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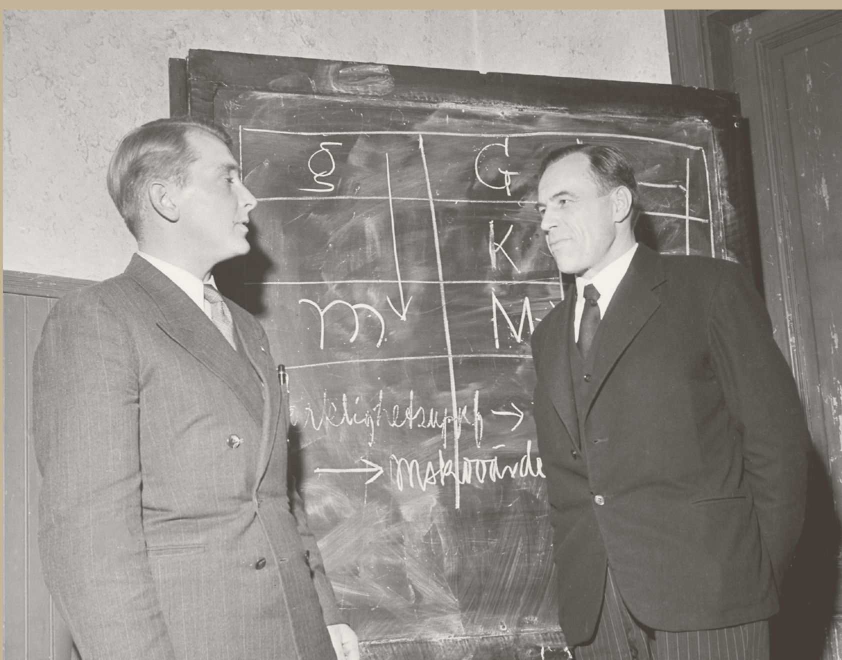

SPECIAL ISSUE:
THE HISTORY OF EDUCATIONAL FINANCE

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The Nordic Journal of Educational History (NJEDH) is an interdisciplinary journal dedicated to scholarly excellence in the field of educational history. Its aim is to provide historians of education conducting research of particular relevance to the Nordic region (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and political and geographic entities including the Faroe Islands, Greenland, Sápmi and Åland) and its educational contexts with a portal for communicating and disseminating their research. The journal particularly welcomes submissions comprising comparative studies of the educational history of these disparate precincts. The publishing language is English and the Nordic/Scandinavian languages. The journal applies a double blind peer review procedure and is accessible to all interested readers (no fees are charged for publication or subscription). The NJEDH publishes two issues per year (spring and autumn).

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EDITORIAL

Notes from the Editorial Team

Björn Norlin
Henrik Åström Elmersjö

One year has passed since the premiere issue of the *Nordic Journal of Educational History* (NJEdH) was launched, and the editorial team would like to take this opportunity to briefly inform our readers about the progress of the journal over the course of this inaugural year. However, first of all we would like to express our genuine appreciation to the authors who have chosen to submit their manuscripts for review, to the reviewers who have put significant effort into securing and improving the scientific quality of the journal, to the editorial board for making valuable recommendations with regards to the journal's improvement, to the various scholars who have expressed encouraging gratitude towards the general idea of the NJEdH, and, of course, to its expanding body of readers. Thank you all very much!

The two separate issues made available last year included nine high quality articles from scholars in Denmark, Norway, Iceland, and Sweden covering a range of topics of ample concern for research on the educational past of the Nordic region. Of note is that many of the authors chose to submit their papers in Nordic/Scandinavian languages indicating the importance of the multilingual character of the journal.

In parallel to publishing the two issues, the journal's editorial team has worked hard to make the journal publicly known and to strengthen its representation in relevant scientific contexts. The journal is, for example, now listed in the Norwegian Register for Scientific Journals, Series and Publishers, which is used to evaluate and assess research not only by Norwegian research councils and universities, but also by other Nordic research councils and universities all over Scandinavia. As for quantitative evaluations, an article in the NJEdH is now on par with an article in many of the most important journals in the field.

Additional databases that have listed the NJEdH as an authorized publication channel include the Danish Ministry of Higher Education and Science. The journal will hopefully soon be indexed in the Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ), and the editorial team will apply for its inclusion in the European Reference Index of the Humanities (ERIH) as soon as the journal fulfills the requirement of publication over two consecutive years.

Furthermore, the NJEdH has been made publicly known through representation at international conferences, and it is now integrated into an international standing working group on the area of "Scientific Journals on History of Education". During the summer and early autumn of 2015, the journal will be presented at The International Standing Conference for the History of Education in Istanbul (ISCHE), at the European Conference on Educational Research (ECER) in Budapest, and at the sixth session of the standing Nordic Conference in the Histories of Education in Uppsala this summer, a conference for which the journal also functions as a co-organizer.

The issue at hand (vol. 2, no. 1) is thus the third issue of the NJEdH and is its first special issue. The highly interesting theme is History of Educational Finance, and it is edited by Associate Professor Johannes Westberg of Uppsala University. From now on, special issues are planned to be published every second year. Starting with this special issue, the journal will also include a review section.

The themes and articles of this special issue are properly presented in the introduction, "The History of Educational Finance", co-written by the editor and the authors of articles in the issue. This is followed by five peer-reviewed articles on the topic of educational finance covering subjects ranging from teacher's allotted farms to financial issues concerning popular education and international scholarships. The last section contains concluding remarks on the special issue and its articles by Marcelo Caruso, Professor of Educational History at the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin and a member of our editorial board. The reviews in this special issue also cover the subject of educational finance.

We conclude by asking you all to spread the word about the *Nordic Journal of Educational History*. We believe that this journal deserves more readers as well as more authors, and that it is of great importance for the entire community of scholars interested in Nordic educational history that this journal becomes a vital part of Nordic, European, and global discussions on the educational past of the Nordic region. As always, we very much welcome your comments and ideas for furthering the advancement of the journal.

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INTRODUCTION

The History of Educational Finance

Anne Berg
Samuel Edquist
Christin Mays
Johannes Westberg
Andreas Åkerlund

The study of the economics of education has a history that can be regarded as long, or short, depending on the perspective. As early as the eighteenth and nineteenth century, physiocrats and classical economists dealt with education as an economic phenomenon.[1] However, it was first in the middle of the twentieth century that education became a fundamental issue in the science of economics, due in large part to human capital theory which, among many other things, highlighted the impact of educational attainment on economic growth.[2]

One of the key areas of research within the field of education economics is the study of educational finance. In the OECD countries, the expected length of five-year old child's education in the year 2000 was 16.8 years, representing more than one-fifth of a child's life expectancy. In addition, an increasing number of these individuals are internationally mobile during their education. The funding of this lengthy and geographically diverse education entails enormous costs. In 2004, it was reported that the OECD countries spent an average of 5.8 percent of their GDP on education alone.[3]

Issues regarding the funding of such immense costs have generated research on topics such as the effects of the marketisation of education, and the balance between national, regional and local funding of education.[4] Some of this research is, as will be discussed below, historical in nature. The articles in this special issue discuss the

1 B. F. Kiker, "The Historical Roots of the Concept of Human Capital," *The Journal of Political Economy* 74, no. 5 (1966), 481–99; David Mitch, "The Economic History of Education," in *Routledge Handbook of Modern Economic History*, ed. Robert Whaples and Randall E. Parker (New York: Routledge, 2013), 247.

2 Erik Mellander, "Utbildningsekonomi," in *Individ, samhälle, lärande: Åtta exempel på utbildningsvetenskaplig forskning*, ed. Ulf P. Lundgren (Stockholm: Vetenskapsrådet, 2008), 86; Gareth Williams, "The Economics of Education: Current Debates and Prospects," *British Journal of Educational Studies* 30, no. 1 (1982), 97–107.

3 David Mitch, "School Finance," in *International Handbook on the Economics of Education*, ed. Geraint Johnes and Jill Johnes (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2004), 262–63; OECD, *Education at a Glance: OECD Indicators* (Paris: OECD, 2007), 205.

4 H. M. Levin, "School Finance," in *Economics of Education: Research and Studies*, ed. George Psacharopoulous (Oxford: Pergamon, 1987), 426; Allan Odden and Larry Picus, *School Finance: a Policy Perspective* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1992), xv–xvii; Mitch (2004), 262–64.

history of educational finance, using three particular sectors as points of departure: primary education, popular education (*folkbildning*) and higher education. Below, these articles are placed into their respective fields of research.

The history of schooling and school finance

The ever-growing research into the history of schooling has dealt with a wide variety of topics. Apart from school policy and administration, and the history of curriculum and individual school subjects, the research field has covered topics such as the history of schoolhouses, school yards, teachers and pupils. The number of theoretical perspectives has multiplied. In addition to basic concepts such as gender, social class and ethnicity, the research also utilises concepts such as social discipline, professionalisation, discourse, lived experience, material culture, and more.[5]

Consequently, our knowledge of the history of schooling has increased immensely. Just in the last couple of years, studies in the Nordic countries have, for example, dealt with the history of urban schools in Norway during the eighteenth century, the introduction of state school inspectors in Sweden during the nineteenth century, and school architecture in Denmark during the twentieth century.[6] In addition, there are studies that have dealt with the coping strategies of rural teachers in Finland, and the demographics of Icelandic schoolteachers.[7]

The expanding research on the history of schooling has, however, traditionally paid little attention to matters of school finance. The history of primary school finance deals, in its most general definition, with issues such as how the financial burdens of the school system are shared between the public and the private sector, between levels of local and central government, and how the school systems' resources are created, distributed among schools and school districts, and spent on teachers' salaries, administration and premises.[8] The history of school finance therefore covers a wide area, ranging from issues on school policy and school administration, to the implementation of school finance reform and regional patterns of revenues and expenditures.

5 See e.g., Bengt Sandin, *Hemmet, gatan, fabriken eller skolan: Folkundervisning och barnuppfostran i svenska städer 1600–1850* (Lund: Arkiv, 1986); Christina Florin, "Social Closure as a Professional Strategy: Male and Female Teachers from Co-Operation to Conflict in Sweden, 1860–1906," *History of Education* 20, no. 1 (1991); Loftur Guttormsson, "Island: Læsefærdighed og folkeuddannelse 1540–1800," in *Ur nordisk kulturhistoria: Läskunnighet och folkbildning före folkskoleväsendet. XVIII nordiska historikermötet, Jyväskylä*, ed. Mauno Jokipii and Ilkka Nummela (Jyväskylä Yliopisto, 1981); Ning De Coninck-Smith, *Barndom og arkitektur: Rum til danske børn igennem 300 år* (Aarhus: Klim, 2011); Anna Larsson, "A Children's Place? The School Playground Debate in Postwar Sweden," *History of Education* 42, no. 1 (2013).

6 Ning de Coninck-Smith, "Danish and British Architects at Work: A Micro-Study of Architectural Encounters after the Second World War," *History of Education* 39, no. 6 (2010); Ida Bull, "Industriousness and Development of the School-System in the Eighteenth Century: The Experience of Norwegian cities," *History of Education* 40, no. 4 (2011); Jakob Evertsson, "Folkskoleinspektionen och moderniseringen av folkskolan i Sverige 1860–1910," *Historisk tidskrift* 132, no. 4 (2012).

7 Erkko Anttila and Ari Väänänen, "Rural Schoolteachers and the Pressures of Community Life: Local and Cosmopolitan Coping Strategies in Mid-Twentieth-Century Finland," *History of Education* 42, no. 2 (2013); Ólöf Garðarsdóttir, "Teaching on the Eve of Public Schooling: Demographic and Social Features of Icelandic Schoolteachers in the Beginning of the 20th Century," in *Education, State and Citizenship*, ed. Mette Buchardt, Pirjo Markkola and Heli Valtonen (Helsinki: NordWel, 2013).

8 Compare with definitions of school finance in Levin (1987), 426–27; Odden and Picus (1992), 1; Mitch (2004), 260–64.

Despite the relative lack of interest in how the funding of schooling was historically structured, a number of fundamental investigations have been carried out. These include Carl Kaestle's analysis of school funding in Massachusetts during the nineteenth century, Norman Morris' investigation into the politics of school finance reforms in England and Wales in 1833–1870, and Raymond Grew and Patrick Harrigan's detailed studies of school financing in France during the nineteenth century.[9] In addition, David Mitch's analysis of the relationship between government grants and schooling in England must be recognised, along with Peter Lindert's and Nancy Beadie's publications, which, among other things, have dealt with the issue of decentralised school funding.[10]

These studies highlight a number of topics to be dealt with in future studies. Morris demonstrates an interest in issues of policy, which have often been at the centre of school funding reforms, while the studies of Mitch and Grew & Harrigan represent studies into the relation between schooling, government interventions and society. Lindert's study raises questions regarding the international history of school finance, and the patterns which emerge at that level of analysis, while Beadie's work is an example of the fruitfulness of local case studies.

However, it may be possible to recognise an increased interest in the history of school finance. At the World Economic History Conference of 2012, a session titled "Financing the Rise of Popular Schooling" was organised by Latika Chaudhary, and similar topics have been covered by sessions at the European Social Science and History Conference in 2012 and 2014, and the Annual Meeting of the Social Science History Association in 2014. Moreover, a number of studies on the subject have been published recently, in addition to the ones mentioned above.[11]

In the Nordic countries, however, comparatively little research has been conducted in respect to such matters. To our knowledge, the greatest efforts have been made on Swedish soil. Beside dissertations from the early twentieth century, which present some insights into the economic conditions of primary schools, Gunilla

9 Carl F. Kaestle and Maris A. Vinovskis, *Education and Social Change in Nineteenth-Century Massachusetts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), ch. 7; Norman Morris, "Public Expenditure on Education in the 1860s," *Oxford Review of Education* 3, no. 1 (1977); Norman Morris, *The Politics of English Elementary School Finance 1833–1870* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 2003); Raymond Grew and Patrick J. Harrigan, *School, State and Society: The Growth of Elementary Schooling in Nineteenth-Century France- a Quantitative Analysis* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991).

10 David Mitch, "The Impact of Subsidies to Elementary Schooling on Enrolment Rates in Nineteenth-Century England," *The Economic History Review* 39, no. 3 (1986); Peter Lindert, *Growing Public: Social Spending and Economic Growth Since the Eighteenth Century Vol. 1 The Story* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), ch. 5; Nancy Beadie, "Education, Social Capital and State Formation in Comparative Historical Perspective: Preliminary Investigations," *Paedagogica Historica* 46, no. 1–2 (2010).

