. For instance, since Finnish independence in 1917, many Finnish prime ministers had been former university professors. Overall, Kekkonen was extremely active in university politics—as in almost all areas of Finnish society during his long term as President (1956–1981).

In the field of politics, Kekkonen, a former 1930s student radical, exploited the students to gain power over the university elite as early as the Occupation of the Old Student House in 1968 when he aligned himself with occupiers in his 100th anniversary jubilee speech. The President also invited young radicals to wine and dine at his residence. Overall, Kekkonen was extremely aware of how the academic world operated. The most successful of Kekkonen's manoeuvres against the academic elite during the 1960s was the total reform—or, in practice, disbanding—of the Academy of Finland when the Academy was changed from an *Institut de France* type learned society into a governmental funding body for scientific research.³⁹

Nor was the reform-minded Minister of Education of the late 1960s, Johannes Virolainen (1914–2000), very popular among the professoriate. He was an enthusiastic advocate of universal suffrage for the university administration, the law of YYÄ

35 On the Robbins Report, see, e.g., Robert Anderson, *British Universities Past and Present* (London: Hambledon continuum, 2006), 147–65; Peter Mandler, 'Educating the Nation: II. Universities' *Transactions of the RHS*, no. 25 (2015), 1–26.

36 Allan Tiitta, *Suomen Akatemian historia I, 1948–1969. Huippuyksiköitä ja toimikuntia* (Helsinki: SKS, 2004), 608.

37 Kauko Sipponen, 'Julkinen valta ja yksilö', 737–803, in *Suomen keskushallinnon historia 1809–1996*, ed. Jaakko Numminen and Raimo Savolainen (Helsinki: Edita, 1996), 766–70.

38 Kristin Ross, *May '68 and its Afterlives* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 73–74.

39 Kolbe, (2008), 373; Tiitta, (2004), 586–616.

(*Yhteinen ja yhtäläinen äänioikeus*), which was a central issue in the administrative reform. The idea behind the reform was to abolish the traditional authority of professors in the decision-making bodies of the university and elect members of the university administration on a “one-man-one-vote” principle.

According to historians of higher education (and top governmental offices) of the era, the motives of Virolainen were very much political. He was a strong candidate to succeed Kekkonen as the President of Finland, and, by taking a radical stance on the reform, Virolainen could gain favour among baby boomers. Moreover, it was common for the politicians of the time to demonstrate their progressiveness in education politics; political parties even competed with each other over whose party programme was the most modern and comprehensive in terms of science and culture. In addition, Virolainen’s party, the Agrarian League (*Maalaisliitto*), had just changed its name to the Centre Party (*Keskustapuolue*) in order to attract urban voters.⁴⁰

Nevertheless, in early 1969, the reforms for increasing university democracy still met with a favourable response from professors of the Faculty of Social Sciences, as they agreed that students should be included more in the university administration. However, this should not be seen as a question of “arithmetic” rather, students were to participate in those bodies where they had most to contribute, such as student and teaching affairs committees. Nonetheless, since students, unlike professors, are merely “visitors” at the institution, this form of “producer–consumer” could not include the political idea of democracy as such, as Professor of Political Science Jan-Magnus Janson (1922–2003) once observed in *Tutkain!*. In addition, Professor of Sociology Erik Allard (1925–2020), one of the most internationally connected scholars at the Faculty, was worried about the role of research in the reform. Both professors supported the idea of a tripartite principle according to which the membership of university administrative bodies would be divided equally between professors, other teachers and staff, and students.⁴¹ Moreover, Professor of Practical Philosophy Jaakko Hintikka (1929–2015), who had spent time as a Junior Fellow and professor at Harvard and Stanford at various times since the 1950s, suggested that the burden on teachers should be eased rather than increased by the creation of new administrative bodies.⁴²

Nevertheless, a clash was inevitable. Both the occupation of the Old Student House and international examples provided fuel for a Finnish student movement that was beginning to radicalize. When the editors of *Tutkain!* commented on the professors’ statements, they proclaimed that any arrangement based simply on numbers was insufficient. Instead, the Left should abandon “positivistic quantitative” thinking and start creating a dialectic alternative, a new university image. According to the student paper, the duty of leftist social scientists was to indicate “the problems of unproblematized concepts.” By this, they meant that the authorities were attempting to alienate students with bureaucratic administrative language and that part of

40 Osmo Kivinen, Risto Rinne, and Kimmo Ketonen, *Yliopiston huomen* (Helsinki: Hanki ja jää, 1993), 94–95; Veli-Pekka Leppänen, “Virkamies opin ja sivistyksen asialla,” *Helsingin Sanomat*, October 22, 2018.

41 “Professorien diktatuuri & dialektinen ajattelu,” *Tutkain!* 1/1969, 6–7.

42 The minutes of the Faculty of Social Sciences 24 Sep 1969, 18§ + appendices. The University’s Archives and Registry, Arkki, University of Helsinki.

the Left had also been taken in.⁴³ In other words, they wished to challenge the “scientific field” of the professors. However, since the students operated inside the field as a subject, they positioned themselves as an agent in this microcosmos.⁴⁴

Clashing in the fields: The one-man-one-vote battle and the question of power hegemony

The opportunity to turn rhetoric into action arose in February 1970 when the law of Universal Suffrage for the University Administration was read in the Finnish Parliament. Both the recently founded Finnish Union of University Professors and student organizations lobbied heavily in Parliament. The National Union of University Students in Finland, SYL (*Suomen Ylioppilaskuntien Liitto*) declared a national Administration Reform Day with rallies and teach-ins. The ASS also engaged in harsh propaganda, distributing leaflets and fliers. To support the parliamentary reading, an ASS-led student strike was staged at the University of Helsinki on February 11, 1970. Thousands of students occupied Porthania House in the city campus and Franzénia in the Kallio city district for days. Both were the main premises of the Faculty of Social Sciences. Not all lectures were cancelled, however; rather teaching interactions gave way to debate, the intensity of which depended on the approach of the teacher and the zeal of the students.⁴⁵ In some lecture rooms, the teachers stepped aside, but in some rooms, professors drove the strikers away.

Physical violence was avoided, however. In addition, the rectorate of the University had decided earlier that the police would not be called; rather problems were to be solved inside the university community through constructive dialogue. As the then Vice Rector of the University of Helsinki, Mikko Juva (1918–2004), reminisced: “Academic youth had to be handled *fortiter in re, suaviter in modo*”—with heavy hands but in kid gloves.⁴⁶

The strike ended after a few days, but the battle over the administrative reform continued across several governments during the early 1970s. Besides lobbying, the professors also intervened in the law inside Parliament. Indeed, some professors at the Faculty of Social Sciences were also MPs in the 1970s. One of them, Professor of Political History L. A. Puntila (1907–1988), was against the law, although his party, the SDP (The Social Democratic Party of Finland), led the government coalition that had introduced the law. Actually, many social democrats hoped to pass the law after a subsequent general election, but they did not want to appear reactionary in the eyes of the radical youth. Later in the 1970s, when the draft law was tabled by following governments and by several ministers of education, Professor of Social Psychology Kullervo Rainio (1924–2020) and Professor of Communication Osmo A. Wiio (1928–2013) campaigned against the law as members of Parliament.

43 “Professorien diktatuuri & dialektinen ajattelu”; Mikael Böök, “Yliopiston on tietoa tuottava organisaatio,” *Tutkain!* 3/1969, 4–5; Antti Kasvio, “Suoraa demokratiaa,” *Tutkain!* 3/1969, 6–7.

44 Cf. Bourdieu, “The Political Field, the Social Science Field, and the Journalistic Field,” 29–47, in *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field*, ed. Benson, R., Neveu, E. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005), 30.

45 Laura Kolbe, *Eliitti, traditio, murros. Helsingin yliopiston ylioppilaskunta 1960–1990* (Helsinki: Otava, 1996), 377–78; Matti Klinge, “Politiikka ja korkeakoulupolitiikka,” 188–349, in *Helsingin yliopisto 1917–1990*, Matti Klinge, Rainer Knapas, Anto Leikola & John Strömberg (Helsinki: Otava), 324.

46 Mikko Juva, *Seurasin nuoruuteni näkyä: Muistettavaa vuosilta 1939–82* (Helsinki: Otava, 1994), 174–79, 184, 196 (citation).

Those professors operating in both fields, university and politics (see Figure), were able to promote their cause on two fronts. Their key positions within the political field allowed them to advance the agenda of the academic field through interaction between the fields. Nevertheless, this interaction differed in many ways from that observed exclusively within the university field. First, although the MP professors at the Faculty of Social Sciences encompassed all three Bourdieusian⁴⁷ realms of university power capital—academic, scientific and intellectual capital (excluding Puntila’s scientific prestige, which was rather modest)—they all now possessed political statuses (although Puntila enjoyed political prestige long before his period as an MP).⁴⁸

Political power nonetheless differed considerably from power within the university field. The MP professors were faced with rigid, complicated political processes involving compromises, consensus, party discipline and the intrigues of the multi-party political system. Obviously, the power of those MP professors from opposition parties, such as Rainio, was considerably weaker. As Rainio wrote in his memoirs, being in the opposition was “like being laid off. No matter what you tried, nothing seemed to have any impact.” What was special, again, in the Finnish political system of the era was the influential role of student associations in political parties. For instance, *Tuhatkunta*, the Student Union of (the centre-right) National Coalition Party opposed the protest Professor Rainio mounted against the law of Universal Suffrage in the Parliament.⁴⁹ Moreover, Tapio Rajavuori, a student who acted as the secretary of student affairs at the Faculty of Social Sciences, even wrote speeches on the theme of one-man-one-vote for the Minister of Education, Virolainen.⁵⁰

On the other hand, when the professoriate lobbied politicians and wrote speeches for MPs, their prescriptions for filibustering and other activities were drawn from the mid-war right-wing student movement the Academic Karelian Society. Many professors had a background in this influential association and its struggle, mentioned earlier, to Fennicize Finnish society—thus representing yet another example, this time through history, of students operating in the elite field of politics.

Nevertheless, opponents of the law of Universal Suffrage enjoyed considerable success, since the law was neither passed in the form introduced by Virolainen nor in that of three of his successors during the 1970s. This did not mean, however, that democracy had not increased in universities. The first department councils had already been established at the Faculty of Social Sciences in the late 1960s. Nonetheless, when the role of the departments was discussed by the university administration, the professors were not only concerned about losing their power but also about the state of academia, as the plans for university democracy failed to consider how

47 Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*, 73–127.

48 L.A. Puntila was already the Prime Minister’s secretary during WWII and a very active major player in many fields of society in the immediate post-war years.

49 Kullervo Rainio, *Polkuja ja risteyksiä* (Helsinki: Libera-säätiö, 2020), 304. Actually, the idea of adapting the one-man-one-vote principle to Finnish universities was introduced by Hannu Tapani Klami (1945–2002), a law student and member of Tuhatkunta. Klami’s aim was to promote, as widely as possible, Anglo-American individual freedom within Finnish university administrations. His libertarian views, especially the slogan ‘one-man-one-vote,’ were nevertheless co-opted and transformed by the leftist student movement. (Jukka Kortti, *Valtaan ja vastavirtaan. Valtiotieteellinen tiedekunta 75 vuotta* [Helsinki: SKS], 159–60).

50 Kortti (2020), 167.

freedom of research would be guaranteed.⁵¹ Moreover, anxiety was also felt over resources. The Faculty of Social Sciences was particularly under-resourced when it came to teaching staff, and the faculty was struggling to cope with the influx of baby boomers that occurred from the early 1960s until the mid-1970s—despite the introduction of *numerus clausus* as early as 1962.

Overall, at this point—and also later in the 1970s for the greater part—the main concern of the professoriate was not so much fear of losing its power positions as anxiety over the role of research amidst the flood of (baby boomer) students. Moreover, although they were concerned about their expert positioning, professors did not merely attempt to conserve their positions in the field; rather, they were also willing to transform it.

In terms of power, the dispute included one extremely practical dimension. In particular, Professor and MP Rainio emphasized problems concerning the responsibility of officials for the legality of their actions if the one-man-one-vote principle were to be realized. If those in office constituted the minority of a university decision-making body, who then would be in charge of decisions, Rainio asked. Thus, while he supported the inclusion of more stakeholders in university bodies, he proposed that their share should never reach 50 percent.⁵² In that sense, the question of the capital of academic power was not only an abstract matter but also a juridical issue.

The Faculty organized several discussion events between the professoriate, teachers and students during the reform to introduce universal suffrage to the university administration. Nonetheless, the students lost the fight (ultimately, the 1:1:1 tripartite principle was adopted as a temporary arrangement, but it actually lasted until the large-scale university reform of 2009); however, the one-man-one-vote battle was a catalyst for the radicalization of the leftist student movement. After a short period of inactivity, the movement began to focus on infiltrating student organizations as a practical application of their recently adopted Leninism ideology. Finally, the SOL became more Leninist than the SKP, its parent party. In practice, this meant that, according to the democratic idea of the university, ASS cells should act as self-governing organs to defend the rights of students in relation to their teachers. The student cells were also to criticize the content of courses.

In addition, the ASS established parallel departments of sorts in sociology and economics, where the students organized their own Marxist lecture series. The teachers in these courses were either fellow students or leftist junior teachers (assistants). The basic idea behind the cells was to act as a counterbalance to teaching based on “bourgeois values.”⁵³

51 E.g., The minutes of the Faculty of Social Sciences 13 May 1970, 1§; 25.5.1970, 12§ + appendices. Arkki.

52 Rainio (220), 288, 303. Kullervo Rainio interview by Jukka Kortti, February 8, 2018, personal collection. Rainio based his views, especially concerning stake holders (or interest groups), on the power-defence theory by Richard M. Emerson.

53 Matti Hyvärinen, *Viimeiset taistot* (Tampere: Vastapaino, 1994), 256–57; Juhani Ruotsalo, Interview by John Lagerbohm, January 24, 1996, personal collection; Mika Lampinen, *Imperialismin iltarusko? Nuortaistolaisen liikkeen ideologian muotoutuminen*, Master's Thesis in Political History, University of Helsinki, 2000; Matti Klinge, 'Politiikka ja korkeakoulupolitiikka', 188–349, in *Helsingin yliopisto 1917–1990*, Matti Klinge, Rainer Knapas, Anto Leikola & John Strömberg (Helsinki: Otava, 1990), 315.

Conclusion: The Finnish peculiarities of the elite fields in the universal clash

The conflict between students and the old university elite was a universal phenomenon in the 1960s and the 1970s. In Finland as well, the activities of the leftist student movement led to several confrontations between professors and students during the 1970s. However, there were many national peculiarities in the conflict shaped by Finnish history, traditions and organizational procedures and practices.

The most obvious peculiarity was that Finnish far-leftist students, as well as the whole Marxist-Leninist movement, took Finlandization politics to an extreme through their tendency of accusing opponents of anti-Sovietism in a wide variety of contexts, including the university reforms.

In terms of politics, accusations of anti-Sovietism were an efficient tool in an era when the Finnish political elite, as well as the media, had to be very careful of the Soviets. Moreover, this concerned not only foreign but also domestic policy in terms of Finlandization. Even if it was not necessary to take any practical measures, the authorities had to provide some response to the claims of the Leninist movement. This allowed the movement to be more influential than its size would suggest. Moreover, the Taistoists' relatively wide support among artists and journalists further increased their influence in the Finnish public sphere. In terms of cultural capital, they managed to occupy dominant positions in the Finnish "gaming space" in order to gain symbolic capital.⁵⁴ This question was also very much entangled with the clashes over power positions in the elite fields.

Unlike many countries,⁵⁵ violence was not part of the repertoire of this Finnish extreme left movement, however. Even the rallies and the demonstrations were rather peaceful, and there was no question of engaging in the kind of bombing and murders perpetrated by the German Red Army Faction, the Italian *Brigate Rosse* or the American Weather Underground. Although the attacks by Finnish students were often personal, they were never physical on the campuses. However, the psychological violence was sometimes extreme.⁵⁶

The Finnish tradition of participating in society primarily through associations and political parties was also manifested in radical student activism. The Finnish "educated class" had traditionally been close to the State. This was manifested on both sides of the clash. In other words, extra-parliamentary activities had never been a strong feature of the political history of independent Finland after the Civil War. As the student leader Ruotsalo emphasized, they had "zero tolerance of violence because the tradition of the Finnish labour movement obligated them to avoid violence."⁵⁷

The distinguishing characteristic of the Finnish elite system was the role of students, who had historically been an elite themselves. Of course, before the baby boomer generation, educated young people were a privileged class in many countries, especially in such class-based societies as England or France. Nonetheless,

54 Bourdieu, (1996a), 264–65, 318.

55 See, e.g., Alberto Martin Alvarez, Eduardo Rey Tristán, *Revolutionary Violence and the New Left* (New York: Routledge 2017).

56 Besides the leaflets published by the student movement, which were very personal in their criticism of the university elite, some professors or their families were also disturbed by telephone calls at night. Jari Leskinen, *Tulevaisuuden turvaksi. Osa 2: Sotavahinkoyhdistyksen säätiö ja sotavahinkosäätiö 1954–2004* (Helsinki: Sotavahinkosäätiö, 2004), 349.

57 Ruotsalo interview 1996.

whereas an Oxbridge or Collège de France background was the gateway to elite status, Finnish students, many of whom, due to the late formation of the industrial bourgeoisie, came from rural areas with most of them lacking any sort of aristocratic background, were able to gain access to the elite.

The Finnish nobility never represented such a strong social class as the aristocracy in many older European cultures. Moreover, the peasantry was one of the four cameral divisions of the Diet (together with the nobility, clergy and burghers) in the Grand Duchy of Finland under the Russian Empire before a new unicameral Parliament was formed in 1906. Thus, even before the baby boomers, the sons of peasants could join the elite by entering the University.

Unlike in many Western countries, the student elite have been close to the corridors of power throughout modern Finnish history. Moreover, this tradition was still manifested in the 1970s leftist student movement in many ways. First, it was apparent in the activities of student organizations, which have historically operated as an elite subfield. They were influential and played an official role in Finnish political life and the public sphere. Moreover, this subfield did not just function within the university field; rather, its networks reached all the way to the political and economic fields. The student movement enjoyed power that extended to the highest echelons of government, even to the President of the Republic and speculation over his successor.

Consequently, in addition to being a struggle between the main field (the professoriate) and the subfield (the students) of the university, the question of university democracy was very much entangled with the hegemonic battle between two power fields, the political elite and university elite. The former wished to weaken the other and the latter wished to preserve its autonomy as an elite group. Moreover, the exceptionally strong student movement, again, operated not only in the university field, but also within the field of national politics.

The most revealing example of this influence within the political field is the case of Ulf Sundqvist: he was appointed Minister of Education only a few short years after leaving his position as a student leader.⁵⁸ In terms of the economic field, the Student Union of the University of Helsinki, with its remarkable real estate holdings, as well as the student unions of the Helsinki School of Economics, prepared students to take rather short steps into business life. In short and, again, with Bourdieuan terminology, the students networked effectively to gain “social capital.”⁵⁹ This tradition partly explains why the influences of international political student activism, with its strong leftist flavour, shook the old establishment. The threat of a leftist uprising did not shock the old elite only because of the left’s support for Finland’s problematic WWII enemy neighbour, but also because of its proximity to the power centres of society.

Although (global) reforms in higher education since the 1980s are beyond the scope of this article, both the Finnish higher education authorities and Finnish politicians learned a lesson from the reforms of the 1970s. While university professors succeeded in resisting much of both the administrative reform and the degree reform in the 1970s, the same cannot be said for the marketization of higher education

58 One of his successors during the university reforms of the 1970s was Paavo Väyrynen, similarly a young baby-boomer talent with a background at the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Helsinki.

59 Pierre Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital,” 241–258, in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John G. Richardson (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 248–52.

in recent decades. In remoulding Finnish universities according to the ideas of “academic capitalism,”⁶⁰ the strategy has been to introduce new ideas gradually rather than through sudden change. Consequently, both professors and students have only woken up to the reforms when it has already been too late to protest.

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60 Slaughter and Rhoades (2004).