11 See e.g., Latika Chaudhary, "Taxation and Educational Development: Evidence from British India," *Explorations in Economic History* 47, no. 3 (2010); Carla Aubry, "The 'Value of Schoooling': Rising Expenditures on Education in Winterthur, 1830–1850," in *History of Schooling: Politics and Local Practice*, ed. Carla Aubry and Johannes Westberg (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012); Ingrid Brühwiler, *Finanzierung des Bildungswesens in der Helvetischen Republik: Vielfalt - Entwicklungen - Herausforderungen* (Bad Heilbrunn: Julius Klinkhardt Verlag, 2014); Jean-Philippe Croteau, "Le financement des écoles publiques à Montréal et à Toronto (1841–1997): Un baromètre pour mesurer les rapports entre la majorité et la minorité," *Historical Studies in Education / Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 24, no. 2 (2012); Gabriele Cappelli, "Escaping from a Human Capital Trap? Italy's Regions and the Move to Centralized Primary Schooling, 1861–1936," *DEPS Working Paper Series, Department of Economics and Statistics, University of Siena* no. 688 (2013).

Klose's licentiate thesis, completed in 1992 and published in 2011, constitutes a pioneering work, and so far the single most important contribution to this field of research.[12] Using questionnaires that were distributed among Swedish parishes in 1768–1839, Klose deals with a number of significant questions regarding the funding of the Swedish school system before the first elementary school act of 1842 (*1842 års folkskolestadga*). In short: what costs characterised this school system, who covered them, and why?

Using such questions as point of departure, Klose maps the emergence of a rudimentary school system which was placed primarily in the diocese of Lund, in southernmost Sweden.[13] As in other studies on the expansion of mass education, peasants appear to have been the driving force.[14] Although there were instances when landlords participated in the funding of, for example, school houses, it was the parishioners that covered most of the costs associated with schooling.

Over the past few years, it is possible to discern a growing interest in the history of school finance, primarily at the Department of Education at Uppsala University. In this research milieu, a number of aspects of the expanding mass education in 1820–1950 have been studied by historians and sociologists of education. Esbjörn Larsson has dealt with the economic conditions and consequences of monitorial education during the early nineteenth century. Johannes Westberg has engaged with the funding of the expanding mass education in 1840–1900, Madeleine Michaëlsson has analysed the different ways private iron mills contributed to the public primary school system 1850–1920 and Magnus Svensson has analysed the centralising tendencies of the school system in the early twentieth century.[15]

More than simply answering questions, these studies also raise a number of questions regarding the funding of school systems at central and local levels, and the local and regional differences in school funding. Challenging issues regarding the implications of various funding systems for the educational activities of schools are also among the questions that require further study, which also holds true for the changing role of the market in education.

12 Gunilla Klose, *Folkundervisningens finansiering före 1842* (Uppsala: SEC, Uppsala universitet, 2011). For older dissertations on the subject, see Karl Linge, *Stockholms folkskolors organisation och förvaltning åren 1842–1861: Studier i den svenska folkskolans historia* (Stockholm: Stockholms högskola, 1914), 140–50; Johan Wallner, *Folkskolans organisation och förvaltning i Sverige under perioden 1842–1861* (Lund: Lunds universitet, 1938), ch. XI.

13 Regarding the system of home instruction, see Egil Johansson, "The History of Literacy in Sweden," in *Understanding Literacy in its Historical Contexts: Socio-Cultural History and the Legacy of Egil Johansson*, ed. Harvey J. Graff, Alison Mackinnon, Bengt Sandin and Ian Winchester (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2009).

14 See e.g., Ben Eklof, "The Myth of the Zemstvo School: The Sources of the Expansion of Rural Education in Imperial Russia: 1864–1914," *History of Education Quarterly* 24, no. 4 (1984).

15 For publications stemming from these projects, see e.g., Esbjörn Larsson, *En lycklig Mechanism: Olika aspekter av växelundervisningens som en del av 1800-talets utbildningsrevolution* (Uppsala: Historiska institutionen, 2014); Madeleine Michaëlsson, "From Tree Felling to Silver Lining: Diverse Ways of Funding Elementary Schools among Swedish Ironworking Communities, 1830–1930," in *History of Schooling: Politics and Local Practice*, ed. Carla Aubry and Johannes Westberg (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012); 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* 41, no. 1 (2013); Johannes Westberg, *Att bygga ett skolväsende: Folkskolans förutsättningar och framväxt 1840–1900* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2014).

The funding of popular education

In Sweden and the other Nordic countries, popular education has become an established field of research in recent decades. Since the phenomena we discuss have no commonly accepted term, and the terms used have different meanings in different national and linguistic settings, our terminology must be explained.

In the Swedish language, the term generally used in public as well as scholarly discourse is *folkbildning*. Similar terms are also used in Norwegian and Danish (*folkeopplysning*, *folkeoplysning*), and in earlier epochs in Finnish (*kansansivistys*). Today, the common Finnish term is (*vapaa*) *sivistystyö* – (free) educational work. In all of these cases, the concepts cover a relatively wide field of non-formal educational institutions; on the one hand: folk high schools, and on the other: study circles, public lectures and various cultural activities, often organised by larger study organisations.[16] Thus, Nordic popular education has a much wider meaning in comparison to other countries, where the concept is often associated with radical and emancipatory education from below, usually connected to labour movements aiming at social and political change.[17] This form of popular education also exists in the Nordic countries, but only as a segment of a larger mass of educational activities, prompted by different political and social forces.

To add to this confusion, activities labelled as popular education have also been used for various types of education directed at the working classes, for example, regular schools.[18] Although the term popular education poses problems, we have chosen to use it, as it is the most commonly accepted term in academia, rather than alternative terms such as *non-formal adult education*.[19]

Nordic popular education must also be perceived as a discursively shaped phenomenon whose organisational forms have shifted over time. For instance, public libraries, founded in the second half of the nineteenth century and onwards, were for a long time considered central parts of popular education by social movements and governmental officials. However, today they are only partially addressed as such. The reason for this change is due to the fact that modern libraries, in nearly every case, are run by municipal authorities.

Popular education has traditionally been connected to the voluntary, nonprofit, third sector in public discourse. This highly ideological view of the phenomenon – deeming it as independent from the state, free and voluntary – has deeply affected

16 For a brief summary of existing institutions in the Nordic countries, see *Folkbildning och vuxenundervisning i Norden: Struktur – omfång – ekonomi: En jämförande kartläggning av offentliga resurser till folkbildning och vuxenundervisning i de nordiska länderna* (København: Nordiska ministerrådet, 1997), 21–39.

17 Jim Crowther, "Reflections on popular education in the UK and Sweden," in *Popular Education, Power and Democracy: Swedish Experiences and Contributions*, ed. Ann-Marie Laginder, Henrik Nordvall, and Jim Crowther (Leicester: Niace, 2013).

18 Sjaak Braster, Frank Simon, and Ian Grosvenor, eds., *A History of Popular Education: Educating the People of the World* (London: Routledge, 2013).

19 *Non-formal adult education* can be well defended as a more precise concept for scholarly purposes. Even that has its problems, though. First, popular education organisations generally also include youths from the age of 14–15 years. Secondly, the term "non-formal" – making boundaries towards regular schools, universities and adult education that is directly aimed at complementing regular schools – is also difficult. For example, folk high schools can be considered *partially formal*, e.g. in Sweden having a sort of grades, often functioning as an alternative to formal adult education, and in some cases serving as outright vocational education.

its historiography. One can probably find at least a partial explanation in the fact that the history of popular education for a long time was conducted by researchers close to the field of application. Consequently, popular education has generally been studied from an internal perspective, not as a part of a larger context of cultural and/or educational institutions. Some scholars have described existing research as protective of the strict borders between popular education and institutions not considered part of the idealised vision of it. For example, vocational education in folk high schools, has only recently been investigated by scholars.[20]

Popular education has largely been studied in a context of ideology, culture and pedagogy. Particularly, the educational doctrines in organisations and certain influential individuals have been at the centre of inquiry.[21] However, the financial contexts and material preconditions of popular education have largely been overlooked, even though most institutions have depended on state and municipal funding. Perhaps this blind spot is a result of the aforementioned ideological and idealised view of the subject. Even if quite a few historiographers have acknowledged government grants, they have only briefly addressed their design, impact, and regulatory functions.[22] Remarkably, considering the rather vast literature on popular education in the Nordic countries, only a few have made the economics of popular education the main topic of analysis.[23] In adjacent fields, such as the sectors of social movements or formal adult education, financial issues and material conditions have held a more pronounced position.[24]

Analyses on the economic contexts of popular education must be linked to even wider fields, such as cultural politics, and general questions concerning the relationship between the state and the field often termed *civil society*. For example, this

20 Anna Lundin, *Folkbildningsforskning som fält – från framväxt till konsolidering* (Linköping: Linköpings universitet, 2008); Fay Lundh Nilsson and Anders Nilsson, eds., *Två sidor av samma mynt? Folkbildning och yrkesutbildning vid de nordiska folkhögskolorna* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2010).

21 E.g., Erica Simon, *Réveil national et culture populaire en Scandinavie: La genèse de la højskole nordique 1844–1878* (Copenhagen & Stockholm: Scandinavian University Books, 1960); Lars Arvidson, *Folkbildning och självuppfostran: En analys av Oscar Olssons idéer och bildningssyn* (Stockholm: Tiden, 1991); Bernt Gustavsson, *Bildningens väg: Tre bildningsideal i svensk arbetarrörelse 1880–1930* (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1991); Per Sundgren, *Kulturen och arbetarrörelsen: Kulturpolitiska strävanden från August Palm till Tage Erlander* (Stockholm: Carlsson, 2007); Sirkka Ahonen and Jukka Rantala, eds., *Nordic Lights: Education for Nation and Civic Society in the Nordic Countries, 1850–2000* (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2001); Ove Korsgaard, *Kampen om folket: Et dannelsesperspektiv på dansk historie gennem 500 år* (København: Gyldendal, 2004); Sigvart Tøsse, *Folkbildning som universellt fenomen: Om betydelser och motsvarigheter i historiskt och internationellt perspektiv* (Linköping: Linköpings universitet, 2009).

22 E,g, Sven Swensson, "Folkhögskolan och myndigheterna," in *Svensk folkhögskola 100 år*, vol. 1 (Stockholm: Liber, 1968); Bo Andersson, *Folkbildning i perspektiv: Studieförbunden 1870–2000: Organisering, etablering och profilering* (Stockholm: LTs förlag, 1980), 256–70; Lena Lindgren, *Kan en filthatt stärka demokratin? Om mål och ideal i folkbildningssammanhang* (Stockholm: Carlsson, 1996), 31–40; Sigvart Tøsse, *Folkeopplysning og vaksenopplæring: Idear og framvekst gjennom 200 år* (Oslo: Didakta Norsk Forlag, 2005), 88.

23 Exceptions so far concern the last decades, when popular education has had to compete on an educational market, e.g., Ann-Louise Petersen, *Marknadsorientering inom folkbildningen: Fritt och frivilligt i ett nytt ljus* (Göteborg: Bokförlaget BAS, 2006). There are also governmental reports concerning the field, e.g., the above cited *Folkbildning och vuxenundervisning i Norden* (1997).

24 Olof F. Lundquist, *Studiestöd för vuxna: Utveckling, utnyttjande, utfall* (Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet, 1989); Pernilla Jonsson and Silke Neunsinger, *Gendered Money: Financial Organization in Women's Movements, 1880–1933* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012).

larger context has influenced research on nineteenth century philanthropic associations and their funding.[25] Answering questions on how different forms of government control, including economic funding, effected the voluntary sector's relative autonomy, producing bureaucratic structures within organisations etc., are also highly relevant,[26] as are previous analyses on the funding of the cultural sector.[27]

International mobility in higher education and research

In higher education, research financing, teaching costs and salaries are constant themes. This is even truer for the internationalisation of higher education. Exchange programs, scholarly visits and guest lectures, international teaching and research collaborations are costly undertakings which demand funding for individuals as well as for participating institutions. Historically, there has been a strong consensus that science is international and therefore international collaborations and experiences are important for the national context. Common arguments are that travelling and collaborating promotes scientific advancement, international understanding, national growth and development as well as develops the learning processes of students and researchers alike.

There are, however, various ways to approach the subject of internationalisation and economy. Different aspects of this complex problem have been dominant in international research in different time periods. This variation in foci does not imply that other aspects have ceased to be important, but rather that certain aspects either have been seen as obsolete or taken for granted by research(ers).

For the last two decades, a dominant rationale has been competition on an international educational market.[28] Especially in countries receiving a large number of international students – foremost the USA, Great Britain and Australia – recruiting students from abroad has been seen as a way for universities to compensate for funding deficits and for states to gain additional revenue. Higher education is increasingly becoming an important export product for various countries through the establishment of international branch campuses, while traditional international students contribute to the economies of the countries in which they reside. For example, estimates state that foreign students contributed $18.8 billion to the US economy in the academic year 2009/10 alone.[29] Thus, presently, higher education is

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25 Alan J. Kidd, *State, Society and the Poor in Nineteenth-Century England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999).

26 Stefan Toepler, "Government Funding Policies," in *Handbook of Research on Nonprofit Economics and Management*, ed. Bruce A. Seaman and Dennis R. Young (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2010); Tommy Lundström and Fredrik Wijkström, "Sweden," in *Defining the Nonprofit Sector: A Cross-National Analysis*, ed. Lester M. Salamon and Helmut K. Anheier (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997); Erik Amnå, *Jourhavande medborgare: Samhällsengagemang i en folkrörelsestat* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2008), 137–46 and 158–62; Bo Rothstein, *Den korporativa staten: Intresseorganisationer och statsförvaltning i svensk politik* (Stockholm: Norstedts juridik, 1992).

27 Annette Zimmer and Stefan Toepler, "The Subsidized Muse: Government and the Arts in Western Europe and the United States," *Journal of Cultural Economics* 23, no. 1–2 (1999), 39–46. For a Swedish study on cultural politics which describes the impact of public funding on a general level, see Sven Nilsson, *Kulturens nya vägar: Kultur, kulturpolitik och kulturutveckling i Sverige* (Malmö: Polyvalent, 2003).

28 Nigel M. Healey, "Is Higher Education Really 'Internationalising'?" *Higher Education* 55, no. 3 (2008).

29 Laura E. Rumbley, Philip G. Altbach and Liz Reisberg, "Internationalization Within the Higher Education Context," in *The SAGE Handbook of International Higher Education*, ed. Darla K. Deardoff et al. (London: SAGE, 2012), 22.

seen as a commodity which can be traded freely on a global educational market to whoever is willing to pay for it.[30]

There are winners and losers in any market. In the international market of education the winners are most obviously larger countries with highly ranked universities in majority English speaking countries. The losers are to a large extent the poorer countries of the globe with weak systems of higher education which are drained of economic resources (through students paying tuition fees abroad) and of skilled academic labour (through the international recruitment of researchers). To a lesser extent the losers are also smaller states in the industrialised world, who are not able to compete with larger states in the recruitment of international students and who themselves tend to be drained of their academic youth.