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Book Reviews

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Dissertations

Hampus Östh Gustafsson
Folkhemmets styvbar: Humanioras legitimitet i svensk kunskapspolitik 1935–1980

Göteborg: Daidalos
2020, 493 pp.

The crisis of the humanities has been a recurrent theme in public as well as scholarly debate for quite some time. More often than not, the ones yelling crisis typically contrast the doom and gloom of today with some presumably golden age of the past. When writing history of the humanities, it is far too easy to fall into this narrative or deciding whether a crisis was “real” or not. In his dissertation *Folkhemmets styvbar*, historian of science and ideas Hampus Östh Gustafsson manages to avoid these traps. He does take as his point of departure some of the recent discussions on the crisis of the humanities, but breaks with them and instead focuses on how the legitimacy of the humanities was challenged as a new regime of politics of knowledge in Sweden emerged and became predominant between 1935 and 1980. Rather than pointing out whether or when the humanities was in a crisis, the dissertation analyses the conditions under which a discourse of crisis emerged.

After a thorough introductory chapter, Östh Gustafsson addresses

the main question on the changing legitimacy of the humanities in three chronologically ordered empirical chapters, followed by a concluding chapter. Although the author relies on a range of perspectives and concepts from the history and sociology of science – historical narratives, sociology of expectations, boundary work – it is really the concept regime of legitimacy that stands out as novel and, above all, useful. The concept regime of legitimacy refers to the conditions under which science or a branch of science can obtain legitimacy in a particular order of politics of knowledge. Within such a regime, there are numerous strategies of legitimacy – an additional conceptual tool – any science could employ to gain legitimacy: anything from economic utility to national meaning making or cultural literacy. Hence, whether a given strategy successfully brings legitimacy or not always depends on the historical context.

Government commissions on university and research policy make up the main source material in the sense that they cover the entire period 1935–1980 and highlight moments of intensified debate. To sift through this comprehensive body of text, the author focuses on directives, discussions of aims and purposes as well as on the historical narratives in the commission reports. During moments of intensified debate, conference proceedings and programmatic articles in the press supplement

the commission reports. In bringing this variety of sources together, the author makes a remarkably rich and colourful reconstruction of the discursive field in which the legitimacy of the humanities was at stake.

The dissertation focuses on the period from 1935 to 1980, which encompass the emergence and eventual decline of a regime of knowledge politics that rested on the tenet of rational planning. The author points out three main characteristics of this regime: science should be legitimate in the eyes of the democratic public rather than the social elite; efficiency, rationality and planning were key principles for the politics of knowledge; and sciences were expected to contribute to the welfare state project. It emerged in the interwar years, especially the 1930s, and then consolidated in the 1940s, reached its height in the 1950s and 60s before starting to decline in the 1970s and 80s. Each empirical chapter is devoted to one of these three stages.

Within this new regime, and starting after its emergence in the 1930s, the humanities struggled to achieve legitimacy and instead became marginalised. This position was not so much due to lack of effort on behalf of the humanities' advocates, but more because they used dated or ineffective methods and arguments – their strategies of legitimacy – as well as making a virtue of their position in the margins. As a widened democratic public called for return of investments from a university system increasingly publicly governed and financed, the strategies of emphasizing *Bildung* and traditions, bestowing Sweden with international cultural prestige, or providing schools with teachers did little to heed such a call.

Later, when the regime of rational

planning was approaching its height in the 1960s and 70s, the humanities slowly started to adapt. Yet, the way in which they adapted would still place them in a secondary position in the new regime. In a society of strong economic growth and technological development, the humanities would provide a cultural service to society. That is, they were not integral to the narratives of the future of progress and development, but could still play a role as something of a luxury. This adaptive approach among the advocates of the humanities was about to change, however. In the final decades of the regime of rational planning, the humanities developed the role of the “gadfly”, emphasizing their critical-ideological mission and their defence of democracy. This is also the time when an explicit discourse of crisis develops among humanities scholars. To summarise the struggles of the humanities to fit with the new regime of knowledge politics, using Östh Gustafsson's words, “the main problem was that the humanities did not manage to formulate their own distinct contribution to the democratic welfare project, and previously successful strategies of legitimation did not seem compatible with the regime of rational planning” (p. 427).

In other words, the marginal position often associated with the humanities has been a constant theme throughout the knowledge political regime that dominated 1935–1980. The marginalisation moreover predates the crisis discourse, which is an interesting observation because it allows Östh Gustafsson to confront previous scholarship that typically attribute the crisis of the humanities to the critical movements of the late 1960s and 70s. This rebuttal of an all too common line of reasoning is, in my opinion, one of

the main contributions this dissertation makes to the history of the humanities.

The dissertation also provides a number of substantive insights to the history of higher education. Chapter III, for example, covers the process whereby the increasing enrolments at the faculties of liberal arts was identified as a problem of public concern. In short, the underlying question of why students continued to apply to humanities, an investment of little personal and societal economic utility, and its recurrent debates stigmatised humanities and its students as a problem for society. This problem was generated through the clash between students' actual demand for humanities and the ambitions of the governing bodies to steer students towards fields of study deemed more relevant to the development of the labour market. The author also makes an interesting connection between the plight of the humanities and the gradual transformation of higher education from a private to a public matter. As long higher education was a concern for a small elite paying their own tuition, the utility of the humanities, or any science for that matter, could be allowed to be anything. However, as soon as higher education becomes a public matter and financed with public means, the utility must be motivated. The author also suggests that this transition was accompanied by a loss of relative autonomy for the universities, who increasingly found themselves having to adhere to ideals of planning and democratic equality.

Another aspect, perhaps less central to the dissertation but nevertheless interesting to historians of higher education is the fact that the way Sweden dealt with the expansion at the height

of the rational planning regime gained international reputation and praise. In addition, there are several gems placed throughout the text, such as the importance of educational and vocational guidance both as a control function and channelling of students. Moreover, the reference to humanities programs as "Mrs. Degrees" ("hemmafrun med akademiska betyg", p. 246) at a conference in 1963 highlight the relevance of the ongoing discussion in sociology of education on gendered logics of social reproduction.

From the point of view of history of education, one might have anticipated more of a discussion with Gunnar Richardsson's *Kulturkamp och klasskamp* (1963) and its chapter on the question of Latin in the 1880s. Such a discussion would not alter the general argument nor the results of the dissertation. Instead, it would provide the reader with a glimpse into a time when the order was reversed in the sense that the humanities were at their height in terms of official legitimacy whereas the natural sciences had to overcome the prevailing idealist worldview to gain legitimacy in the upper echelons of the schooling system.

Overall, Östh Gustafsson's dissertation is a masterpiece whose contributions undoubtedly extend well beyond the field of history of science and ideas, in which it was defended. Östh Gustafsson focuses on the humanities as a whole, thereby distinguishing his dissertation from much research in the history of humanities (and social sciences) which tend to focus on individual or handful of disciplines. While this is a terrific manoeuvre in general, it is also called for by the specific subject matter, since the national politics of knowledge and its related discursive negotiations and renegotiations tended

to treat the humanities as a monolith in comparison with natural sciences, or medicine.

In addition, the dissertation sets an example on how to study discourse in the history of (higher) education through developing concepts and demonstrating how to use them. It masterfully navigates back and forth between research and education, two entities typically considered in isolation when studied. As such, it provides a template for how to understand the development not just in the realm of knowledge producers but also in the realm of transmission of knowledge to future generations. By continuously comparing what happens to the humanities to not just the social sciences but to the sciences also, the dissertation shows that the plight of the humanities is not just about fitting or not fitting in a particular regime of legitimacy, but also about competing with other sciences for legitimacy.

To conclude, Östh Gustafsson's dissertation is incredibly rich in content while managing to stay focused and guide even the amateur historian of science and ideas safely through its many pages. It is, quite simply, a book well worth reading.

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Emma Vikström
*Skapandet av den nya människan:
Eugenik och pedagogik i Ellen Keys
författarskap*

Örebro universitet (PhD diss.)
2021, 249 pp.

Föreställningar om kulturell degeneration, den "sociala frågan", upplevda hot från utlandet och befolkningskris ledde till en ökat intresse kring frågor om hur befolkningen kunde "förbättras" kring förra sekelskiftet. Eugenik (fortsättningsvis synonymt med rasbiologi och rashygien) var en del av lösningen enligt politiker, forskare och intellektuella. Tanken var att med hjälp av vetenskap och medicinska ingrepp förädla/förbättra människan genom en aktiv och selektiv reproduktion. Eugeniken blev lösningen på en rad problem av mer samhällslig och social karaktär som var kopplade till frågor om exempelvis fattigdom och sjukdom. I sammanhanget brukar man tala om "reformeugenik", något som tilltalade mer progressiva krafter dit Ellen Key (1849–1926) kan räknas.

Emma Vikströms avhandling *Skapandet av den nya människan: Eugenik och pedagogik i Ellen Keys författarskap* intresserar sig främst för förhållandet mellan eugenik och reformpedagogiska perspektiv. Det övergripande syftet med avhandlingen är att visa hur Key genom att sammanföra eugenik och pedagogik i sin idé- och kunskapsproduktion eftersträvade att skapa en ny typ av människa. Syftet besvaras genom att Vikström i avhandlingen arbetar med tre frågeställningar: Vilken innebörd gav Key eugenik? Hur relaterade Key eugenik till pedagogik? Vad kännetecknade Keys idé- och kunskapsproduktion om eugenik och pedagogik? Som synes ligger alltså fokus på eugenik och

pedagogik, inte pedagogik och eugenik.

Teoretiskt placerar sig Vikström i det relativt breda och expanderande fältet inom kunskapshistoria där kunskapens sociala konstruktion och cirkulation står i fokus. Det innebär bland annat att hur kunskap förändras när den cirkulerar mellan olika sammanhang analyseras. En utgångspunkt är att kunskap är rumsligt och materiellt förankrat vilket innebär att kunskapens kontextuella villkor och sammanhang är viktigt att beakta i analysen. I förlängningen innebär det att frågor om makt, samspel mellan olika aktörer och institutioner, men också hur kunskap uppstår, förhandlas och accepteras blir relevant att studera. För Vikströms del är det ett omfattande kontextuellt sammanhang som analyseras, då tiden 1880–1926 är den kronologiska avgränsningen.

Det material som används är framförallt texter publicerade av Key, så som tidskriftsartiklar, inlägg i dagspress, recensioner, brevväxlingar med framstående eugeniker och böcker. I en mening är det ett relativt omfattande material som möjliggör en fördjupad förståelse för Keys perspektiv på eugenik och pedagogik. Samtidigt är det i relation till ambitionen att kontextualisera och förstå Keys idéer i förhållande till en historisk kontext ett något begränsat material. Framförallt hade ytterligare pedagogiskt material varit relevant att lyfta in, som exempelvis annan samtida pedagogisk kunskapsproduktion. Även om Key var tidigt ute med att föra samman eugenik och pedagogik fanns det i början av 1900-talet också andra sammanhang där pedagoger närmade sig dessa frågor.

Tidigare forskning och bakgrund

I avhandlingen introduceras ett intressant – för många svenska forskare nog nytt – och i huvudsak interna-

tionellt forskningsfält där kopplingen mellan eugenik och progressiv pedagogik studeras. Framförallt kan här nämnas Thomas Fallace studie om progressivism och eugenik. Även om flertalet progressiva pedagoger inte hade en uttalad rasistisk agenda kom vissa perspektiv och antaganden att få en tydlig etnocentrisk prägel hos dess företrädare. Exempelvis anammades den så kallade rekapitulationsteorin av progressiva pedagoger. Tanken var här att ”folkslag” befann sig på olika kulturella ”utvecklingsnivåer”, där den vita västerländska kulturen sågs som mest utvecklad medan ”urbefolkningar” sågs som mindre civiliserade. Inom den barncenterade pedagogiken överfördes dessa tankar på så sätt att barnet antogs befinna sig på ”vildens” nivå och därmed behövde fostras.

I de inledande kapitlen lyfter Vikström också fram hur flera framträdande pedagoger och psykologer som Maria Montessori, Stanley Hall och Edward Thorndike tog mer eller mindre intryck av eugeniska perspektiv. Nu är detta i och för sig välkänt i många sammanhang, inte minst har ju Thorndike ifrågasatts i USA den senaste tiden. Men Vikströms genomgång är en nödvändig påminnelse om behovet att också inkludera de mindre smickrande dimensionerna av pedagogikens historia i fältets historieskrivning.

Svenska studier finns där eugeniska perspektiv framförallt kopplas till frågor om mätning, intelligenstest, skolhygien och hanteringen av ”sinnesslöa”, vilka lyfts fram i avhandlingen. Det är numera väl belagt att reformister i Sverige kunde bejaka eugeniska perspektiv som en del av en radikal socialpolitik, inte minst har just behandlingen av ”sinnesslöa” analyserats. Det har också funnits en omfattande kritisk diskussion om hur olika institutioner, politiker

och intellektuella kom att omfamna eugeniska perspektiv för det allmännas bästa, vilket fick förödande konsekvenser för enskilda individer. Inte minst har folkhemmets skuggsidor behandlats och utretts i forskning men också i statliga utredningar. Men frågor om skola, pedagogik och eugenik har med några få undantag inte närmare studerats.

Vikström är väl bevandrad i internationell och svensk forskning kring eugenik och pedagogik, hon använder den också aktivt i avhandlingen på ett utmärkt vis. Det innebär att Keys tankar på ett bra sätt begripliggörs. Exempelvis visas hur kontakten med den brittiska eugenikern Caleb Saleeby innebar ett ömsesidigt utbyte mellan Key och Saleeby. Saleebys verk översattes också till svenska och boken *Föräldraskap och raskultur* refererades i *Barnets århundrade*. Vikström kan sägas på ett föredömligt sätt genomgående föra en resonerande dialog med tidigare forskning i resultatpresentationen.

Resultat

I avhandling är ett av Vikströms intressen att försöka förstå vilka bevekelsegrunder Key hade för att bejaka eugeniska perspektiv. Som antyddes inledningsvis går det att se Keys omfamning av eugeniken som en del av en samtida allmän samhällsrelig rörelse där frågor om "människorasens" degeneration och behovet av att förbättra samhället var aktuell: eugeniken blev ett verktyg för en evolutionistisk progressiv omgestaltning av människosläktet. Det innebar för Key att hon bland annat menade att gravt missbildade barns liv kunde släckas om det fanns smärtfria metoder för detta. Vidare borde vissa individer med skadliga ärftliga åkommor nekats föräldraskap, exempelvis gällde detta kriminella personer. Den grundläggande idén var här att skapa ett bra samhälle för kommande generationer.

Det var också en del av en allmän kristendomskritik där Key med flera betonade att människan/människosläktet kunde förbättras och utvecklas: människan var inte predisponerad en specifik utveckling. Antagandet var att en ny och bättre människa kunde skapas med hjälp av eugenik.

Noterbart är att Key var en person som spelade en internationell roll inom fältet eugenik, vilket Vikström visar genom analyser av brevväxlingar och texter i brittiska populärvetenskapliga uppslagsverk. Hennes begrepp erotoplastik fick exempelvis visst internationellt genomslag. Begreppet var en sammanslagning av erotik och plastik och syftade på betydelsen av att beakta kärlekens sinnlighet och forandet av specifika objekt. Tanken med detta var att betona kärlekens roll i samband med att frågan om reproduktion behandlades och diskuterades.

I Sverige var Key också synnerligen drivande gällande eugeniska spörsmål. Hon kom i många sammanhang att skriva om eugenik, inte minst i klassikern *Barnets århundrade*. Hon hade också kontakt med Herman Lundborg via brevkorrespondens och var även en ivrig tillskyndare för inrättandet av ett statligt rasbiologiskt institut och skrev bland annat en uppmärksam text i *Dagens Nyheter* där hon påtalade behovet av ett svenskt rasbiologiskt institut.

I avhandlingen visar Vikström vidare hur eugenik och pedagogik kunde bli komplementära kunskapsområden. En grundläggande koppling var att kunskapsfälten hade som utgångspunkt att samhället kunde och borde förbättras och att det var möjligt att förädla människan och människosläktet. Vikström påtalar hur Key lyfter fram föreställningar om människans bildbarhet och utvecklingspotential. Men i det sammanhanget var det också viktigt att

icke-önskvärda anlag (eller degenere-
rande anlag) sorterades bort. I exem-
pelvis *Barnets århundrade* skrev Key att
kvinnor inte skulle välja män/partners
som hade åkommor av olika slag, det
skulle ju kunna leda till att dåliga gener
överfördes till framtida generationer.
Kvinnor gavs alltså i hög grad möjlig-
het att bli aktiva praktiska eugeniker via
medvetet partnerval. Härmed kunde
kvinnan bidra till människans förädling
och gavs en viktig agens för släktens
reproduktion.

Med undantag av vissa degenere-
rade människor var alltså människan
utvecklingsbar. Key pekar på hur peda-
gogiken kunde forma förvärvade egen-
skaper som var ärftliga, pedagogiken
kunde alltså bidra till att stärka goda
egenskaper. Men inte minst var kunskapen
om eugeniken viktigt. Kunskap om
eugenik borde spridas via en variant av
sexualkunskap där såväl mer biologiska
som kärleksetiska perspektiv rymdes,
enligt Key.

Vikström framhåller bland annat
här hur begreppet ”generationernas
helighet” var centralt för Key. Begreppet
syftar på att pedagogiska teorier
ofta går bortom samtiden och riktar sig
mot efterkommande generationer. De
utopiska inslagen kan också länkas till
Keys föreställningar om att människan
kan förädlas och på lång sikt leda till en
bättre och upplyst värld med en ny slags
människor. Här finns en tydlig koppling
till det eugeniska uppdraget att sortera
bort individer som hindrade denna
utveckling.

I avhandlingen lyfter Vikström också
fram hur Key på andra vis kom att vilja
föreina pedagogik och eugenik via mer
formella institutioner. Key önskade att
det pedagogiska forskningsinstitutet
Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau i Geneve
skulle bidra med kunskapsspridning om
barnuppfostran på vetenskaplig grund.

Exempel på kunskap som detta och
liknande institut skulle kunna sprida
rörde frågor om psykologiska aspekter
av uppfostran, men också kunskap om
eugenik.

I avhandlingen analyseras vad som
kännetecknade Keys idé- och kun-
skapsproduktion kring eugenik och
pedagogik. Vikström betonar att Key
aktivt försökte undvika dikotomier av
varierande slag. En sådan dualism hon
ställde sig kritisk till var åtskillnaden
mellan kropp och själ, vilket också kan
ses som en del av en hennes kristen-
domskritik. Vidare påtalas att Key blev
en slags popularisator av kunskap om
pedagogik och eugenik. Hon skrev om
dessa frågor inom en rad arenor, inte
bara i böcker. Tidskrifter som *Verdandi*,
Idun och *Dagny* innehöll bidrag från
Key. Men hon höll också föredrag och
gjorde skolbesök. Exempelvis besöktes
Göteborgs högre samskola och radikala
studentföreningar. I en mening kan hon
ses som en kunskapsaktör som rörde
sig mellan en rad olika institutioner
och arenor för att sprida kunskap, enligt
Vikström.

Key var dock selektiv i sitt bruk av
vetenskapliga perspektiv. Till exempel
anammade hon inte föreställningar om
mänsklighetens indelning i raser, vilket
annars var legio hos bemärkta euge-
niker. Hon kom också att ifrågasätta
tidigare kunskap och ställa sig kritisk
till vissa perspektiv som var accepte-
rade av dåtidens vetenskapssamhälle.
Exempelvis var hon skeptisk till Men-
dels ärftlighetslära, medan hon anam-
made en lamarckistisk hållning där ut-
gångspunkten var att förvärvade anlag
kunde överföras mellan generationer.
Key var alltså inte en passiv mottaga-
re av eugeniska perspektiv utan kom
att revidera och justera perspektiv från
framträdande eugeniker.