This idea of a global market has very recently also found its advocates within the Swedish government. In Sweden, foreigners previously had the same access to higher education as nationals which, in combination with a large amount of courses and programs in English, made the country attractive to foreign students. The introduction of tuition fees for free movers from countries outside the EU in 2009, however, caused a drop of 73 per cent in the foreign applications to Swedish master programs for the academic year 2010/11.[31] It is obvious that the country lost much of its competitive advantage once tuition fees became mandatory for non-EU students in Sweden. The global market is anything but easy for a small country like Sweden, as Philip G. Altbach argued in 2002:

> Open Markets, at least in higher education, reinforce the inequalities that already exist. If educational borders are completely open, the strongest and wealthiest education providers will have unlimited access. Countries and institutions that cannot compete will find it difficult to flourish. This means that developing countries and smaller industrialized nations will be at considerable disadvantage.[32]

Competition on an international market is brutal, but the most interesting question is from where this global hierarchy originates. Why are some countries more attractive than others? The answer to this question is multi-layered. Part of it lies in the use of English as a *lingua franca* for higher education and research, which benefits certain universities and regions.[33] In fact the British Council projected that in 2020, there will be 5.8 million places for international students in the world, and 45 percent of these places will be in English-speaking countries.[34] The present hierarchy also has a geographical dimension in which students and researchers mainly travel from the global South to the global North. International educational exchange must

30 Philip G. Altbach, "Knowledge and Education as International Commodities: The Collapse of the Common Good," *International Higher Education* 28 (2002).

31 *Immigration of International Students to Sweden*, European Migration Network, report no. 2012:1 (Norrköping: Swedish Migration Board, 2012), 45.

32 Altbach (2002), 3.

33 Philip G. Altbach, "Globalization and the University: Realities in an Unequal World," in *International Handbook of Higher Education*, ed. Philip G. Altbach and James J.F. Forest (Dordrecht: Springer, 2007), 126–28; Ryuko Kubota, "Internationalization of Universities: Paradoxes and Responsibilities," *The Modern Language Journal* 93, no. 4 (2009).

34 Veronica Lasanowski, "Can Speak, Will Travel: The Influence of Language on Global Student Mobility," in *International Students and Global Mobility in Higher Education*, ed. Rajika Bhandari and Peggy Blumenthal (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 195.

therefore be seen from the brain drain perspective; the highly educated in poorer countries tend to migrate to the richer part of the globe.[35]

This north-south brain drain is not new to the post-Cold War world although the commodification of education and the neo-liberal faith in markets to organise society has given this problem a new dimension. The brain drain discussion began during the Cold War within the context of international aid and support to education systems in lesser developed countries.[36] The idea of brain drain also neatly illustrates the ambiguity of international exchange. Within foreign aid projects, knowledge transfer from the industrialised to the industrialising world has always been an important dimension – in addition to material and economic aid. Educating select persons from industrialising countries would guarantee that instructions on the correct operation of machinery or the latest knowledge regarding agriculture or forestry reached skilled workers. It would also establish familiarity with "Western" values, such as representative democracy or equality, as well as create sympathy for capitalism and the market economy. It is therefore possible to claim that international academic exchange has contributed to the modernisation and marketisation of the globe. But it is also obvious that this idea had, and still has, various problems. Needless to say, many people educated in industrialised countries as a part of foreign aid programs never returned to their home countries to diffuse their knowledge, but choose to stay in or move on to a context where they could earn a better living with the acquired skills.

Hierarchies are not natural occurrences but, rather, result from historical processes. At the beginning of the unequal educational exchange of today lies in eighteenth century European colonialism and nineteenth century international imperialism. But it is not necessary to travel this far back in history to find another rationale at work than the present idea of the market. The Cold War was a completely different political-economic context for academic exchange. Here the international competition did not exist between universities or nation-states, but between superpowers, between capitalism in the West and communism in the East.

The Cold War also saw other types of international academic exchanges than those taking place within the stipulation of foreign aid. From a foreign policy perspective, exchange was seen as a way to normalise the relations between the East and the West, between NATO and the Warsaw pact. With the signing of the Lacy-Zarubin agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union in 1958, exchanges between the two superpowers began. Especially the Soviet Union pushed for international exchange in the sciences as a way to keep up with the technological advancements of the Western powers.[37] Exchange was also an important part of the post-World War II reconciliation between Germany and France and German-US

35 Anthony Welch, "Myths and Modes of Mobility: The Changing Face of Academic Mobility in the Global Era," in *Students, Staff and Academic Mobility in Higher Education*, ed. Mike Byram and Fred Dervin (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2008), 298–99.

36 D. M. Windham, "International Financing of Education," in *International Encyclopedia of Economics of Education*, ed. Martin Carnoy (Oxford: Pergamon, 1995); Mun C. Tsang, "The Economics and Resourcing of Education," in *Routledge International Companion to Education*, ed. Bob Moon, Miriam Ben-Peretz and Sally A. Brown (London: Routledge, 2000), 149.

37 Nigel Gould-Davies, "The Logic of Soviet Cultural Diplomacy," *Diplomatic History* 27, no. 2 (2003), 206–08.

exchange was a key feature within the democratisation of West Germany.[38] The entire Fulbright program should be understood as a contribution to the Westernisation and democratisation of Europe. From an economic history perspective, these large state investments in academic exchange were not made in order to create revenue or to strengthen their own country's position on an international educational market. The main aim instead was, apart from the more obvious motive of knowledge transfer, to create contacts and sympathies between countries and as an integral part of the Cold War value conflict between capitalism and communism.

Before World War II, international academic exchange had yet another rationale, one where the state was less visible. During the interwar years as well as in the decades preceding World War I, exchange was to a much larger extent paid for by private or semi-state actors such as professional organisations, university-administrated funds or philanthropic foundations. In particular, the "Big 3" foundations in the United States, Carnegie, Rockefeller, and Ford, but also actors such as the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung in Germany played a crucial part in enabling international scholarly mobility and exchange.[39] This system, which began to grow in the interwar period, funded academics who could otherwise not afford to travel abroad.[40] In his research on Uppsala University Jan Sundin concludes that the increasing amount of scholarships for foreigners through the Swedish state and the University student union laid the foundations for the increase of foreign scholars in the 1930s and after World War II.[41] This interest for international cultural cooperation, which Akira Iriye has called cultural internationalism, shares its origins with this philanthropic approach to exchange, which was later championed by state actors after World War II.[42]

Hand in hand with philanthropy is the idea of modernisation through exchange. The development of the domestic industries and medicinal expertise are often mentioned as motives for scholarly travels.[43] The change of terminology from exchange to travel is motivated here, because of the phenomenon's unregulated character. What has gained some attention in the Swedish case is the remigration of Swedish engineers from North America, who upon return used the skills they gained abroad within Swedish industry, thus placing this academic mobility within the great trans-Atlantic migration of the nineteenth century.[44] One cannot talk of exchange programs or fixed bilateral agreements in this period, but more of scholars travelling

38 Karl-Heinz Füssl, "Between Elitism and Educational Reform: German-American Exchange Programs, 1945–1970," in *The United States and Germany in the Era of the Cold War, 1945–1990: A Handbook*, ed. Detlef Junker (West Nyack, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

39 Volkhard Laitenberger, *Akademischer Austausch Und Auswärtige Kulturpolitik: Der Deutsche Akademische Austauschdienst (DAAD) 1923–1945* (Göttingen: Musterschmidt, 1976).

40 Earl F. Cheit and Theodore E. Lobman, *Foundations and Higher Education: Grant Making from the Golden Years through Steady State* (Berkeley: Carnegie Council for Policy Studies, 1980), 2–4.

41 Jan Sundin, *Främmande studenter vid Uppsala universitet före andra världskriget: En studie i studentmigration* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1973), 156–57; 177.

42 Akira Iriye, *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World* (Berkeley: University of California, 2012), 45.

43 Henrik Brissman, *Mellan nation och omvärld: Debatt i Sverige om vetenskapens organisering och finansiering samt dess internationella och nationella aspekter under 1900-talets första hälft* (Lund: Lunds universitet, 2010), 273–75.

44 Per-Olof Grönberg, *Learning and Returning: Return Migration of Swedish Engineers from the United States, 1880–1940* (Umeå: Umeå University, 2003).

abroad for the purpose of study, research or learning from colleagues at foreign universities or research facilities. Returning to the present situation, this is still the main purpose of these travels, but this same movement of persons now takes place in a completely different political and economic context.

It cannot be stressed enough that the process which has been described in reverse chronology here is of a cumulative rather than a periodic character. This means that the actors and rationales present at an earlier stage in history do not cease to exist as new rationales or different actors appear on the field of international exchange. Using the present day rationale of marketisation and commodification, the old state-sponsored programs of the Cold War continue to function alongside with the work of professional associations and philanthropic foundations with their roots in the first half of the twentieth century. What seems to be the case is that earlier programs or institutions are given new roles and functions every time the rationale changes. A common feature is the collaborative character of international exchange, especially between state and non-state actors, such as big foundations or international organisations, like UNESCO. Organisations can also change their aim and scope over time. One example is the philanthropic foundations in the United States from the early twentieth century which took an active part in establishing strong connections, if not to say an educational and scholarly dependence, between the United States and parts of the Third World during the Cold War.[45]

This last example inevitably draws attention to the funding of international mobility, a subject which thus far has lacked systematic scholarly attention, despite that the question of who funds mobility is highly relevant. Study abroad financed by students and their families is a major investment in education and the majority of these persons apply for a scholarship to finance their stays abroad. But obtaining a scholarship or similar financial support always includes a process of selection which draws the attention to the providers of such support. Why is support given, how and by whom? This is not only a question for the present as, historically, a great deal of scholarly and student movement was made possible through foundations, professional associations or state programs. As these different kinds of institutions were established in different historical periods, a historical study of their work contributes to an understanding of both the internal financial logic of such institutions as well as their impact on the general field of international exchange.

The existing literature on exchange and scholarly travel tends to only briefly address financing as, generally, the main interest normally lies elsewhere. The available literature on exchange as a part of foreign policy or public diplomacy, for instance, tends to focus on the political ideas behind or the implementation of exchange programs rather than on how they are financed.[46] However, the impacts of such programs, such as the Fulbright program, are better researched. For instance,

45 Edward H. Berman, *The Influence of the Carnegie, Ford and Rockefeller Foundations on American Foreign Policy: The Ideology of Philanthropy* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1983).

46 See Liping Bu, "Educational Exchange and Cultural Diplomacy in the Cold War," *Journal of American Studies* 33, no. 3 (1999); Kevin V. Mulcahy, "Cultural Diplomacy and the Exchange Programs: 1938–1978," *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society* 29, no. 1 (1999); Yale Richmond, *Cultural Exchange & the Cold War: Raising the Iron Curtain* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003); Nancy Snow, "International Exchanges and the U.S. Image," *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no. 1 (2008); Christopher Medalis, "The Strength of Soft Power: American Cultural Diplomacy and the Fulbright Program during the 1989–1991 Transition Period in Hungary," *AUDEM: The International Journal of Higher Education and Democracy* 3, no. 1 (2012).

Jan C. Rupp has analysed the importance of the Fulbright program not only for the development of American studies in Holland but for Dutch-American exchange in general.[47]

Research on philanthropic foundations is broader, especially on the "Big 3" foundations in the United States: Carnegie, Ford and Rockefeller.[48] In the European context, there has been a growing interest in their international programs in Europe and the wider world after 1945, and the potential impact of these programs.[49] In the Swedish context, there is less research on the "Big 3," though a recent dissertation has discussed the importance of the Rockefeller Foundation for the development of medical sciences at the Karolinska Institute.[50] The bulk of research is concentrated on two central actors within Swedish-US exchange, the Sweden-America Foundation and the American-Scandinavian Foundation. In particular, the research report by Andreas Melldahl presents an interesting statistical analysis of Sweden-America Foundation scholarship holders in relation to their subject areas and the perceived national needs formulated by foundation executives.[51]

There is still much research to be conducted regarding the financing of international scholarly exchange, especially in a historical perspective. There are especially two aspects which deserve more attention, one on the macro- and one on the micro-level. One is long-term investigations into the total investments in exchange by foundations, professional associations and state governments. How much has been invested, on what, with what intention and to what end? Answers to these questions would help us better understand the global flows of students and scholars over time and to unravel the historical economic base of today's exchange programs. The other is strongly related to these questions, but concerns the internal impacts of different forms of financing on the policies of the relevant actors. What impact do restrictions and regulations have on the grant and scholarship policies of these actors? To what extent are foundations bound to the restrictions placed by donors and state-funded

47 Jan C. Rupp, "The Fulbright Program, or the Surplus Value of Officially Organized Academic Exchange," *Journal of Studies in International Education* 3, no. 1 (1999).

48 Merle Curti, *American Philanthropy Abroad: A History* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers, 1963); Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, *The Politics of Knowledge: The Carnegie Corporation, Philanthropy, and Public Policy* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1989); Inderjeet Parmar, *Foundations of the American Century: The Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller Foundations in the Rise of American Power* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012); Joseph C. Kiger, *Philanthropists and Foundation Globalization* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2008).

49 Volker R. Berghahn, "Philanthropy and Diplomacy in the 'American Century'," *Diplomatic History* 23, no. 3 (1999); Berman (1983); Oliver Schmidt, "Small Atlantic World. U.S. Philanthropy and the Expanding International Exchange of Scholars after 1945," in *Culture and International History*, ed. Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht and Frank Schumacher (New York: Berghahn, 2004); Volker R. Berghahn, *America and the Intellectual Cold Wars in Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

50 Olof Ljungström, *Ämnessprängarna: Karolinska Institutet och Rockefeller Foundation 1930–1945* (Stockholm: Karolinska Institute University Press, 2010).

51 Erik J. Friis, *The American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1910–1960* (New York: The American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1961); Dag Blanck, *Sverige-Amerika Stiftelsen: De Första Sjuttio Åren 1919–1989* (Stockholm: Sverige-Amerika stiftelsen, 1989); Dag Blanck, "Scholars Across the Seas: The American-Scandinavian Foundation and the Sweden-America Foundation in the Trans-Atlantic Exchange of Knowledge," *American Studies in Scandinavia* 40, no. 1 (2008), 110–25; Andreas Melldahl, "Västerled tur och retur del 1: Utbildning och ekonomi. En ekonomhistorisk studie av Sverige-Amerika Stiftelsens stipendieverksamhet 1919–2006," *SEC Research Reports*, no. 44 (2008).

agencies bound to the regulations of policymakers? This kind of micro-level study would not only help answer the broader questions asked above, but also show how scholarly exchange is impacted by economic matters.