I summering

Vikströms avhandling är välskriven och hon ger också ett viktigt kunskapsstillskott kring en hittills i stort sett negligerad del av svensk utbildningshistoria, den om relationen mellan eugenik och pedagogik. Som Vikström visar har detta i och för sig berörts och delvis diskuterats i tidigare studier, men det har då knappast varit ett huvudsakligt kunskapsintresse. Ett bra exempel, som inte Vikström nämner, är studier av Sveriges första professor i pedagogik, Bertil Hammer. I biografiska studier noteras att han gjorde vissa rasbiologiska uttalanden, men det blir snarast ett undantag från den övriga vetenskapliga verksamheten (Kroksmark 1991). Vikström har snarare haft ett motsatt angreppssätt: hur kan man förstå att reforminriktade pedagoger kunde inspireras av eugeniska perspektiv? Hon gör heller inga försök att vare sig demonisera eller trivialisera Keys vurm för eugenik och reformpedagogik. Snarare går hon på djupet med Keys idéer och föreställningar kring företeelsen. Hon värjer sig inte heller för att lyfta fram synpunkter som idag uppfattas som stötande, detta är alltså knappast en hagiografisk skildring av Key.

Av den fördjupning som Vikströms avhandling ger, följer också vissa begränsningar. Med sitt fokus på eugenik och pedagogik, följer att avhandlingen inte kan ge en bredare bild av relationen mellan pedagogik och eugenik. Exempelvis hade redan nämnda professor i pedagogik, Bertil Hammers, roll i att sprida kunskap om eugenik och pedagogik kunnat diskuteras. Här finns faktiskt också en direkt koppling till Key. I Hammers tidskrift *Svenskt arkiv för Pedagogik* finns exempel på att eugeniska perspektiv kom att anläggas. När tidskriften bytte namn till *Arkiv för psykologi och pedagogik* framkom i

en slags programförklaring att en rad namnkunniga skribenter bjudits in som framtida skribenter. Här ingår B J:son Bergqvist som var det statsråd som såg till att ett rasbiologiskt institut inrättades, Bergqvist var också Skolöverstyrelsens första direktör. Även institutets första chef Herman Lundborg hade också enligt Hammer lovat att lämna bidrag till tidskriften. Men även Key var en tilltänkt skribent (Hammer 1922).

I dessa tidskrifter kom vidare bland annat Hammers första doktorand Georg Brandell att publicera artiklar där begrepp som ras och eugenik återkom. Även i andra tidskriftssammanhang kom också kunskap om eugenik att spridas tidigt 1920-tal. Med tanke på att teoretisk inspiration för avhandlingen har tagits bland annat i perspektiv som rör kunskapens sociala och kontextuella karaktär hade kopplingen till samtida pedagogiska sammanhang kunnat fördjupas.

En reflektion jag själv gör efter att ha läst avhandlingen, är också att vi nu börjar få rätt god kunskap om kvinnliga progressiva skolintresserade reformister som vurmade för eugenik. Jämte Key är ju kunskapen om Alva Myrdals förhållande till eugeniken omfattande exempelvis. Men hur är det med kunskap om framträdande manliga pedagoger som Bertil Hammer och Georg Brandell som i olika sammanhang kom att förhålla sig till frågor om skola, pedagogik och eugenik? Här väcker verkligen Vikströms avhandling frågor som jag hoppas fortsatta studier kan besvara.

I avhandlingens avslutande del lyfts några förslag fram för problemområden som borde uppmärksammas mer. Ett av dessa är hur olika idéproducenter med intresse för eugenik och pedagogik stod i kontakt med varandra. Det är bara att instämma i det förslaget. Kopplingen mellan eugenik och pedagogik behöver

beforskas mer. Vikströms bidrag är en viktig pusselbit, men som hon själv också visar finns mycket kvar att göra.

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Morten Øveraas

Teokratiets folkelærarar:

Folkhøgskular og kristeleg

nasjonalisme i Noreg ca. 1814–1905

Universitetet i Stavanger (PhD diss)
2021, 478 pp.

Relationen mellan kristendom och nationalism utgör ett centralt problemområde i framväxten av det moderna Norge under 1800-talet och det tidiga 1900-talet. Lärarna vid folkhögskolorna var i egenskap av eliter i samhället centrala aktörer och förmodligen den grupp som allra tydligast definierade denna relation. Morten Øveraas avhandling *Folkhøgskular og kristeleg nasjonalisme i Noreg ca. 1814–1905* behandlar folkhögskolläraernas intellektuella verksamhet, sociala nätverksbyggande och inflytande i samhället över en längre tidsperiod. I tidigare forskning har grundtvigianism, folkhögskolorna och den så kallade "norskdomsrørsle" enbart betraktats som delar i en liberal, radikal och nationaldemokratisk utveckling i Norge. En

sådan liberal läsning av norsk nationalism och nationsbyggnad på 1800-talet har dock inneburit att folkhögskolornas konservativa och pietistiska element ofta kommit att betraktas som avvikelser från den radikal-liberala huvudlinjen. Som Øveraas visar finns det fog för ståndpunkten att en dynamisk kristen nationalism, som inbegrep såväl liberal som konservativ etik, optimistisk och pessimistisk antropologi, i själva verket var ett unikt fenomen i sig självt som präglade den norska nationsbyggnadsprocessen under 1800-talet.

Med utgångspunkt i folkhögskolorna tar alltså doktorsavhandlingen sig an ett relativt utforskat forskningsområde: den kristna nationalismen i Norge under perioden 1814–1905. Utifrån ett omfattande källmaterial bearbetar författaren på ett noggrant och övertygande sätt frågeställningen om hur kristendom och nationalism gjorde sig gällande i folkhögskolekulturen och vilken position företrädarna för denna nationalism intog i det norska nationsbygget. Øveraas visar att kristendomen spelade en betydligt mer central roll för olika nationella yttringar än vad som tidigare antagits och att så var fallet under hela den undersökta perioden. Huvudvikten läggs vid den konservativa lutherdomen som inte tidigare beretts särskilt mycket utrymme i historieskrivningen om norsk nationalism. Författaren uttrycker sig dock väl försiktigt om sitt bidrag i inledningen: "avhandlinga kan dermed seiast å vere eit bidrag til å delvis fylle ut denne mangelen i den eksisterande forskningslitteraturen" (s. 5). Redan i inledningsdelen kunde avhandlingen ännu tydligare positioneras som nydanande i relation till tidigare forskning. Nu sker detta först i den avslutande delen, där doktoranden summerar sina resultat och relaterar dem till teoretiska och metodiska spørsmål.

Författaren driver en tes om att religionen, särskilt den konservativa lutherdomen, tidigare har tilldelats en alltför begränsad roll i historie-skrivningen om norsk nationalism. Ett av de centrala och intressanta resultaten står i motsättning till traditionell moderniseringsteori: att utvecklingen skulle ha gått från det konservativa till det liberala. Författaren argumenterar i studien för att de två faser, som vanligen beskrivits komma efter varandra såsom formulerats i den så kallade "tvåfasmodellen", i själva verket samexisterade under hela perioden och att perioden därmed präglades av samexistens, dynamik och ambivalens och förskjutningar. Kristen nationalism kan därför betraktas som en särskild intellektuell position som uppvisar både likheter och olikheter med flera andra aktörer och övertygelser i Norge under 1800-talet.

Valet av en lång tidsperiod för studien motiveras av Grundtvigs och grundtvigianimens inflytande under den första hälften av 1800-talet. Denna period utgjorde nämligen en förberedande fas till folkhögskolekulturens framväxt. När sedan folkhögskolan etablerades i Norge på 1860-talet kom den, utifrån såväl arvet från denna tidiga utveckling som från nyare tolkningar, att fungera som ett slags prisma för den kristna nationalismen fram till Norges självständighet år 1905. Avhandlingen visar att en så kallad "konservativ kristen nationalism" spelade en viktig roll genom hela perioden, vilket delvis bekräftar tvåfasmodellen, men kompletterar den genom att framhäva folkhögskolornas roll i att (åter)aktualisera religiositeten. En förskjutning sker dock inom den kristna nationalismen under den senare delen av 1800-talet från en mer liberal inriktning mot vad författaren benämner som en kristen agrarnationalism. Genom att betona den kristna nationalismens exis-

tens som ett etablerat "politiskt språk" allt sedan början av 1800-talet problematiserar och omtolkar Øveraas de etablerade kategorierna och dikotomierna inom fältet, såsom "fundamentalister" och "pietister", "liberaler" och "konservativa".

Avhandlingen är ett viktigt och ny-skapande bidrag till studiet av förhållandet mellan kristendom och norsk nationalism i synnerhet, och förhållandet mellan religion och politik i Skandinavien mera allmänt. Den visar på det nära släktskapet mellan kristen nationalism och sekulär nationalism (som hos Ernst Sars) och synliggör i hur hög grad "liberala" och "konservativa" varianter av nationalismen, och politiska ideologier mer allmänt, bottnade i antropologiska föreställningar och en "god" eller "syndig" människonatur. Konservatismen bygger förenklat på en uppfattning om att människan av naturen är syndig och liberalismen bygger på tron att den mänskliga naturen i grunden är god eller åtminstone kan förädlas. Genom att använda kön som ett analytiskt prisma identifierar Øveraas nationalismens "maskulina" varianter präglade av vän-fiendetänkande, våldslegitimering och dyrkande av stora ledare. Den reser därmed frågor om vad "liberal" norsk nationalism var och om det komplicerade och paradoxala förhållandet mellan antiliberal "folklig" mobilisering och det liberal-demokratiska slutresultatet i utvecklingen.

Delar av avhandlingen skulle kunna utvecklas mer och en hel del inbjuder till kritisk reflektion och vidare diskussion. Det gäller exempelvis teori och metod. Øveraas gör en omfattande men samtidigt väl författarbunden genomgång av teoretiska positioner och historiografi inom nationalismforskningen. Teoretiska perspektiv hämtade från Carl Schmitt, Anthony Smith och Benedict

Anderson fungerar väl i tolkningen av resultaten. Metodiskt används kontextualiserande talhandlingsteori som hos Quentin Skinner och John Pocock. Det är dock inte helt klart vad detta ramverk resulterar i, utöver en relativt konventionell idéhistoria. Øveraas framhäver att avslöja "intentionen" är att förstå "meningen" eller "poängen" med ett yttrande (s. 22). Det innebär att identifiera vilken typ av "samtal" en text ingår i, vad den är ett svar på, en kommentar till eller en reaktion på, men särskilt i de första delarna kan detta vara svårt att få grepp om eftersom det finns så få alternativa positioner och motpositioner. Han kunde möjligen också ha reflekterat över alternativa teoretiska positioner: är "kristen nationalism" en "diskurs" och vad kunde en diskursteoretisk ansats ha gett?

Vissa centrala begrepp kunde med fördel ha diskuterats ännu mer ingående som "teokrati", "profet", "agrarnationalism" och "kristendom". Definitionen av kristendom på s. 3 är exempelvis mycket övergripande och generell med tanke på att avhandlingens syfte är att specifikt studera norsk luthersk kristendom. Författaren kunde även ha resonerat kring den närmast idealtypiska distinktionen mellan liberal och konservativ etik i denna lutherska, kristna nationalism utifrån ett mer teologiskt perspektiv. Det är inte en teologisk avhandling och därmed kan inte samma krav ställas på precision i relation till denna disciplin. Däremot förekommer en del teologiska termer och begrepp som nog borde ha kontextualiserats tydligare. En närmare diskussion skulle exempelvis kunna ha förts om begreppet *pelagianism* eftersom det nog är relativt okänt för de flesta som inte är teologer av facket. Vidare kunde de olika personer som studeras ännu tydligare relateras till olika kyrkliga och teologis-

ka riktningar och inflytanden i Norge. För närvarande används i huvudsak de båda begreppen liberal och konservativ men de är närmast idealtypiska förenklingar och täcker inte hela floran av teologiska riktningar. Var kan exempelvis pietismen placeras in? Diskussionen får en något repetitiv tendens när dessa två inriktningar inskräps gång på gång.

Den tidigare forskningen beskrivs relativt detaljerat med inriktning mot norska förhållanden. Däremot skulle den gärna ha varit mer problemorienterad och tydligare visat vad avhandlingen fyller för luckor i forskningen. På så sätt skulle avhandlingens viktiga resultat framträda än tydligare än vad som redan är fallet. Som nämnts kunde en tydligare formulerad problemställning i inledningen varit till hjälp. Det går möjligen också att diskutera om den fylliga historiografiska genomgång som görs ända från 1920-talet är helt nödvändig. Avhandlingen gör med sina 478 sidor redan skäl för begreppet "tegelsten" (mursten på norska) och det innebär att vissa delar med fördel kunde ha kortats ned.

Något som trots dess omfattning saknas är en internationell utblick över forskning om utbildning och nationalism och särskilt när det gäller folkhögskolekulturer, inte minst i andra nordiska länder. Författaren kunde även ha presenterat en mer allmän diskussion om folkrörelsernas och kyrkans roll i Norge under 1800-talet och där placerat in det norska fallet. En sådan skulle kunna tydliggöra avhandlingens unika bidrag även i en större internationell kontext. Det förekommer en omfattande notapparat i avhandlingen och en del av denna text i notapparaten är så central så att den i stället kunde ha lyfts upp och integrerats i huvudtexten och därmed även gett en tydligare kontextualisering till några av resonemangen.

Det mycket noggranna och imponerande empiriska arbetet är en styrka i avhandlingen som bör framhållas med emfas. Under läsningen framträder resultaten allt tydligare genom presentationen av de olika ståndpunkterna och aktörernas bevekelsegrunder. Det är å ena sidan bra att primärkällorna får komma till tals eftersom texterna tydliggör och illustrerar olika positioner i debatten. Men å andra sidan blir texten stundtals väl aktörsorienterad, eftersom själva personerna bereds så stort utrymme. Emellanåt tenderar avhandlingstexten därför att bli aningen deskriptiv och tungläst och kunde ha kompletterats med ännu fler analytiska resonemang snarare än att presentera omfattande beskrivningar.

Dessa anmärkningar förtar dock inte på något sätt avhandlingens uppenbara styrka, nämligen att Øveraas har bearbetat ett synnerligen omfattande källmaterial och lyckats med att presentera det på ett begripligt och dessutom i många fall även underhållande sätt för läsaren. Det gedigna empiriska arbetet bidrar enligt min mening till att göra avhandlingen till ett standardverk inom området för lång tid framåt.

Analysen av relationen mellan religion, nationalism och utbildning är ett centralt problemområde i avhandlingen. I regel är det en välfungerande analys som presenteras och författaren bidrar till att både utöka vår kunskap om ämnet och flytta fram den vetenskapliga frontlinjen. Möjligen kunde texten ha bidragit med mer problematisering vad gäller religionens bidrag till utbildningsväsendet, särskilt utifrån den mycket viktiga och intresseväckande diskussion som förs om skolorna vid Sagatun och Romundgard. Under perioden som studeras pågick parallellt en sekularisering i Europa som innebar att nationsbygget religiösa ursprung om-

formades. Detta visas konkret i avhandlingen genom att både sekulär och religiös upplysning betonas såsom hos Olaus Arvesen vid Sagatun (s. 184 ff). Christian Bruun vid skolan på Romundgard går dock mer i riktning mot en agrarnationalism med inslag av både religion och nordisk mytologi. Den distinktion som presenteras ger en ökad förståelse för hur komplicerad föreningen av nationalism och religion egentligen var under 1800-talet. Det faller möjligen utanför avhandlingens ramar men här kunde Øveraas ha relaterat sina forskningsresultat till sekulariseringsteorier för att förtydliga det norska fallet. Owen Chadwick har exempelvis i sin klassiska bok *The Secularization of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century* (1990) visat att nationalismen i Europa under den senare hälften av 1800-talet ofta värderade religionen, men av andra skäl än de rent trosrättsliga. Religionen blev i första hand en del av det gemensamma nationella arvet och dess myter. Vad betydde alltså sekulariseringen för omformandet av sambandet mellan kristendom, nationalism och utbildning i den norska kontexten?

I avhandlingen återkommer författaren frekvent till att den religiösa konservatismen definieras av en pessimistisk antropologi (s. 323) gentemot en mer positiv religiöst liberal antropologi. Dessa diskussioner framträder som centrala för resultatet och inte minst vilka implikationer den pessimistiska antropologin fick för synen på inre och yttre fiender. Trots att det ligger mycket i beskrivningarna är samtidigt en sådan slutsats något förenklad. På s. 159 skriver författaren om Ole Vig att han "aktualiserade både liberal och konservativ etik; mennesket var både guddomeleg og syndig". Även om tolkningen är logisk är det inte helt givet att detta kan betraktas som en liberal och konservativ

etik utan som en luthersk etik präglad av ”simul iustus et peccator”, det vill säga att människan är både rättfärdig och syndig. En mycket positiv aspekt är att Øveraas tydligt visar på de olika betoningar som görs i etiken mellan olika riktningar. På motsvarande sätt nämns att Bruun syntetiserade både liberal och konservativ etik inom den kristna nationalismen (s. 280). Hur menar författaren här att den liberala (religiösa) etiken framhäver människans positiva sidor och den konservativa etiken de negativa (eller pessimistiska) sidorna? Här skulle författaren med fördel kunna utveckla resonemangen kring liberal och konservativ inom den kristna nationalismen och inte minst hur de samverkade.

De olika kritiska synpunkter och resonemang som framförts här utgör inga allvarliga invändningar mot avhandlingens slutresultat utan handlar mer om att ventilera sådant som kunde ha gjorts annorlunda eller skrivits fram på ett tydligare sätt. Därför bör det avslutningsvis framhållas att Øveraas har lyckats producera en imponerande avhandling som på flera sätt ifrågasätter och nyanserar tidigare forskning. Därtill ger de empiriska resultaten oss en ny och omfattande kunskap om kristen nationalism i Norge betraktad genom folkhögskollärarnas lins. Förhoppningen är att avhandlingen ska bidra till flera framtida studier inom ett forskningsområde i gränslandet mellan disciplinerna historia, pedagogik och teologi.

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Edited collections

Christian Ydesen (ed.)
The OECD's historical rise in education: the formation of a global governing complex

London: Palgrave Macmillan
2019, 308 pp.

In this excellent collection charting the historical and current work of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), Christian Ydesen, the book's editor, uses the term, "global governing complex" to capture and describe the extraordinary power of this relatively young entity (established 1961). The OECD, as Ydesen and other contributors to the book explain, exerts significant influence over the education policy of both member and non-member nations. As so many accounts of this phenomenon have pointed out, this influence occurs through soft power; essentially through the expert generation and packaging of comparative data. Ydesen writes,

In an era of overproduction of data and evidence, the OECD has managed to establish itself as a key supplier and interpreter of the type of evidence appreciated by politicians and decision-makers who can ascribe their narrative to numbers; the watchwords here are simplification, comparability and decontextualization (p. 2).

Certainly this is the way of things in the twenty-first century. Yet the OECD so saturates contemporary education policy talk that it is hard to remember

that as recently as the 1990s there was little awareness of its education work outside such specialist circles as senior education bureaucrats and academics in the field of globalisation studies. This changed quite dramatically with the first PISA release in 2001, such that almost from one day to the next the OECD's international scholastic achievement rankings became the stuff of everyday public debate—and in some cases national panic, under the new coinage, “PISA shock”. Illustrative of this development is an account of German “PISA shock” prominently displayed on the OECD's own website (OECD 2022). The OECD website, in keeping with the organisation's goals, is a model of accessible communication and the German case is offered there as an exemplar of OECD “impact”.

The OECD has featured in the academic literature of education in two main ways. First, the various data it generates constitute a gold mine of evidence, notably for the field of education economics. Second, a foundational critical policy literature—which accelerated towards the end of the 2010s—identified the OECD as a driver of neoliberal globalised education reform (see, e.g., Rizvi and Lingard 2009; Connell 2015). While much of this second category of literature is cited in *The OECD's Historical Rise*, and several of the contributors to the book are themselves critical policy scholars, this collection offers a fresh set of perspectives on this crucial institution by emphasising historical lines of questioning.