A special issue on educational finance

The articles in this special issue contribute to the research fields outlined above in various ways. Johannes Westberg's article on teachers' allotted farms 1838–1900 deals with the fundamental question of how the expansion of mass schooling was funded. Previous research has shown that local governments such as municipalities, townships and school districts held the primary responsibility for funding the increasing numbers of schools and teachers during the nineteenth century. In his article, Westberg analyses the size and building stock of teachers' allotted farms in the Sundsvall region, and the work that they required from teachers and their households. Showing that the allotted farms could yield crops worth as much as a quarter of a teacher's salary, Westberg argues that allotted farms may have played a significant role in the funding of mass schooling in mid-nineteenth century. Since the number of allotted farms did not increase at the same rate as the number of schools and teachers, however, the significance of these farms diminished during the time period.

The field of popular education is the topic of Anne Berg's and Samuel Edquist's articles. Berg argues that the rise of a continuous popular educational sphere, during the period stretching from the 1870s to the 1910s, partially can be explained by the implementation of a state grants system. By analysing the amount of state grants issued on a national scale, in combination with case-studies on the part played by public funding in a number of organisations that held lectures and folk high schools, it is shown that public funding played an important role. Public funding offered the organisations continuity and security as long as they followed the rules that the state required. Thus, in order to explain the rise of a continuous popular educational sphere, the state must be inserted into the overall picture side by side with known causes such as the formation of a working class and the rise of liberal-leftist political organisations.

Edquist argues that the state subsidies to Swedish institutions generally considered mediating popular education have largely shaped the very concept of popular education in the country. He shows that there is a historically developed tension between two parallel notions of popular education. On the one hand, there is a narrower *ideal* popular education—emphasising non-formality and independence—that has been discursively nurtured along with a broader *organisational* popular education, denoting the *de facto* institutions that have received public funding. Edquist puts forth that the organisational popular education is a reality in itself, spanning over border zones between, for example, non-formal and formal education.

The two articles on the financing of academic mobility are investigations into different funding forms through two distinct financing bodies. Together, these two articles draw attention to the fact that within the vast system of actors in international exchanges, there is more than one logic which determines the overall mobility of individuals.

Christin Mays and Andreas Åkerlund's article addresses the funding of international academic exchange between Scandinavia and the United States through the

American-Scandinavian Foundation (ASF) in 1912–95. The article examines both the type and scope of various donations to the foundation and how these affected the scholarship operations in the periods before and after World War II. Mays and Åkerlund argue that philanthropic organisations – in this case, the American-Scandinavian Foundation – have a particular kind of internal economy as their operations are typically donor-funded. Therefore, under the investigated time period, it was the type, scope, and timing of donations which determined the scale and direction of scholarship operations through the ASF.

The article by Andreas Åkerlund on the mobility funding through the Swedish Institute (SI) is an investigation into a state-funded organisation for public diplomacy. It maps the funding sources of exchange through the SI from the founding in 1945 until 2010. One main result is that the SI exchange programs were funded by three distinct sources over the time period: the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Official Development Assistance agencies and the Ministry of Education. It is clear that the various funding bodies directed their money to particular types of programs, thus creating different programs, which were gathered under the roof of the SI. The results indicate a need for further investigations into the funding of public diplomacy in order to create a more diverse understanding of the economic foundations of academic mobility.

Together, the articles of this special issue shed light upon the varying economic conditions of education. To be sure, this does not imply that we argue that the character of education may be reduced to, or solely explained by, economic factors. Instead, these articles have analysed how issues of funding always have consequences, regardless of the level of education or the period of time. Even though teachers' allotted farms, state subsidies and funding bodies such as the Ministry for Foreign Affairs at first sight may appear alien to what education is or should be, these articles illustrate how financing has had an impact in the most diverse of educational contexts.

As indicated above, this is a field of research that has thus far remained relatively neglected. While this special issue provides an introduction to current historical research regarding the funding of primary education, popular education and international mobility in higher education, it is also intended as a call for further research into these areas. As these articles demonstrate, there is much left to be discovered, if we broaden educational history beyond educational content, intentions and rhetoric.

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When Teachers Were Farmers: Teachers' Allotted Farms and the Funding of Mass Schooling, 1838–1900

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Abstract
What were teachers' allotted farms, and what were they for? This study aims to answer these questions by examining these farms in nineteenth century Sweden, and their role in the expansion of the elementary school system in 1838–1900. Focusing on the allotted farms of the Sundsvall region, this article analyses how these farms provided teachers with fields and meadows, as well as outhouses such as cowsheds, bakehouses and cellars. This article argues that these farms made schooling more affordable for the school districts, primarily in the first two decades after the Elementary School Act of 1842. Allotted farms were often inexpensive to acquire and maintain, not least owing to the agricultural and maintenance work that the teachers carried out, and yielded an annual return that reduced the taxation needed to operate the school districts. This, in turn, facilitated the expansion of schooling.

Keywords
teachers, allotted farms, mass schooling, schools, school finance

Since the expansion of schooling in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, its history has aroused interest among researchers and educators. Consequently, abundant research has dealt with such issues as the politics of elementary education, development of school subjects, professionalisation of teaching staff and functions of mass schooling in the emerging capitalist, industrial and urbanised society.[1]

There are, however, a number of areas that have received less attention. Despite

1 On the history of Swedish mass education, see e.g., Christina Florin, *Kampen om katedern: Feminiserings- och professionaliseringsprocessen inom den svenska folkskolans lärarkåren 1860–1906* (Umeå: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1987); Magnus Hultén, *Naturens kanon: Formering och förändring av innehållet i folkskolans och grundskolans naturvetenskap 1842–2007* (Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, 2008); Ulla Johansson, *Att skolas för hemmet: Trädgårdsskötsel, slöjd, huslig ekonomi och nykterhetsundervisning i den svenska folkskolan 1842–1919 med exempel från Sköns församling* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 1987); Lars Petterson, *Frihet, jämlikhet, egendom och Bentham: Utvecklingslinjer i svensk folkundervisning mellan feodalism och kapitalism, 1809–1860* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1992); Inger Andersson, *Läsning och skrivning: En analys av texter för den allmänna läs- och skrivundervisningen 1842–1982* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 1986); and John Boli, *New Citizens for a New Society: The Institutional Origins of Mass Schooling in Sweden* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1989).

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considerable efforts in this field of study, research exploring the social and economic conditions of the emerging systems of mass schooling is lacking. Among other issues, the teachers' allotted farms (*lärarbostället*) have not been subjected to a closer study. It is well known that, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, teachers in Sweden and elsewhere were provided with housing and a plot of land, as part of their salary.[2] For example, the Swedish Elementary School Act of 1842 (*folkskolestadgan*) stipulated inclusion in a teacher's salary of a "suitable dwelling" and summer grazing for a cow.[3] However, the significance of this statement, as well as its practical implications, remains to be studied.

Thus, this article aims to bridge this gap in current knowledge and initiate a closer study of Swedish teachers' allotted farms by answering basic questions concerning these farms: what they consisted of, why they were established, what labour was required from the teacher and his household, and why the practice of allotting farms was marginalised in the last decades of the nineteenth century.

Using these matters as a point of departure, this article will primarily shed light on how the expanding system of elementary schooling (*folkskoleväsendet*) in Sweden was funded. We know that the corresponding school systems in Europe and elsewhere were funded at local level, primarily by local taxes in cash or in kind. Figures compiled from 15 countries reveal that local school districts funded on average 55–58 per cent of the school systems' total revenues in the 1870s.[4] But we know less about how schools were funded at the local level, and even less about the role of allotted farms in this respect.[5] In addition, this article will provide insights into the living and working conditions of teachers during this early phase of elementary schooling. As will be apparent, school teachers of the time did more than just teach.[6]

The empirical basis of this study consists of teachers' allotted farms in the twel-

2 Gunilla Klose, *Folkundervisningens finansiering före 1842* (Uppsala: SEC, Uppsala University, 2011), 172; Mary Jo Maynes, *Schooling for the People: Comparative Local Studies of Schooling History in France and Germany, 1750–1850* (New York & London: Holmes & Meier, 1985), 40; C. R. Day, "The Rustic Man: The Rural Schoolmaster in Nineteenth-Century France," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 25, no. 1 (1983), 44; Ingrid Brühwiler, *Finanzierung des Bildungswesens um 1800 in der Helvetischen Republik. Darstellung verschiedener Akteure sowie deren Einflussfaktoren und Wirkungen auf die wirtschaftliche Grundlage der Schule anhand ausgewählter Gemeinden und Städte in der Helvetischen Republik* (Luxembourg: Université du Luxembourg, 2012a), 73.

3 Swedish Code of Statutes (SFS) 1842:19, Section 4.

4 Peter Lindert, *Growing public: Social Spending and Economic Growth since the Eighteenth Century Vol. 1 The Story* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 116–17.

5 Previous studies of the funding of mass education include Lindert (2004), Chapter 5; Carl F. Kaestle and Maris A. Vinovskis, *Education and Social Change in Nineteenth-Century Massachusetts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), Chapter 7; David Mitch, "The Impact of Subsidies to Elementary Schooling on Enrolment Rates in Nineteenth-Century England," *The Economic History Review* 39, no. 3 (1986); 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* 41, no. 1 (2013), and literature cited in these works.

6 The living and working conditions of elementary school teachers are analysed in Day (1983); Susan B. Carter, "Occupational Segregation, Teachers' Wages, and American Economic Growth," *The Journal of Economic History* 46, no. 2 (1986); Florin (1987); Ingrid Brühwiler, "Teachers' Salaries in the Helvetic Republic, c. 1800," in *History of Schooling: Politics and Local Practice*, ed. Carla Aubry and Johannes Westberg (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012b); Erkko Anttila and Ari Väänänen, "Rural Schoolteachers and the Pressures of Community Life: Local and Cosmopolitan Coping Strategies in Mid-Twentieth-Century Finland," *History of Education* 42, no. 2 (2013), and literature cited in these works.

ve rural school districts of the Sundsvall region, in the northern Swedish county of Västernorrland. The analysis starts in 1838, when the first allotted farm was acquired, and ends 62 years later at the turn of the century, thus covering the period in which elementary schooling was established in Sweden. The school districts of the Sundsvall region should not, of course, be perceived as average Swedish school districts, or as representing typical conditions in Sweden or elsewhere in Europe. As W. B. Stephens has pointed out, local and regional variations were so significant in the nineteenth century that "to talk of a national condition is to distort reality".[7] But while the size and significance of teachers' allotted farms may vary, this study sheds light on issues regarding these farms and their relation to the school system that are fundamental, whether such farms were established in the Sundsvall region, Sweden or elsewhere.[8]

Since no archives or archival series on teachers' allotted farms remain, a wide range of source materials have been collected. As in other instances, when source materials are scarce, source pluralism is the method utilised.[9] In this study, this means that I have sought to use as many kinds of source materials as possible, in order to be able to combine fragments from them. Thus, in addition to church archives, with their minutes and accounts, the documents consulted have mainly been cabinet acts (*konseljakter*) from the Ecclesiastical Office, documents at Lantmäteriet (the Swedish mapping, cadastral and land registration authority), and insurance contracts at the General Fire Insurance Board. Gabriel Thulin's survey of ecclesiastical allotted farms in six of Sweden's 24 counties has also been processed, along with a range of statistical data from the Ecclesiastical Office.[10]

Ecclesiastical, military and civil allotted farms

Until the nineteenth century, it was common practice for ecclesiastical, military or civil officials to receive free housing as a part of their salary. The official either received free housing in the form of an official residence (*bostadsboställe*) or was given the right to use adjoining buildings and land in an allotted farm (*jordbrukarboställe*).[11]

Allotted farms, which are the focus of this study, have a long history. With the establishment of parishes in Sweden from the Middle Ages, glebes (*prästbord*) were created to support parish priests. The practice of allotting farms became more widespread through the military allotment establishment (*indelningsverket*) that was set up in the eighteenth century to provide officers and soldiers with land as a part

7 W. B. Stephens, *Education, Literacy and Society, 1830–70: The Geography of Diversity in Provincial England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 2.

8 For further discussion about the importance of case studies, see Robert E. Stake, *The Art of Case Study Research* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1995), 1–12; Sheilagh C. Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living: Women, Markets, and Social Capital in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 5–7.

9 This method is described in greater detail in Janken Myrdal, "Source Pluralism as a Method of Historical Research," in *Historical Knowledge: In Quest of Theory, Method and Evidence*, ed. Susanna Hellman and Marjatta Rahikainen (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 155–89.

10 Gabriel Thulin, *Redogörelse för de ecklesiastika boställena 6 vol.* (Stockholm: s.n., 1904–29).

11 "Boställe", http://www.ne.se/lang/boställe, *Nationalencyklopedin*, August 4 2011; Björn Gerhardsson, "Boställen och karaktärshus. Något om boställssystemet i Örebro län och dess avveckling under 1800-talet," in *Från bergslag och bondebygd 1997*, ed. Lars Skoghäll (Örebro: Årsbok för Örebro läns hembygdsförbund, 1997), 69.

of their salary.[12] In addition, there were allotted farms for office holders in the civil service and people in a wide range of other occupations: from mine managers (*bergmästare*), company managers (*chef*), sheriffs (*länsman*), midwives, lighthouse keepers and physicians to gardeners.[13]

Regarding elementary school teachers, evidence suggests that in the western world in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, they were presented with land in lieu of cash salary to various degrees. In Baden (Southwest Germany), teachers were sometimes given the right to use communal lands in the late eighteenth century, while those working in the Swiss canton of Fribourg were, on occasion, provided with land plots, gardens or small vineyards. For French teachers, having a garden was still an important issue in the 1860s.[14]

In Sweden, the number and range of teachers' allotted farms increased in the early decades of the nineteenth century. The relative lateness of this phenomenon, in relation to allotted farms in other sectors, is largely explained by the fact that schooling was not established in Sweden until the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century. Prior to that, home instruction was the dominant model of mass education.[15] Teachers' allotted farms have also been linked to the transition from the itinerant teachers of the early schools to permanent schools that took place around this time. Since itinerant teachers moved from village to village, it was more convenient to pay them in housing and foodstuffs, than to present them with farms. However, once the number of schools increased, and many of these became permanent, allotted farms seemed a more attractive alternative.[16]

How many teachers' allotted farms were established, however, remains unknown. Existing records indicate that the number of parishes offering teachers a plot of land rose from seven in 1812 to 105 in 1839, in six of Sweden's 12 dioceses.[17] Allotted farms probably became more numerous after the Elementary School Act of 1842. This Act required each of Sweden's 2,308 parishes (1839) to organise school districts, by themselves or in cooperation with other parishes, and each school district to esta-

12 Regarding the development of glebes in the Middle Ages and Early Modern period, see Elisabeth Gräslund Berg, *Till prästens bruk och nytta: Jord till prästgårdar i Sverige under medeltid och tidigmodern tid* (Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, 2004), Chapter 4. The military's allotted farms are treated in e.g. Olle Cederlöf, "Indelningsverkets militära torp och boställen," *Meddelande XXXVI Armémuseum 1975–76* (1976); Göran Ulväng, "Indelningsverkets militära boställen: Vad vet vi egentligen?," *Militärhistorisk tidskrift* (2002); Fredrik Thisner, *Indelta inkomster: En studie av det militära löneindelningsverket 1721–1833* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2014).