The OECD's Historical Rise originated in a research project funded by Aalborg University, Denmark, one of the aims of which was to establish and foster an international research network on the topic. It is published as one of the first in a Palgrave Macmillan series, “Global

Histories of Education,” a recently inaugurated series sponsored by ISCHE, the peak international scholarly society for the history of education. The book comprises fourteen chapters, including the editor's introduction and conclusion, ranging across the whole timespan of the OECD and across the globe. The fifteen authors, a mix of newer and well-established scholars, have written from universities in Argentina, Australia, Brazil, China, Denmark, Finland, Spain, Switzerland and the United Kingdom. What the chapters have in common is a distinctive historical sensibility and a rich empirical base. The sources are mainly documentary—focussed on archival records and OECD publications—although some also have used key informant interviews.

The book is structured into three parts. The first part, “Background to the OECD's Rise to the Role as a Global Authority in Education,” with chapters by Regula Bürgi, Maren Elfert and Vera G. Centeno, prioritises the period from the origins of the OECD's predecessor organisation, the OEEC (the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation, established in 1948 under the Marshall Plan) to the early 1970s. It situates the OECD's origins in Cold War US ambitions to build European capitalism, in the post second world war history of the social sciences, and in a set of bureaucratic, organisational moves that facilitated and entrenched the OECD as a policy actor in education.

The second part of the book, “The Impact of OECD Educational Initiatives and Programs in National Contexts” offers a set of detailed and grounded accounts of OECD relations with governments—with chapters by Frederik Forrai Ørskov (on Australia), Gabriela Toledo Silva (on Brazil), Karen Egedal Andreasen (on Denmark), Yihuan Zou

(on China), and Felicitas Acosta (on the Southern Cone countries of Argentina, Uruguay and Chile). These chapters are useful for, on the one hand understanding the success of OECD advocacy across a range of differently structured and governed education systems, while on the other hand providing a counter to those treatments of the OECD in the literature (sometimes encouraged by the OECD's own public relations machine) that exaggerate the uniformity of its direction and dominance.

The third part, "OECD's Education Initiatives and Programs in a Global Perspective" focusses on key instances of recent and contemporary OECD campaigns for the improvement of schooling across the globe. It comprises chapters by Jessica Holloway on "distributed leadership," Antoni Verger, Clara Fontdevila and Lluís Parcerisa on "school autonomy," John Benedicto Krejsler on "Euro-global ideoscapes" and Steven Lewis on the development of new PISA products. Building on the earlier sections of the book, these chapters, taken together, challenge the ostensible neutrality of the reasoning on the basis of which the OECD promotes certain schooling practices over others, examine the organisational and technical mechanisms through which the OECD governs, and subject to scrutiny the "seductive powers" (p. 271) of OECD expertise.

Through its investigations, explorations and examinations of how the OECD was formed and what it has been doing for the past sixty years or so, the book invites readers into a truly multifaceted and sometimes contradictory world. As Ydesen says of the twentieth century documentary record, "opening up the historical files of the OECD clearly leaves the impression of a highly complex organisation that was some-

times at odds with itself" (p. 292). While it might seem an obvious point to make, the OECD is not just one seamless thing, and this book is helpful in teasing out the interactions of individuals and groups of people, the conduct of different programs and sub-units within the larger organisation (including forests of initialisms), and shifts over time. The collection is essential reading for the present moment and, given there is no current sign of an abatement in OECD influence, also promises to have a long shelf life.

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Monographs

Johan Samuelsson

*Läroverken och progressivismen:
Perspektiv på historieundervisningens
praktik och policy 1920–1950*

Lund: Nordic Academic Press
2021, 290pp.

The last 50 years of the Swedish parallel school system (c. 1915–1965) was a period of intense developments and shifts for the Grammar Schools – both in structure as well as in pedagogical ideas. Johan Samuelsson's book *The Grammar Schools and Progressivism* deals with forms of teaching in state-organised Swedish secondary schools between 1920 and 1950, specifically regarding how progressive ideas were promoted in the teaching of history.

History teaching is therefore the vehicle utilised by Samuelsson to come closer to progressivism as a pedagogical idea: how it gained ground and broke through in Swedish upper-secondary schools in the first half of the twentieth century. To some degree, the starting point is a critique of the view of the Grammar Schools of the twentieth century as havens for traditional pedagogy, a claim often made by political pundits in debates about the Swedish schooling system and its history. In these debates, the abandonment of a parallel school system in the 1960s has often been seen as a breaking point and the advent of allegedly inferior pedagogical ideas, guiding Swedish education on a path away from solid knowledge towards relativism and towards a downgrading of the teacher profession. By utilising seldom-used source material, i.e., the descriptions of teaching methods sent in by teachers to the Swedish School

Commission of 1946, Samuelsson has a new way of showing that the old Grammar Schools were not traditional havens, and they were not free from modern pedagogy and teaching experiments, even in the first half of the twentieth century.

Samuelsson describes the overall purpose of the study as an analytic endeavour centred on gaining new knowledge about how progressivism, as a pedagogical idea and practice, broke through in Swedish Grammar Schools. The study is mostly based on the method of prosopography. By describing the teachers in a kind of collective biography, he sidesteps the pitfall of portraying the collective effort of schooling, and school change, as something that can be attributed to specific individuals or “heroes.” Looking at the problem of understanding how teaching was conducted historically, or how the “black box of schooling” turns curricula, syllabi, and educational ideas into teaching and learning in the classroom, the way Samuelsson goes about this is fruitful and interesting. However, much of the results from the study is dependent on how progressive education is defined. Samuelsson's definition is based on Larry Cuban's study of American education (Cuban 1993), focusing on student activity in a very broad sense as evidence of progressive ideas.

The first empirical part of the book is not actually based on the teaching descriptions that teachers sent to the 1946 commission, but more on traditional source materials: periodicals, governmental inquiries, and curricula. Some progressive ideas are pointed out as particularly important in discussions about history teaching, and Samuelsson conjectures that these ideas were promoted earlier, and more rigorously,

than perhaps has been shown by earlier research. Samuelsson points to the school commission of 1918, reforms in 1927/28, a governmental inquiry from 1932, teaching instructions from 1935, and especially, their way of highlighting student participation in lessons and in learning. All sources predate the school commission of 1946, which in previous research is mostly highlighted as the big breakthrough for progressive education, and also the beginning of the end for the parallel school system, and consequently the beginning of the end for the Grammar Schools themselves.

As for teachers' own descriptions of their teaching, the study relies on accounts given by around 60 teachers. Only eight teachers describe teaching in the 1930s, either in journals published in the 1930s or by remembering their teaching in the 1930s in their description of their teaching methods sent to the School Commission of 1946. The remaining accounts describe teaching in the 1940s. There is a sound mix of teachers in the sample, with representations of different kinds of Grammar Schools spread over the entire country.

The study is also able to show that progressivism, as defined by Samuelsson, actually had an impact – and in some cases a major impact – on teaching in Grammar Schools early on. While earlier research has especially pointed to changes in the pedagogical approaches in primary schools (the “*Folkskola*” organised by municipalities), Samuelsson shows that progressive ideals were also present in Grammar Schools in the first half of the twentieth century, already in the 1930s.

While this is an interesting study, utilising exciting new source material, there is a problem of representativity. This is a problem that the author is cognizant of, and on page 38, for

example, he states that “this is not a study about the *extent* of progressive education in Grammar Schools, but a study of the *character* of it.” However, there is still an ambition to show, via the prosopographical approach, some kind of “normalcy” in the sample and therefore establish the studied teachers as representatives of Swedish Grammar School Teachers of the 1940s (p. 123). Regardless of this representativity, Samuelsson can show that progressive ideas were a part of teacher culture and were spread and established in the teaching staff at many different Grammar Schools.

A bigger problem is the way Cuban's definition of progressive education is operationalised, as it runs the risk of letting too many parts of the teacher's palette of teaching methods be labelled as “progressive.” While “student participation” might be a reasonable measurement in some cases, it also means that the Grammar Schools' long tradition of teaching for individual growth and development runs the risk of being mistakenly labelled “progressive.”

To some extent, Samuelsson's book shows how new source material can shed light on issues that are discussed, but not completely understood. Nostalgia often plays a big role in anecdotal evidence from political commentators trying to show how the glory days of youth education are behind us. This makes it important to also study how complex the issue of schooling is—and always has been—and how changes in “the black box of schooling” are most often not defined by turning points, established in curricula, but by slow progress and changes in ideas held by teachers. Even considering my minor objections, Samuelsson's book is a good example of how educational history can shed a certain light on these matters.

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Nell Musgrove and Deidre Michell
The Slow Evolution of Foster Care in Australia: Just Like a Family?

Cham: Palgrave Macmillan
2018, 314 pp.

As the book title indicates, “The Slow Evolution of Foster Care in Australia” covers the history of foster care in Australia. The central goal of this book is to answer this question: has Australia’s foster care programme improved over time? The initial hypothesis appears to be that it has not. Throughout the book, the authors indicate many parallels between the complaints and controversies surrounding foster care close to its inception in the mid-1800s and in the past few decades.

The focus of the book is exploring the diversity of experiences of foster families across the six states of Australia. This approach has been chosen partly because Australia’s system has been, since its creation, managed by individual states instead of at a federal level. In so doing, the book does not provide a clear-cut answer, but instead provides insights into the experiences that those within the foster care system have had.

The book is divided into an Introduction followed by two parts. The Introduction emphasises that as much as data can help people understand aspects

of foster care life, it can never explain the individual experiences of people in foster care: everyone’s experiences are different and unique. Part I, “Putting the ‘Care’ in Foster Care,” covers the history of foster care in Australia and explores the themes of public interest in foster care, and how it has waxed around controversies and waned as these controversies fade from memory. This section also explores how foster care breaks or creates families and examines motivations for people to become foster parents.

Part II, “Shaping the Lives of the Invisible Children of the State,” looks at the philosophy and rhetoric which has shaped the views and policies of foster care in Australia over time. This part provides a historical review of foster care in the press in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a review of literature on foster care (particularly fiction, biographies, and documentaries), and an analysis of the transformation of foster care in recent decades from the 1980s-present to one focussed on kinship care: formal and informal placements of foster children with relatives. This part of the book ends with conclusions about what the history of foster care can teach us about the future of foster care.