13 On the existence of such allotted farms, see e.g., BiSOS U, *Kommunernas fattigvård och finanser* (1910), xii; *Betänkande angående förändring av extra provinsialläkardistrikt …* (Stockholm: Nord. bokh., 1921), 86–87; Dan Thunman, *Sveriges fyrplatser: En bebyggelsehistorisk dokumentation av f.d. bemannade fyrplatser anlagda under Lotsverkets tid* (Norrköping & Stockholm: Sjöfartsverket & Riksantikvarieämbetet, 2000), 108–44. See also "Boställe", http://g3.spraakdata.gu.se/saob/, *SAOB* 9/8 2011.

14 Maynes (1985), 40; Day (1983), 44; Brühwiler (2012a), 73. There is also evidence of teachers' allotted farms in New Zealand; see *Daily Southern Cross*, Volume XXVIII, Issue 4596, 17 May 1872, 3.

15 This system of home instruction is described in Egil Johansson, "The History of Literacy in Sweden," in *Understanding Literacy in its Historical Contexts: Socio-Cultural History and the Legacy of Egil Johansson*, ed. Harvey J. Graff, Alison Mackinnon, Bengt Sandin and Ian Winchester (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2009).

16 Klose (2011), 172.

17 Klose (2011), 172.

blish at least one school.[18] The School Act was followed by a major expansion of the elementary school system that involved a rise in the number of teachers from 1,030 at permanent schools and 507 at ambulatory schools in 1839 to 7,045 (all teacher categories) in 1868 and 16,619 (all teacher categories) in 1900.[19]

In addition, the Elementary School Act of 1842 encouraged salary terms that provided teachers with land plots. According to the Act, every parish was to establish at least one school within five years, whose teacher, in addition to a salary in grain and cash, would be provided with housing and fuel, as well as summer grazing and winter feed for a cow. The School Act recommended making a plot available to the teacher, to supplement the teacher's income while providing extra scope for the education of the school children.[20]

There are also indications that provision of teachers' allotted farms was a matter of some national importance. The question of whether such farms were to be inspected by state officials was, for example, dealt with at the Diet of the Estates (*ståndsriksdagen*) in 1854, and the registers of *Svensk Läraretidning* (the Swedish teachers' magazine) show that the issue of allotted farms was recurrently debated until 1922.[21] Furthermore, an analysis of the glebe lands in six counties shows that parts of these areas were assigned to teachers' allotted farms in five of these counties. Of the 98 transfers of land from glebes in 1838–1901, 38 involved land plots being assigned to teachers.[22]

Although the number of teachers' allotted farms, in all probability, increased in the first half of the nineteenth century, the significance of allotted farms and official residences was already starting to decline in other sectors. Military officers' allotted farms were greatly reduced in numbers after the wage regulation of 1833, and abolished in 1875. Free housing for provincial doctors, i.e., medical officers with responsibility for large rural districts, was abolished in 1890. Similarly, in 1910, it was declared that parish priests were no longer to be supported by the glebes, although they still received free housing at the glebe house (*prästgården*), including its grounds and garden.[23] In line with these reforms, the provision of teachers' allotted farms also soon came to an end. Within the elementary school system, free housing was abolished as a salary benefit under the wage settlement of 1937.[24]

Previous studies of ecclesiastical, military and civil allotted farms have brought to the fore a number of questions regarding various issues, such as the size, yield and

18 SFS 1842:19, Sections 1–2.

19 Klas Aquilonius, *Svenska folkskolans historia: Del 2. Det svenska folkundervisningsväsendet 1809–1860* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1942), 266; BiSOS P, *Undervisningsväsendet* (1868), xii; BiSOS P (1900), Table 2.

20 SFS 1842:19, Section 4.

21 Allm. Besv. och Ekon.-Utsk. Betänk. N:o 64, in *Bihang till Riksdagens protokoll 1853–54, 8e samlingen*; *Svensk Läraretidning*, Index for the volumes 1–51 (1882–1932). See also the articles "Lönevederlag medelst boställen" and "Syneförrättningar å lärarboställen," *Svensk läraretidning* 41 (1922).

22 Thulin (1904–29). Thulin's investigation included the counties of Värmland, Kopparberg, Gävleborg, Västernorrland, Jämtland, Västerbotten and Norrbotten.

23 "Prästgård," http://www.ne.se/lang/prästgård, 4/11 2013; Betänkande angående förändring av extra provinsialläkardistrikt till ordinarie samt ordnande av bostadsfrågan för provinsialläkare å landsbygden ävensom rörande åtgärder för avhjälpande av den inom de norrländska länen rådande läkarbristen m. m (1921), 86; Ulväng (2002), 177–78.

24 Lars Hofstedt et al., *Svenska folkskolans historia. Del 5. Det svenska folkundervisningsväsendet 1920–1942* (Stockholm: 1950), 307–17.

functions of teachers' allotted farms, and their role in the elementary school system. They have established, among other facts, that public allotted farms played a vital role for the funding of the Swedish army.[25] However, the significance of teachers' allotted farms for their livelihood and the expansion of the elementary school system in Sweden still require research.

Allotted farms of the Sundsvall region

In the mid-nineteenth century, the Sundsvall region was largely rural and dominated by smallholders. Although the region experienced an intensive industrialisation process following the expansion of the sawmill industry, it was only in the parishes of Alnö, Njurunda, Skön and Timrå that the industry employed more than half of the working population in 1900.[26]

As the population of the region more than doubled from 18,551 in 1840 to 54,325 in 1900, the school system also expanded. The region's 12 school districts employed 11 teachers in the same number of schools in early 1850. The number of schools rose to 129, of which 29 were ambulatory, and there were 161 teachers in 1900.[27]

Under these circumstances 10 out of 12 school districts acquired a total of 13 teacher's allotted farms in the Sundsvall region in 1838–1900 (see Table 1). Eight of these were created using glebe land, which required an application to be sent to the King. These applications seem to have encountered no major difficulties, probably since the region's glebes were usually fairly large, averaging 207 hectares (ha).[28] Four of the allotted farms were bought, and one was donated by villagers.[29]

The teachers' allotted farms, ranging from 0.5 to 5 ha, averaged 2.3 ha—slightly more than the 1.9 ha that was the average size of the land plots provided by the glebes in the above-mentioned five counties for teachers.[30] These farms thus seem to have been comparable to the 800 parish clerks' (*klockares*) allotted farms, mapped in a survey published in 1921. Of these, 41 per cent covered an area below 2 ha, and 20 per cent covered 2–5 ha.[31]

In size terms, these farms were distinctly smaller than farmers' homesteads, and comparable to the small plots of land cultivated by crofters (*torpare*). However, this is hardly surprising since, unlike the farmers' homesteads, the teachers' plots were not supposed to be their main source of income.[32]

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25 Gerhardsson (1997), 69–70. The function of the military allotment establishment is analysed in Thisner (2014).

26 Lars-Göran Tedebrand, *Västernorrland och Nordamerika 1875–1913: Utvandring och återinvandring* (Stockholm: Läromedelsförlaget, 1972), 60; Lennart Schön, "Västernorrland in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century: A Study in the Transition from Small-scale to Capitalistic Production," *Economy and history* 15 (1972), 83–87.

27 Primary data from school boards (1850), H3aaa:9; Statistiska avdelningen, ED, RA; Statistical compilation, Västernorrland county (1900), H3bd:15, Statistiska avdelningen, ED, RA; Folkmängd 1810–1990, Demographic Database (DDB), Umeå University.

28 Gabriel Thulin, *Redogörelse för de ecklesiastika boställena: Del 2. Västernorrlands län* (Stockholm: s.n., 1906), Table 1.

29 See sources of Table 1.

30 Thulin (1904–29).

31 "Sammandrag över arealen å klockar (organist)-boställen eller- jordar enl. tab. B," in *Bihang till riksdagens protokoll* (1921) saml. 2 avd. 2 bd 3, Table P.

32 This distinction between crofters and farmers is further discussed in Jonas Lindström, *Distribution and Differences: Stratification and the System of Reproduction in a Swedish Peasant Community 1620–1820* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2008), 21–22.

Table 1. Size of teachers' allotted farms in the Sundsvall region, 1838–1900

School district	Location	Year	Hectares
Hässjö	Hässjö glebe	1853	4.9
Indal	Glömsta glebe	1838	2.5
Ljustorp	Mellberg, Rogsta glebe	1845	2.1
Ljustorp	Ås village	1878	0.5
Njurunda	Njurunda glebe	1847	0.5
Njurunda	Baggböle village	1864	n.a.
Njurunda	Ulvberg village	1892	2
Selånger	Nävsta village	1847	2.6
Skön	Gran and Stafre glebe	1863	1.1
Sättna	Flata glebe	1883	5
Timrå	Timrå glebe	1859	0.9
Tuna	Ön village	1845	4
Tynderö	Tynderö glebe	1864	1.6
Mean:			**2.3**

Sources: Thulin, *Redogörelse för de ecklesiastika boställena. 2, Västernorrlands Län*, Table 1; Title deeds, Lantmäterimyndigheternas arkiv (LMa, the archives of the Swedish cadastral authorities); Parish meeting, Church meeting and school board minutes, Sundsvall region church archives, Landsarkivet i Härnösand (HLA, Härnösand regional state archives). Cabinet Acts, Ecklesiastikdepartementet (ED), Riksarkivet (RA, the National Archives); Primary data from school boards (1881, 1891) and Statistiska avdelningen (Statistical Department), H3aaa: 196, 288, ED, RA. Note: In Alnö and Attmar school districts, teachers were offered housing and outhouses, but no allotted farms. The table includes 13 allotted farms.

The Sundsvall region provides examples of the wide range of allotted farms that the school districts offered. An allotted farm in Njurunda (0.5 hectares) was, for example, unable to sustain even a single cow in 1850, while one in Indal (2.5 hectares) was considered adequate for one cow, and one in Skön (1.1 hectares) provided for two cows.[33] The nature and quality of its soil also varied. For instance, the teacher's allotted farm at Sättna school district, placed in the vicinity of both the schoolhouse and the church, consisted mostly of lowland pasture near the Sättna river (3.5 hectares), but also included 1.4 hectares of arable land (see Figure 1). The allotted farm at Timrå school district included a small herb garden, in addition to fields and meadows, while Tuna school district's allotted farm consisted of 0.85 hectares of fields, 2 hectares of hay meadows and 1 hectare of meadows.[34]

The most extensive descriptions of teachers' allotted farms in the Sundsvall region are of those at Hässjö and Ljustorp. The comparably large allotted farm at Hässjö school district, 4.9 hectares of land parcelled out from a fairly distant part of the glebe, while partly stony, also included relatively extensive areas of arable land. Hilly and forested areas were supplemented by marshes, wet meadows, pasture and fields. Approximately two-thirds of this land (3.2 hectares) was estimated to be arable.[35]

33 School board minutes April 14 1850, K4a:1, Njurunda kyrkoarkiv (ka, church archives), Landsarkivet i Härnösand (HLA); Parish meeting minutes December 11 1842, K1:1, Indal ka, HLA; Parish meeting minutes December 2 1860, K1:4, Skön ka, HLA.

34 Karta öfver förslaget Skollärar-boställe från Sättna prästbol uti Västernorrlands län (1882), O2:1, Sättna ka, HLA; Laga skifte 22-TUN-107 (1847), Lantmäterimyndigheternas arkiv (LMa); Cabinet act December 30 1859 no. 21 (Timrå), Ecklesiastikdepartementet (ED), Riksarkivet (RA).

35 22-HÄS-115 Arealavmätning (1851), LMa; Cabinet act March 31 1853 no. 25 (Hässjö), ED, RA.

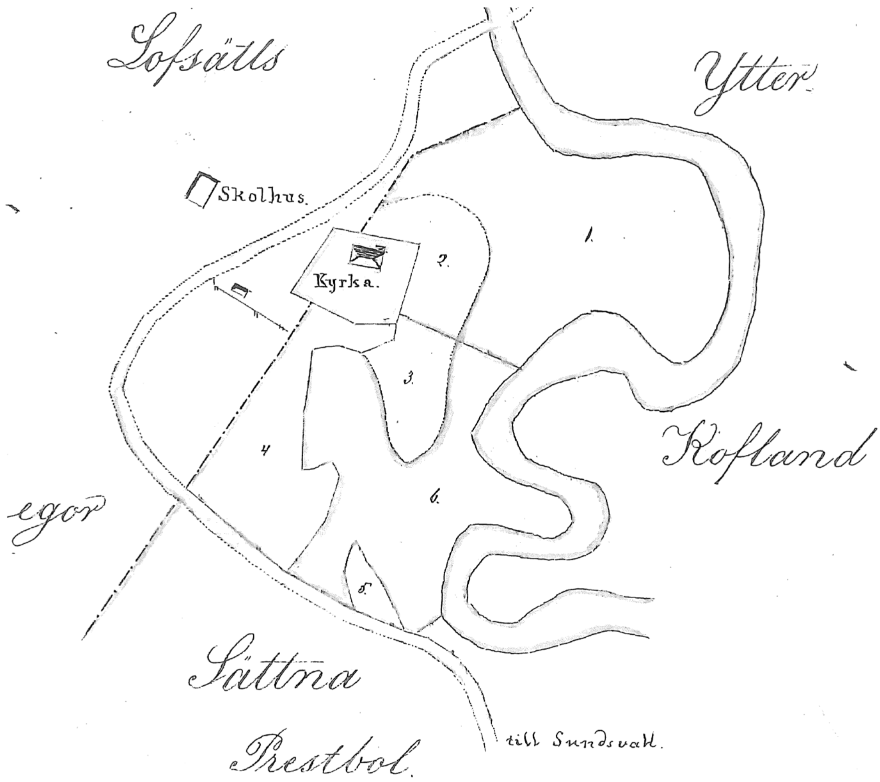

Figure 1. In Sättna, the teacher's allotted farm (numbers 1–6) was placed in the vicinity of the church (*kyrka*) and the schoolhouse (*skolhus*). Nos. 1 and 6 are pasture and nos. 2–5 are fields. Map source: *Karta öfver föreslaget skollärar-boställe* (1882), O2:1, Sättna ka, HLA.