While focussing on the personal experiences of parents involved in foster care, this layout provides a history which is easy to follow. There is a clear timeline showing the evolution of how foster care is provided and what it is intended for, from its beginnings as re-education schools to a seesaw battle between institutionalised living and “boarding out,” to the ascendance of kinship care. This presentation helps to contextualise the current state of affairs and to better establish expectations of what state foster care in modern Australia should be.

Throughout the timeline, parallels are drawn between controversies today and controversies in the past – and worryingly, the futility of the state responses, as well. There is mention of the Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse, started in 2013, which uncovered many instances of abuse (although the focus was on sexual abuse) and the inadequacy of government agencies to intervene or prevent it. The authors mainly see the inquiry's benefit as providing a platform for victims and developing empathy among the public. The most significant changes, based on their review of events, seems to be the work of activists creating websites, fundraisers, scholarships, petitions, and documentaries.

The positionality of the authors seems to be couched in a historical and philosophical framework, connecting the past and present whilst positing and exploring challenging questions to instigate deeper reflection. The authors include former foster children, an experience they admit to helping shape the course of the book. A major aspect of the content is the sharing of experiences by interviewees and the utilisation of diaries for historical accounts, upon which much of the exploration of themes are based. They augment this qualitative data with figures pertaining to the proportion of the child population in foster care and the proportion at institutions, in kinship care, and those staying with unrelated foster families. A limiting factor for the utilisation of quantitative data is the occasional lack of studies conducted. Because each state in Australia manages their own foster care system, the rigour with which each state collects data varies over time and across states. That said, the emphasis on utilising the personal experiences of people in

foster care seems the most appropriate for the aims of the book, particularly in developing empathy and to illustrate that no two foster care experiences are the same.

While gaining a more intimate understanding of foster life is worthwhile in and of itself, the educational implications for foster students is significant enough to be worthy of attention in the field of education history. Turn-over rates among placements remain high, meaning that children go through multiple homes before returning to their biological parents, being adopted, or permanently residing with a foster family. The trauma associated with events which send children to foster care, the experience of being in foster care, and the atrocities committed by foster parents and siblings, teachers, and social workers all contribute to having psychological and emotional needs met before learning is possible. By going through multiple placements, this frequently means changing schools, which disrupts the flow of learning. Even if a child can stay at the same school, having instability at home also contributes to difficulties with learning.

One interesting study noted in the book suggests that foster children who primarily stay in homes, whether they are with unfamiliar people or other family members, perform better academically than those raised in institutions; however, foster children staying with family members perform better than foster children living with unrelated foster parents. The stability provided by living with familiar people seems to be more impactful than, on average, staying with wealthier families. The impact of parental wealth on educational outcomes is already widely studied and the academic consensus is that wealthier families

typically produce more academically successful children. The study suggests that perhaps stability is a stronger predictor of attainment than wealth itself.

Because the argumentation is from an activist standpoint but infused with academic rigour, it is difficult to find fault with the argumentation or positionality of the authors. The critiques of the responses by government authorities to controversies pertaining to foster care enables readers to more effectively question the attention to detail put into the measures. On multiple occasions, the regulations implemented would not have prevented situations from transpiring which triggered the call to action in the first place.

It would have been nice, however, to have seen more proposed solutions to the problems raised within the book. References to inquiries in other countries were mentioned more in passing than connected to the inquiries in Australia; perhaps more analysis into other countries' inquiries would have allowed for more suggestions for reform within the text. It is, however, also valid to point out problems without substantial contributions to ideas for solutions. Anyone wishing to improve conditions within a foster care system would have a solid foundation for investigating the problems in their own geopolitical context based on the methodologies of this book.

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Björn Norlin
*Skolagens historia och pedagogik:
 Sedlighetsfostran, disciplinering
 och våldsbruk i den tidigmoderna
 skolan, 1560–1820*

Lund: Nordic Academic Press
 2021, 267 pp.

Omslaget av Norlins bok *Skolagens historia och pedagogik* prydes av Örebro skoles gamle segl eller emblem, som er identisk med seglet til to av de eldste skolene i Norge, katedralskolene i Trondheim og Oslo. Seglet består av to strafferedskaper lagt i kryss, *riset* og *ferlen*. Riset er nok kjent for de fleste, mens *ferlen* var et treskaft med en plate eller bit av tre i enden som ble brukt til å slå elever over hendene eller ryggen. At skolene ble representert med symboltunge strafferedskaper viser at garantien for disiplin var en sentral del av skolens identitet, og at statens voldsmonopol var delegert ned til skolen. I den tidlige skolen var straff en naturlig og nødvendig del av pedagogikken. Jo mer statlig lovregulert skolen ble, jo mer ble den legitime straffen regulert i detalj.

Björn Norlins bok bygger på et større forskningsprosjekt som har undersøkt den svenske skolens policy, pedagogikk og materialitet knyttet til vold som straff i perioden 1600–1850. Her analyseres de svenske skolelovene, statuttene og forordningene om skolen, og tekstenes detaljerte beskrivelser av både hvilke handlinger eller atferd fra elevene som skulle straffes, hvilke straff som hørte sammen med hvilke overtramp, og hvordan straffen kunne eskaleres dersom overtrampene fortsatte eller eleven ikke viste anger og forbedring. Studien tar blant annet utgangspunkt i Michel Foucaults *governmentality*-begrep og fokuserer på den *materielle, romlige* siden av straffepraktisene: Både de kon-

krete straffeverktøyene som riset, ferlen, gapestokken og ”eselbukken”, men også hvordan eleven ble innestengt, ute-stengt, fastlåst, utvist eller omplassert i klasserommets hierarki. Dette var undervisningsteknologi på linje med tavlen og griffelen.

Boken er sortert kronologisk, og Norlin tar oss med fra den første svenske skolelov fra 1561 helt frem til 1820, med ett kapittel omtrent for hvert århundre: Renaissance og reformasjon, utdanningsekspløsjonen på 1600-tallet, opplysningstid og rasjonalisme på 1700-tallet, og ”den nye tid” på det tidlige 1800-tall, med nyhumanisme og samfunnsorientering. Hvert kapittel avsluttes med gode oppsummeringer og refleksjoner, og boken avrundes med en klar sammenfatning.

Norlins studie dekker en periode i svensk skolehistorie med en uhyre sterk ekspansjon og institusjonalisering av skolene. Den første svenske skolelov kom så tidlig som 1561, nesten 200 år før den første norske i 1739. De høyere skolenes hensikt var i utgangspunktet å utdanne prester eller andre embeter i kirken, men utviklet seg til å forsyne statsapparatet med embetsmenn og funksjonærer – først og fremst gutter, noe både reglene og straffene for å bryte dem bar preg av.

Gjennomgående understreker Norlin at lovenes interesseobjekt var læren i minst like stor grad som elevene. Læreren skulle ha nok og riktig kunnskap, men skulle også være et godt og moralsk uklanderlig menneske. Han skulle utøve streng disiplin, men ikke tukte i ”forbitrelse” eller ukontrollert sinne. Læreren var en statlig funksjonær som disiplinerte etter lovens bokstav, uten personlig engasjement.

Det er gjennom Norlins konkrete eksempler fra både statutter, regler og fra nedtegnede saker man får det tydeligste

bildet av hva tuktt i skolen innebar – og at det var mye mer enn slag og prylestraff. Det er interessant at den tidlige skolen i Sverige, spesielt fra midten av 1600-tallet, hadde egne arrester (”skolhåktet”) som enten fantes i selve skolebygget eller en tilstøtende bygning. Mens arresten skjulte eleven, skulle andre straffemetoder derimot eksponere ham. For eksempel kunne elever bli satt i gapestokk på skolen, enten rundt halsen eller låst på hender og føtter i dertil egnede innretninger til skam og ydmykelse. Norlin påpeker at alle disse metodene, både innlåsing og offentlig gapestokk, hadde sine røtter i kirketukten og understreker det tette båndet mellom kirken og den tidlige skolen. Straffen kunne også være økonomisk, enten i form av bøter, eller at elevene kunne miste sin rett til ”sognegang”, altså å tigge til livets opphold i byen. Skolen kunne også belønne elever med retten til å tigge i spesielt attraktive områder.

I opplysningstiden fra 1700 og fremover (gjennom skoleloven av 1724, forordningen fra 1760 og til slutt skoleloven av 1820) viser Norlin hvordan rasjonalismen preget regler og straffep praksis i en skole som nå skulle danne nyttige samfunnsborgere, og ikke bare utdanne prester. Selv om loven fremdeles forlangte mye av lærerens kunnskap, moral og karakter, ble skolens administrative apparat utvidet, og ansvaret for kontroll og straffeutmåling delegert. I denne perioden ble straffen individualisert og differensiert. Det skulle vurderes ikke bare hva eleven hadde gjort, men elevens alder, forstand og handlingens hensikt. Kroppslig avstraffing ble redusert (men ikke avvirket), og bruken av skolearrest opphørte. I 1820 var de fleste materielle og økonomiske straffemetodene fra den tidlige skolen fjernet. Straffene ble pedagogisert og didaktisert, altså at de skulle støtte undervisningen og ikke forstyr-

re den. Disiplinen ble opprettholdt mer gjennom interne rutiner enn gjennom ytre tukt.

Skolagens historia och pedagogik er en grundig og svært interessant analyse av straffetenkning og -praksis i den tidlige svenske skolen. Norlin unngår skrekkbilder av fortidens vold og ydmykelser, men legger vekt på skolestraffens ideologiske og politiske rasjonaliseringer, og hvordan det ble gjenspeilet både i tekst og i håndfaste praksiser. Skolen forutsatte disiplinen, og disiplinen forutsatte straffen.

Norlin peker selv på studiens begrensninger: Den behandler kun den høyere skolen, og kun på det diskursive analysenivået. Disse avgrensningene er naturlige og forståelige. Men tatt i betraktning at læreren blir ofte omtalt som et viktig interesseobjekt for skolelovene og forordningene, kunne det være interessant med et blick på hvordan lærerne selv opplevde sin rolle, makt og funksjon i den tidlige skolen. Uansett er Norlins bok et uhyre viktig bidrag til sitt felt og til pedagogisk idéhistorie generelt.

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