The allotted farm at Mellberg, located in Ljustorp school district, was much smaller and covered only 2.1 hectares of former glebe land. It was located near the parish church, consisting of a yard in the vicinity of the church and a narrowing strip of land. The yard, located on a stony piece of land, was described as very suitable for the purpose. However, the rest of the allotted farm did not receive the same good judgement. While it was indeed largely arable, with the exception of the third that consisted of the narrowest part of the land, it was deemed "sand-like, sterile and particularly frosty". In addition, the land adjacent to the river was partly wooded.[36]

The acquisition of these allotted farms must be understood in the context of contemporary agrarian society. In the mid-nineteenth century, in line with other categories of allotted farms, teachers' allotted farms were an advantageous method of remuneration in a society characterised by a relatively extensive natural economy, where cash might be scarce. Despite increasing contacts with the market, where pro-

36 Cabinet act 4 August 1845 no. 6 (Ljustorp), ED, RA.

ducts could be purchased and sold, basic foodstuffs were still largely produced and consumed on farms.[37]

The creation of teachers' allotted farms must also be understood in its organisational context. School districts did not invent allotted farms, but rather chose to apply a solution that had worked well in other sectors of society. Such organisational behaviour, termed 'mimetic isomorphism' in organisational theory, has also been identified in analyses of schoolhouse design.[38] Interestingly, however, school districts started to use allotted farms in an era when they were losing, or on the verge of losing, their significance in the military and civil sector. This time lag is a question that should be addressed in future studies.

When the school districts discussed establishing an allotted farm, they naturally highlighted the possible risks of doing so. For example, could using parts of glebe land to establish an allotted farm result in the remaining forests and the arable land being too small? Was there a risk that the farm, when placed in the vicinity of the church, would damage the beauty, symmetry and piety of the churchyard? Moreover, the creation of a teacher's allotted farm could cause conflicts with the sexton (*kyrkvaktmästaren*), who also was interested in such benefits.[39]

In general, however, there were several reasons why school districts acquired allotted farms. To begin with, the farms were often relatively inexpensive to acquire. When they were bought, this was done at a comparatively low cost, and when they were parcelled out from the large glebe lands of the Sundsvall region, which was the most common solution, the creation of teachers' allotted farms entailed no sacrifice for either the parish priest or the school district. Even in Hässjö, where the allotted farm (4.9 hectares) was relatively large in comparison with the unusually limited glebe lands (28 hectares), the creation of a teacher's allotted farm was understood as fairly unproblematic, since the parcelled land was not deemed to be of any greater benefit to the parish priest.[40]

Allotted farms were also perceived as an important asset, for both the teacher and the school district. They were described as "so necessary and valuable to officials residing in rural areas", and also judged to be a good investment that made schooling more affordable for the school district.[41] In Timrå, the school district compared its allotted farms to a fund: creating an allotted farm was equivalent to investing in a fund of 2,500 Swedish kronor (SEK), which at the interest rate of 5 per cent gave the annual return of 125 SEK.[42] In Indal, the teacher's allotted farm (2.5 ha) was described as an insurance against additional expense in the school system, and in Sättna

37 Gerhardsson (1997), 69; Carl-Johan Gadd, "The Agricultural Revolution in Sweden 1700–1870," in *The Agrarian History of Sweden: 4000 BC to AD 2000*, ed. Janken Myrdal and Mats Morell (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2011), 130–32. Regarding the natural economy of the Sundsvall region, see Lars-Göran Tedebrand, *Selånger: En sockens historia* (Sundsvall: Selångers församling, 1983), 112–14, 145–46.

38 Johannes Westberg, *Att bygga ett skolväsende: Folkskolans förutsättningar och framväxt 1840–1900* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2014), 129.

39 See e.g., Parish meeting minutes December 2 1849, May 20 1850, K1:3, Timrå ka, HLA; Cabinet act March 31 1853 no. 25 (Hässjö), ED, RA.

40 Cabinet act March 31 1853 no. 25 (Hässjö), ED, RA

41 Cabinet act October 19 1883 no. 14 (Sättna), ED. RA. The quote is from Cabinet act May 12 1857 no. 17 (Tuna), ED, RA.

42 Cabinet act September 21 1894 no.21 (Njurunda), ED, RA.

the parishioners simply declared that acquiring a farm was better than having to pay the teacher a higher salary.[43]

In certain cases, the allotted farms' return was perceived as particularly important. For instance, the parishioners of Skön noticed that the inhabitants of the school district were heavily taxed, and that the district was especially poor in terms of hay: each pound of hay was very valuable in their minds. The establishment of a teacher's allotted farm, which could easily feed two cows, was therefore desirable, since it meant that the parishioners did not have to provide the teacher with an amount of hay that was vividly described as "severe, cumbersome and at times also unpleasant".[44]

Cowsheds, bakehouses and cellars

The allotted farms included a number of outhouses, which gave them the character of small farmsteads. Although these buildings are not explicitly mentioned in the Swedish Elementary School Acts of the nineteenth century, and has been given scant consideration in the previous literature, their presence was assumed in the contemporary education debates and in the implementation of the Elementary School Acts of 1842 and 1882.[45] For instance, Anders Oldberg, a well-known educationalist, argued that the operation of a school district required a number of outhouses, among which he mentioned a woodshed, a laundry and mangle shed, a cowshed and a barn. This is confirmed by the National Building plans for schoolhouses (1865 and 1878 editions), which list cowsheds, cellars, barns, woodsheds and pigsties.[46]

As with the acquisition of the allotted farms, the construction of these outhouses was motivated by the still extensive natural economy in the rural parishes of the Sundsvall region. In the school districts of this region, the outhouses were largely a matter of satisfying the teacher's needs in an agrarian setting. According to the parishioners, their teacher needed a cowshed, without which rural life would be both costly and cumbersome, and a cellar was described as a necessity for the school teacher's household, both in the present and in the future.[47]

The construction of outhouses was also motivated with reference to the Elementary School Act of 1842. As mentioned above, the salary terms of the Act encouraged school districts to supply teachers with a plot of land, and in the eyes of the school districts this also had further consequences. The school board of Tynderö, reading between the lines of the above-mentioned Act, claimed that it required school districts to provide the teacher with the necessary buildings. Since the teacher

43 Church meeting minutes March 9 1873, K1:5, Sättna ka, HLA; Parish meeting minutes May 12 1844, K1:4, Indal ka, HLA.

44 Parish meeting minutes December 29 1861, K1:4, Skön ka, HLA.

45 SFS 1842:19; SFS SFS 1882:8. See e.g., Hjördis Kristenson, *Skolhuset: Idé och form* (Lund: Signum, 2005); Anders Åman, "Inledning till skol-arkitekturen: Om Uppsala läroverk och svenskt skolhusbyggande i de stora undervisningsreformernas spår," *Upplands nations årsskrift* 25, (1962).

46 Anders Oldberg, *Praktisk handbok i Pedagogik och methodik för Swenska folkunderwisningen* (Stockholm: L. J. Hierta, 1846), 151; Öfverintendentsembetet, *Normalritningar till folkskolebyggnader jemte beskrifning* (Stockholm: s.n., 1865), 25–26; Öfverintendentsembetet, *Normalritningar till folkskolebyggnader jemte beskrifning: Andra omarbetade upplagan.* (Stockholm: s.n., 1878), 15–16. See also Adam Crispin Peterson, "Folkskolebyggnader," *Tidskrift för byggnadskonst och ingeniörvetenskap* 6, (1864), 182 and Fig. 6.

47 Parish meeting minutes January 26 1855, K1:5, Attmar ka, HLA; School board minutes February 7 1858, K2:1, Tuna ka, HLA. See also Parish meeting minutes April 9 1855, K1:3, Sättna ka, HLA; Parish meeting minutes February 8 1846, K1:3, Njurunda ka, HLA.

needed a cellar, the school district consequently had to build a cellar at the schoolhouse.[48] Similarly, the parishioners of Ljustorp declared that it was necessary, "in accordance with the rules of the School Act", to build a cowshed.[49]

The school districts' stock of outhouses

According to the state school inspector, the teachers of Härnösand's diocese, which included the whole of northern Sweden, were usually provided with a number of outhouses, alongside apartments consisting of a kitchen and two or three additional rooms. However, the number, purpose and condition of buildings varied greatly, which the inspector believed was due to the lack of precision in the School Act.[50]

The available source materials are insufficient for a complete inventory of all the outhouses of the teachers' allotted farms in 1838–1900. The minutes and accounts of the school districts do not cover all the outhouses built, and when erection or repair of an outhouse is mentioned it is not always possible to identify the outhouse referred to. Still, the evidence that has been found in the available source materials does allow a brief survey of the outhouses maintained by the Sundsvall region's school districts.

Table 2. Outhouses of teachers' allotted farms in Sundsvall region, 1838–1900

Outhouse	**Evidence from no. of school districts**
Brewhouse	12
Cowshed	11
Woodshed	11
Bakehouse	10
Cellar	9
Barn	9
Stables	5
Granary	4
Storehouse	4
Threshing barn	2
Drying house	1

Sources: Fire insurance, General Fire Insurance Board; Cabinet Acts, ED, RA; School district account books, Parish meeting, Church meeting and school board minutes, the church archives of Sundsvall region, HLA. Note that this table also includes the school districts of Alnö and Attmar, which, despite not owning public allotted farms, provided the teachers with outhouses such as cowsheds, barns and woodsheds. The table includes 12 kinds of outhouses and 78 evidences.

As shown in Table 2, the building stock of Sundsvall region's school district included more than just a schoolhouse: there is evidence that the teacher received several outhouses, usually including a brewhouse, a cowshed, a woodshed, a bakehouse, a cellar and a barn. An example of such a set of outhouses is seen at the Kyrkmon's school in Njurunda, which in 1894 included a brewhouse, a barn, a woodshed, a th-

48 Parish meeting minutes September 12 1858, K1:1, Tynderö ka, HLA.

49 Parish meeting minutes September 12 1847, K1:3, Ljustorp ka, HLA. See also Parish meeting minutes April 15 1860, K1:3, Timrå ka, HLA.

50 S. H. Wagenius, "Berättelse om Folkskolorna inom Hernösands stift åren 1864–1866: Ångermanlands södra och östra kontrakt samt Medelpad," in *Berättelse om folkskolorna i riket för åren 1864–1866* (Stockholm: Nordstedt & söner, 1867), 14.

reshing barn and a stone cellar. Another example is the teacher's allotted farm at Ön in Tuna, to which at least a cowshed, a bakehouse, a cellar and a stable belonged.[51]

The teachers' allotted farms' stock of outhouses appears in line with other similar residences of the period under study. With the exception of pigsties, teachers' allotted farms had the usual features of a medium-sized farm in the Sundsvall region in the first half of the nineteenth century.[52] In comparison, the parish clerk's allotted farms might include a residential building, sheds, a barn, a cattle shed and stables, depending on local traditions and requirement.[53] Soldiers' allotted farms might include a cowshed, a threshing barn, sheds and a fodder barn, and the lighthouse keepers' cottages were usually accompanied by a woodshed, wash and bakehouse, a cellar and kerosene huts.[54]

As shown in Table 2, not all teachers' allotted farms included the same set of outhouses: many lacked stables, granaries and drying houses, which were intended for the drying of grains. In addition, only two allotted farms included threshing barns, intended for grain processing.

While the causes of such variations will not be investigated further in this article, some observations may nonetheless be made. It may, for example, be noted that, in some cases, the decision not to build an outhouse was based on the fact that the outhouses already present at the allotted farms was considered sufficient for the teacher's needs, or that the teacher was allowed to use outhouses in the vicinity of his allotted farm. It was, for example, noted in Timrå that a hay barn did not have to be erected on the teacher's allotted farm, since the hay could be transported to the fodder barn at the schoolhouse.[55] There were also instances when teachers were given the opportunity to dry grain and bake bread in neighbouring farms, and allowed to keep their grain in the parish granary (*sockenmagasin*).[56] In such instances, drying houses, bakehouses and fodder barns would not have been necessary.

The nature of the outhouses

In general, the teachers' outhouses were not particularly large, and tended to adapt to the small size of the allotted farms. Table 3 shows how a teacher's cowshed could cover just over 15 square metres, a cellar 13 sq.m. and a row of outhouses, consisting of a cowshed and more, 60 sq.m. In comparison with, for example, farmers' outhouses in the county of Uppland, these were comparatively small. For the latter, figures related to 1860 indicate that cattle sheds occupied 80 sq.m. and barns 120 sq.m., which greatly exceeded the hay barns of the school districts studied.[57]

51 School board minutes May 14 1894, K3a:1, Njurunda ka, HLA; Parish meeting minutes February 21 1858, K1:7, Tuna ka, HLA; Parish meeting minutes November 12 1871, K1:8, September 9 1872, Tuna ka, HLA.

52 Tedebrand (1983), 107. Regarding farmsteads in the county of Uppland, see Göran Ulväng, *Hus och gård i förändring: Uppländska herrgårdar, boställen och bondgårdar under 1700- och 1800-talens agrara revolution* (Hedemora: Gidlund, 2004), Chapter 7.

53 Gabriel Thulin, *Utredning angående klockar-, organist- och kantors (kyrkosångar) befattningarna. Avdelning 1*. (Stockholm: s.n., 1919), 177.

54 Elfred Kumm, *Indelt soldat och rotebonde* (Stockholm: LT, 1989), 169; Thunman (2000), 130–46.

55 Parish meeting minutes September 2 1860, K1:3, Timrå ka, HLA.

56 E.g. Parish meeting minutes February 11 1849, K1:5, Ljustorp ka, HLA; Parish meeting minutes December 30 1849, K1:1, Alnö ka, HLA.

57 The outhouses of farmsteads in Uppland are described in Ulväng (2004), 198.

The outhouses were also, in general, not particularly costly. Judging from the school districts' minutes and accounts, cowsheds cost 210–350 SEK to build, while a stable might cost 103 SEK and a barley barn 226 SEK (see Table 4).[58] At these prices, a set of buildings consisting of a cowshed, a hay barn, a woodshed, a stable, a privy and a cellar could be built for 619 SEK, while a less costly set of cowshed, woodshed, threshing barn, brewhouse, cellar and hay barn might be constructed for a little over half the price (349 SEK). In comparison with the investment required for a schoolhouse, these costs were minor. The cost of a schoolhouse in the Sundsvall region averaged 2,400 SEK in the 1840s and 8,600 SEK in the 1870s.[59]

Table 3. Dimensions of teachers' outhouses in the Sundsvall region

Outhouse	**Year built**	**Width, m**	**Length, m**	**Area, m2**
Barley barn	1872	5.9	5.9	34.8
Brewhouse	1883	5.0	7.1	35.5
Cellar	1886	3.6	3.6	13.0
Cowshed	1847	3.6	4.2	15.1
Hay barn	1896	6.5	6.5	42.3
Row of outhouses	1896	4.8	12.5	60.0

Sources: Fire insurance, General Fire Insurance Board; Parish meeting, Church meeting and school board minutes, church archives of the Sundsvall region, HLA.

Table 4. The cost of building teachers' farm outhouses in the Sundsvall region

School district	**Year built**	**Building**	**SEK**
Tuna	1847	Stable	103
Njurunda	1852	Hay barn	19
Tuna	1858	Cellar	200
Indal	1883	Cowshed	250
Njurunda	1884	Barley barn	226
Sättna	1884	Cowshed	210
Attmar	1887	Cowshed	350
Hässjö	1891	Woodshed, stable and privy	150
Ljustorp	1892	Cowshed	220
Njurunda	1896	Cowshed, woodshed, threshing barn and brewhouse	130

Sources: School district account books, Parish meeting, Church meeting and school board minutes, and Sundsvall region church archives, HLA.

The above-mentioned outhouses were built with varying purposes and followed different designs. The cowsheds, which belonged to the allotted farms' standard building stock, were, like other outhouses, often included in a row of stables and sheds, which was a common building design in Sweden in the nineteenth century.[60] For example, Sättna school district built a row of outhouses consisting of a cowshed, a

58 Note that the currencies preceding Swedish kronor (SEK) have been converted to SEK following the exchange rates presented in Klas Fregert and Roger Gustafsson, "Fiscal Statistics for Sweden 1719–2003," *Research in Economic History* 25, no. 1 (2008), 176–77. Since an adjustment of the nominal prices to consumer price index does not affect the study's result appreciably, nominal values are presented in this article.

59 Johannes Westberg, "How Much did a Swedish Schoolhouse Cost to build? Rewriting the History of Nineteenth Century Rural Schoolhouses," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 39, no. 4 (2014), 455.

60 Ulväng (2004), 198–99.

fodder barn, a privy and a woodshed, and similar solutions were implemented in Skön and Tuna.[61]

While cowsheds were typically built using timber, some school districts used slag bricks (*slaggtegel*).[62] Like those built by the region's farmers, they might also be furnished with a fireplace, for heating cattle feed during the winter.[63] The size of the cowsheds varied but, as previously noted, judging from extant source materials, they accommodated one or two cows that teachers typically kept.[64]

The cowsheds had a fairly short life span, which must be acknowledged in order to appreciate the work needed for their maintenance. A study of cowsheds in the county of Uppland suggests that these, on average, had an expected life span of about thirty years, and the conditions of Sundsvall region also took their toll upon cowsheds erected within the school district.[65] In Ljustorp, the first cowshed was built in 1847 and only 14 years later, in 1861, it was noted that it had become old and so inadequate that cattle could be kept there during the winter only with great difficulty.[66] A similar development can be seen in Indal, where a cowshed was built in 1844. Fourteen years later, in 1858, a decision was made to collect timber for a new cowshed, which seems to have lasted longer. In 1878, the roof and chimney failed a fire inspection, prompting extensive repairs, and in 1883, a new cowshed was constructed.[67]

Aside from cowsheds, brew and bakehouses were, as shown in Table 2, commonplace. These were also wooden buildings, and usually had the form of a traditional so-called *enkelstuga*—a house consisting of three rooms: a larger room where the baking oven was placed, a chamber and an entrance.[68] The bakehouses were intended for the baking of bread, and the brewhouses were traditionally used for brewing beer, distilling spirits and washing clothes. In such cases, laundry was boiled in vessels in the largest room of the house, and thereafter dried in the attic.[69] In addition, the brewhouses were often used as kitchens in the summer, and also provided the households with extra living space at this time of year.[70]

In comparison with the cowsheds, the brew and bakehouses seems to have been somewhat more durable. For example, in the school district of Timrå and Indal, the first brewhouse was built in 1845, while the corresponding dates were 1846 in Nju-

61 Parish meeting minutes April 9 1855, K1:3, Sättna ka, HLA; Church meeting minutes August 18 1878, K2:2, Skön ka, HLA; School board minutes August 23 1880, K2:2, Tuna ka, HLA.

62 See e.g., Church meeting minutes July 24 1887, K1:7, Attmar ka, HLA.

63 School board minutes August 4 1878, K4a:2, Indal ka, HLA; Karta med beskrivning (Ljustorps socken), 1858, X33-1:3, Lantmäteristyrelsens arkiv (LMS).

64 School board minutes November 2 1884, K2:2, Tuna ka, HLA. See also Parish meeting minutes January 26 1855, K1:5, Attmar ka, HLA; Parish meeting minutes March 13 1894, K1:5, Indal ka, HLA.

65 Ulväng (2004), 198–99.

66 Parish meeting minutes September 12 1847, K1:3, Ljustorp ka, HLA; School board minutes December 22 1861, K4a:2, Ljustorp ka, HLA.

67 Parish meeting minutes May 12 1844, December 19 1858, K1:4, Indal ka, HLA; School board minutes August 4 1878, June 21 1883, K4a:2, Indal ka, HLA.

68 Ulväng (2004), 206.

69 Ulväng (2004), 109.

70 Ulväng (2004), 204–5.

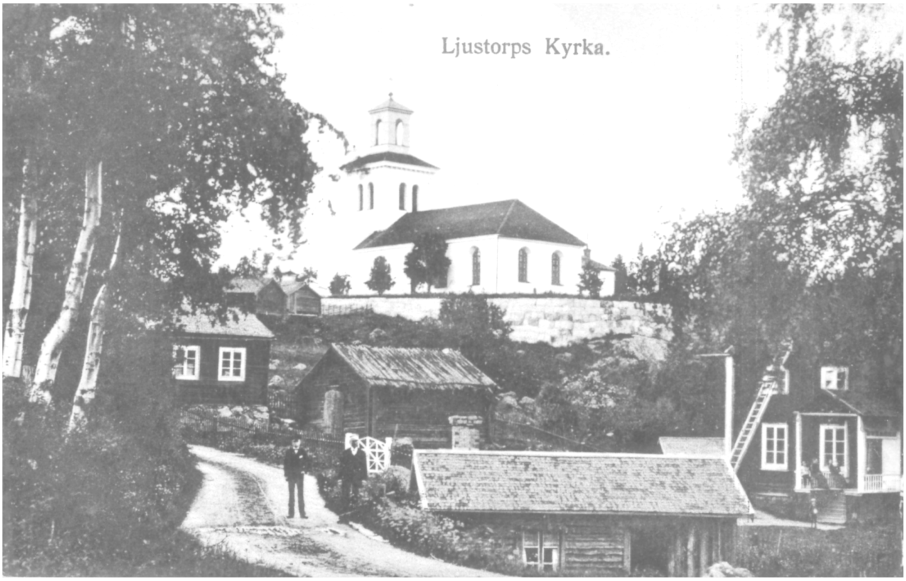

Figure 2. The teacher's allotted farm in Mellberg, Ljustorp, included a bakehouse, a cowshed, a cellar, a barley barn and a woodshed. The picture shows the bakehouse on the far left, where there also was room for the teacher to make handicrafts. The woodshed was positioned just below the bakehouse, and at the bottom of the image, the bakehouse of the glebe is visible. The short side of the schoolhouse is to the right.[71] Source: Ljustorps hembygdsförening (Ljustorp local history and cultural heritage association), Fo-10334.

runda, 1850 in Alnö and 1854 in Tynderö.[72] The weak point of these buildings was the fireplace. In Indal, the baking oven was rebuilt in 1866 and again in 1897. In Skön a new brewhouse was built in 1875, when the old one had become unusable, and in 1893 it was rebuilt following a fire. The bakehouse in Tuna burnt down in 1871.[73]

The common practice of using brewhouses, as shown in Table 2, is noteworthy. Regarding farmsteads in Uppland, brewhouses have been described as a part of their raised standards in the nineteenth century, although they were still fairly uncommon among farmsteads in Uppland.[74] Still, the reasons why brewhouses were erected at teachers' allotted farms in the Sundsvall region so frequently are worth exploring. One reason was certainly that the brew and bakehouses had overlapping designations, which meant that the latter might have been described as the former in the source materials. In certain cases, a building might also be designated as a "brew- and bakehouse".[75] The popularity of brewhouses may also be explained by the fact that they could be used to fulfil a number of functions. As mentioned above,

71 Sven Hedin, *Ljustorp förr och nu: Bygd och människor. Del 1: Seder och bruk* (Ljustorp: Sveriges pensionärsförbund, 1990), 145.

72 See the sources of Table 2.

73 Church meeting minutes September 12 1875, September 10 1893, K2:2, Skön ka, HLA; School board minutes April 16 1866, K4a:1, Indal ka, HLA; School board minutes May 16 1897, K4a:2, Indal ka, HLA; Church meeting minutes, November 12 1871, K1:8, Tuna ka, HLA.

74 Ulväng (2004), 204–5.

75 E.g., Parish meeting minutes October 16 1859, K1:5, Attmar ka, HLA; Parish meeting minutes November 27 1859, K1:3, Timrå ka, HLA.

they had traditionally been used for brewing, distilling and washing, and the school districts also used them as apartments.[76]

Outhouses designed for different storage purposes were also a fundamental part of the allotted farms' building stock. As shown above, woodsheds, where the firewood intended for the school and the teacher's apartment was stored, granaries, intended for instance for cattle feed or threshed grain, and hay barns, were in evidence.[77] In addition, in the absence of latter-day methods for preserving food, the root cellars were of great importance and could thus be found throughout Sweden.[78] As food preservation benefited from a steady humidity and low temperature, the allotted farms' cellars were usually made of stone and dug into the ground or a hillside, or placed under the schoolhouse.[79]

Teachers' work on allotted farms

Alongside the land and outhouses, the teachers' allotted farms required a certain amount of labour from the teacher and his household. As shown, primarily by non-Swedish research, it was not uncommon for teachers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to engage in a wide range of occupations.[80] This may differ from the working conditions of latter-day teachers, but it is not that surprising. A striking feature of the rural labour force was livelihood diversification, which meant that individuals earned their living through a multitude of more or less temporary employments.[81]

Among the societal preconditions that made the teachers' allotted farms possible was the fact that Sweden was a largely rural country in the mid-nineteenth century. Although the industrialisation process was especially marked in the Sundsvall region, it is probable that the skills necessary to run an allotted farm were well distributed among teachers even at the turn of the century. These allotted farms also benefited from teachers' limited teaching obligations, which were particularly restricted in the years following the Elementary School Act of 1842. For children who attended Sweden's elementary schools in 1843, the estimated school year consisted of only 60 days, spread over 29 weeks. In the Sundsvall region, there might be as few as 16–19 school weeks, occasionally divided into three terms: spring (mid-February to end of March), summer (one month between sowing and harvesting) and autumn (1 October–25 November).[82] This, of course, left the teacher with enough time to devote to other matters.

76 See e.g., Parish meeting minutes June 9 1862, K1:4, Timrå ka, HLA; School board minutes December 2 1888, K2:3, Tuna ka, HLA; School board minutes, October 22 1882, January 30 1884, K2:2, Tuna ka, HLA.

77 See the sources of Table 2.

78 See e.g., Catharina Svala, *Från ladu-gård till djur-stall: Ekonomibyggnader under 250 år* (Lund: Kungl. Skogs- och Lantbruksakademien, 1993), 91.

79 E.g., Parish meeting minutes, June 22 1862, May 19 1878, K1:4, Timrå Ka, HLA: Parish meeting minutes February 21 1858, K1:7, Tuna ka, HLA.

80 See e.g., Day (1983); Brühwiler (2012b).

81 See e.g., the articles included in Benny Jacobsson and Maria Ågren, eds., *Levebröd: Vad vet vi om tidigmodern könsarbetsdelning?* (Uppsala: Swedish Science Press, 2011).

82 Jonas Ljungberg and Anders Nilsson, "Human capital and economic growth: Sweden 1870–2000," *Cliometrica* 3, no. 1 (2009), tab. 1; Statistical compilation, Härnösand's diocese (1865), H3abd:1, Statistiska avdelningen, ED, RA. See also *School Regulations* (1850), G3b:5, Domkapitlet i Härnösands stift, HLA.

The work carried out by the teacher and his household, which at times also could include farmhands and maids, was varied. Alongside animal husbandry, spring cultivation and harvesting, the preparation and storage of grain, teachers maintained and often built the allotted farm's outhouses. In addition, teachers and their households would cultivate potato patches and herb gardens, and some were entitled to pursue a certain amount of fishing and tree-felling in the allotted farm's forest.[83]

Extant minutes and other written documents provide a more detailed insight into the labour performed by the teacher's household. Judging from these, it is evident why teachers' allotted farms were a resource for the school districts, making the establishment of schools affordable. In addition to providing the school districts with a portion of the teachers' salaries, the labour that the teacher and his household invested in the property kept down the school districts' expenditure on items like sowing, harvesting and the building and maintenance of outhouses. Such items of expenditure were instead incurred largely by teachers, who were not always remunerated for their efforts at the allotted farms.

Teachers usually assumed major responsibility for the construction and repair of outhouses, and there are plenty of examples of teachers building sheds, stables, privies, fodder barns and cellars.[84] The expenditure associated with this work would, fully or partially, be incurred by the teacher. In Selånger, for instance, the teacher was responsible for all repairs of fences, barns and other outhouses, and in Indal the teacher himself built the brewhouse without any compensation in 1845. In addition to a cellar, the teacher Wästin in Tuna school district built two large barns and a carriage shed, and constructed three pantries in the schoolhouse. He had also plastered the cowshed and the stables, and put up 700 metres of wooden fencing. The school district, however, only covered less than half the expenses associated with this work.[85]

The fields and meadows also required a certain amount of labour that, in contrast to the work done on outhouses, was always unpaid. What first comes to mind, of course, is the harvesting. Hay, for example, had to be cut, turned, raked and piled on hay fences (*hässjor*) to dry, before being transported to barns for storage. According to a contemporary manual from the Sundsvall region, written in the 1860s, the haymaking would begin in the morning between four and five o'clock, and continue throughout the day, interrupted only by meals served by the household's women.[86]

Available statistical data may provide us with a rough estimate of the amount of hay harvested. If, for example, the allotted farms provided a yield equivalent to the average value of cattle feed presented to teachers in the region, this meant that the

83 Cabinet act September 9 1894 no. 21 (Njurunda), ED, RA; Parish meeting minutes June 19 1859, K1:3, Timrå ka, HLA; School board minutes February 3 1878, K2:2, Tuna ka, HLA; 22-NJU-5879 Avsöndring (1892), LMa. Regarding grazing in forests, see also 22-LJU-1488 Avsöndring (1878), LMa.

84 See e.g., Parish meeting minutes October 27 1878, K1:7, Attmar ka, HLA. See also School board minutes October 9 1891, K3a:2, Hässjö ka, HLA; Church meeting minutes February 7 1858, K2:1, Tuna ka, HLA.

85 School board minutes June 22 1857, K1:5, Selånger ka, HLA; Letter to the Church meeting October 18 1884, K2:1, Tuna ka, HLA.

86 Christina Wiklund, *Moster Wiklunds handbok* (Sundsvall: Nils Wide, 2007), "Slått och Hö bärgning m.m."

teachers and his household harvested 1.2 tonnes of hay at each allotted farm.[87] Available figures also suggest that the size of the harvests varied among the allotted farms. The allotted farm of Ås (Ljustorp), for instance, yielded 1.7 tonnes of hay and 350 kg of barley straw, while the allotted farm of Tuna (4 hectares) yielded a sum equal to 6 tonnes of hay.[88]

Harvesting also required the labour of ploughing, sowing and fertilising. What this implied is not easily determined, since school districts' descriptions of the teachers work were usually fairly general, concluding, for example, that the teacher had expanded and improved the fields at the Baggböle allotted farm.[89] However, when the school district on occasion let the allotted farms to tenants who were not teachers, more detailed contracts were drawn up.

In 1857, before school teacher Isak Söderberg was able to rent the teacher's allotted farm in Selånger, it was let to the highest bidder. According to the contract, the tenant was to leave half the older fields fallow, and to plough and sow the remaining fields with at least three barrels of grain. The tenant was also to expand the allotted farm's field by ploughing and ditching half a hectare of land. In total, the allotted farms' fields were to be fertilised with 80 loads of manure, which probably corresponded to about 27 tonnes.[90] Other contracts also included maintenance of fences and roofs, protecting the crops from grazing cattle, and ploughing and fertilising the fields.[91]

Besides this agricultural work, needed if the allotted farms were to be able to provide the teacher with part of his salary, there were also tasks to be performed in the allotted farm's forests. These were sometimes significant for both the return on and the maintenance of the allotted farm. Cows were herded in the woods, which was also where teachers cut timber and made use of the bogs (*myren*). The tenant at the teacher's allotted farm of Ulvsberg, bought by Njurunda school district in 1892, was entitled to cut the requisite timber for fences and hay fences, for example. He was also permitted to let his cattle graze in the woods, and to extract 15 loads (5.1 tonnes) of fertiliser from the forests' bogs.[92]

Firewood was another issue. The School Act of 1842 entitled the teacher to "necessary fuel", and in this regard teacher's allotted farms could serve as a simple solution when a steady supply of firewood was required.[93] In such instances, the school district needed neither to buy firewood nor to tax the school district's inhabitants in kind, but only to tell the teacher where he should cut and collect his firewood.[94]

87 Primary data from school boards (1860, 1885, 1891), H3aaa: 30, 232, 288, Statistiska avdelningen, ED, RA; The price data used in these calculations are available in Lennart Jörberg, *A History of Prices in Sweden 1732–1914. Volume 1: Sources, Methods, Tables* (Lund: Gleerup, 1972).

88 School district account book 1886, L2a:1, Ljustorp ka, HLA; Primary data from school boards (1891), H3aaa: 288, Statistiska avdelningen, ED, RA.

89 School board minutes May 14 1894, K3a:1, Njurunda ka, HLA.

90 A load (*lass*) of manure is assumed to correspond to a load of hay in Västernorrland, that is 340 kilogram. Jörberg (1972), 87.

91 See e.g., School board minutes June 2 1884, K2:2, Tuna ka, HLA.

92 22-NJU-5879 Avsöndring (1892), LMa.

93 SFS 1842:19, § 4.

94 See e.g., School board minutes June 22 1857, K1:5, Selånger ka, HLA; Parish meeting minutes September 12 1858, K1:7, Tuna ka, HLA; Church meeting minutes January 16 1859, K2:1, Tuna ka, HLA.

The extent of work carried out at the teachers' allotted farms is, obviously, difficult to estimate, since it depended on a large number of factors. Using available time estimates for performing a certain amount of agricultural work, it may be noted that the grain and hay harvests at Tuna and Hässjö allotted farms would require totals of 22 and 33 days' labour (*dagsverken*) respectively, i.e. 4–5 six-day working weeks for one individual.[95] Including such tasks as ploughing and sowing, and the work needed to maintain the allotted farm's outhouses, makes it clear that maintaining the allotted farms was relatively time-consuming for the teacher and his household, not least in comparison with the relatively light teaching burdens. If the teacher was responsible for building an outhouse, the workload became even greater. Building the new cowshed in Sättna in 1884, for example, probably required around 45 days' labour, i.e. 2-3 weeks' labour if the teacher had hired two day labourers.[96]

The changing significance of teachers' allotted farms

As shown above, teachers' allotted farms played various roles following the School Act of 1842, and were perceived as an asset that benefited both the teacher and the school district. Measuring the economic impact of teachers' allotted farms on school districts is, however, difficult, primarily because the school districts rarely recorded harvest size or value.

Available statistical data and individual examples can, however, be utilised to make an initial rough estimate of the economic importance of these allotted farms, as well as its trend over time. It is evident that allotted farms could cover a significant proportion of individual teacher's salaries. The return from the allotted farm in Ås (Ljustorp) corresponded, for example, to 26 per cent of the teacher's salary in 1886, and in 1891, the allotted farm in Tuna supplied its teacher with 22 per cent of his income.[97] When poor harvests hit Njurunda in 1874, the school district compensated the teacher's reduced harvest with a sum amounting to 23 per cent of his salary.[98] However, the yield might also be less significant. In 1860, the return on the allotted farm of Ljustorp was estimated as the equivalent of 50 SEK, representing only 11 per cent of the teacher's salary.[99]

Unfortunately, such examples cannot be used in order to establish the allotted farms' contribution to the school districts' total revenues, which mainly consisted of central government grants and local taxation.[100] In the absence of sufficient data on the allotted farms' returns, a comparison between the cost of cattle feed, which

95 Each day's labour is assumed to be 10 hours' work. Janken Myrdal, "Betingsläror och arbetsåtgång i lantbruket," in *Landbon, ladan och lagen och hägnaderna, arbetstiden och bygdelaget samt ytterligare 20 agrarhistoriska artiklar*, ed. Anders Perlinge (Stockholm: Kungl. Skogs- och lantbruksakademien, 1996), 151–58.

96 The number of days' labour has been estimated using the cost estimate for a new cowshed, presented in Church meeting minutes June 22 1884, K1:5, Sättna ka, HLA.

97 School district account books 1886, L2a:1, Ljustorp ka, HLA; Primary data from school boards (1885, 1891), H3aaa: 232, 288, Statistiska avdelningen, ED, RA. Similar estimates were made by Tuna school district in 1884, see Letter to the Church meeting October 18 1884, K2:1, Tuna ka, HLA.

98 School board minutes September 20 1874, K4a:1, Njurunda ka, HLA; Primary data from school boards (1874), H3aaa: 91, Statistiska avdelningen, ED, RA.

99 Primary data from school boards (1860), H3aaa: 30, Statistiska avdelningen, ED, RA.

100 Westberg (2013), 1–22.

the allotted farms were supposed to cover as a minimum, and the school districts' total expenditure on salaries, may serve as an appropriate starting point. Based on such data, the returns of the allotted farms in 1865, when ten school districts with 17 teachers owned eight allotted farms, corresponded to 15 per cent of the salaries in these school districts, and 11 per cent of the salary bill in all twelve school districts.[101]

Based on such rough estimates, it is likely that the significance of the teachers' allotted farms for the funding of the Swedish elementary school declined in the second half of the nineteenth century. This development should, obviously, be related to the general changes that took place in the Swedish society in the nineteenth century, where production growth due to the agrarian and industrial revolutions contributed to an expanding monetary economy that diminished the role of all ecclesiastical, military, and civil allotted farms.[102]

There were also, however, more specific factors underlying the decline in importance of teachers' allotted farms. In addition to increasing teaching duties and a prolonged school year, which meant that teachers had less time to devote to activities outside school, the main reason was the substantial increase in the school districts' operations. In 1900, the number of teachers in the Sundsvall region had multiplied from 17 in 1865 to 161 in 1900, which also meant an increase in the total payroll from 8,000 SEK to 130,500 SEK. If the 13 allotted farms at this time contributed to the school districts' revenues at the level equivalent to the cost of cattle feed in 1865, this would mean that they accounted for less than 1 per cent of the total wage bill in 1900.[103] The allotted farms of Ljustorp and Tuna, where the return of the allotted farms can be accounted for, are good examples of this development. In these school districts, the allotted farms still accounted for between a fifth and a quarter of individual teacher's wages in the 1880s and 1890s, as noted above, but in terms of total salary costs they contributed only 3–6 per cent.[104]

The limitations of such rough estimates notwithstanding, it seems reasonable to argue that the economic impact of the teachers' allotted farms declined over time. From having been of significant importance for both individual teachers and school districts, the allotted farms became a rather marginal phenomenon.

Conclusions

The school districts' allotted farms were small, comparable to the farmsteads of crofters and parish clerks, consisting on average of 2.3 hectares of land, including forests, bogs and marshes, fields and meadows. On this land, farm outhouses, such as brewhouses, cowsheds, woodsheds, bakehouses, cellars and barns were located. It was on this site that teachers and their households performed a wide variety of agricultural work, including animal husbandry, harvesting and building maintenance.

In relation to previous studies on the history of mass schooling, this article sheds

101 Primary data from school boards (1865), H3aaa: 47, Statistiska avdelningen, ED, RA.

102 The agrarian and the industrial revolutions in Sweden are described in Lars Magnusson, *An Economic History of Sweden* (London: Routledge, 2000), Chapters 1 and 6.

103 Primary data from school boards (1865), H3aaa: 47, Statistiska avdelningen, ED, RA; Statistical compilation, Västernorrland county (1900), H3bd:15, Statistiska avdelningen, ED, RA. For a rough estimate of teacher's salaries' trends in Sweden, see Olle Krantz, *Historiska nationalräkenskaper för Sverige: Offentlig verksamhet 1800–1980* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1987), 88–96.

104 Primary data from school boards (1885, 1891), H3aaa: 232, 288, Statistiska avdelningen, ED, RA.

light on a variety of issues. It describes an elementary school system and teachers' working and living conditions that differ greatly from those that came to prevail in the twentieth century. This article has described school districts that owned not only schoolhouses, school yards and playgrounds, but also marshes, fields and meadows, plus cowsheds and bakehouses. Likewise, this article has shown how teachers in the Sundsvall region not only taught but also performed a wide variety of agricultural work such as ploughing and sowing, with tasks also including building and maintenance of outhouses.

Above all, this article has shed light on the funding of the expanding systems of mass schooling. Apart from central government grants and local taxation, teachers' allotted farms were a means of funding Swedish elementary schools in the first few decades after the School Act of 1842. They could contribute to be more than one fifth of an individual teacher's salary, and their contribution is roughly estimated at approximately one-tenth of the school districts' total payroll in the Sundsvall region in the 1860s. In addition, the allotted farms were inexpensive to acquire, often parcelled out from glebe land, and had reduced running costs, because the building, maintenance and agricultural work was carried out, often unpaid, by the teachers and their households.

Judging from this case study of the Sundsvall region, teachers' allotted farms thus appears as one of the factors that facilitated the expansion of mass schooling in Sweden, making the establishment of the elementary school system more affordable for the local school districts. Just like the low teachers' salaries in the Northern United States, which are believed to have contributed to the unusually high enrolment rates in these states, teachers' allotted farms supported the establishment of the Swedish school system by keeping down the taxation needed to maintain schools.[105]

105 The role of teachers' salaries in the US is discussed in Peter Lindert and Sun Go, "The Uneven Rise of American Public Schools to 1850," *The Journal of Economic History* 70, no. 1 (2010), 1–26.

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The State and the Rise of a Continuous Popular Educational Sphere in Sweden c. 1870s–1910s

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Abstract
The age of imperialism, from the 1870s to the 1910s, saw the rise of a popular educational sphere in Sweden as well as in the rest of Europe. This sphere was characterised by an incomparable institutional growth and continuity. In earlier research, the growth of popular education has often been explained as a consequence of class-politics and the formation of a civil society. In this article I argue that another explanatory factor needs to be inserted in the overall historical narrative in Sweden, namely the material pre-conditions of the organisations that rose to stability and especially the economic grants offered by the industrial state. In fact, this study shows how the growth of the sphere and state grants to institutions such as folk high schools and lecture-societies went hand in hand. Furthermore it is shown how the share of public funding from the central bureaucracy as well as the local institutions of government successively became the dominant sources of income for folk high schools and lecture-societies. Thus, the article argues that the economic role of the state was a crucial factor for the rise of a continuous popular educational sphere.

Keywords
Sweden, nineteenth century, popular education, economic conditions, government grants, industrial state

Introduction

> The major intellectual development of the years from 1875 to 1914 was the massive advance of popular education and self-education and of a popular reading public. In fact, self-education and self-improvement was one of the major functions of the new working-class movements and one of the major attractions for its militants.[1]

In his seminal work on *The Age of Empires*, Eric J. Hobsbawm emphasised the importance of the development of self-education amongst the working and middle classes in Europe during this era. In educational societies, workers institutes and especially the new working class movements, ordinary men and women absorbed the ideology of progress and emancipation, scientific and civic knowledge, learned the ropes of democracy and sometimes even the principles of socialism.

1 Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire 1875–1914* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 263.

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What are henceforth referred to as popular education (*folkbildning*) were education practices characterised by its non-formal, non-meritocratic and voluntary character, taking place during leisure time.[2] In the older territorial states in the West, popular education was mainly a part of social movements' attempts to reform the political system.[3] In Eastern and Central Europe, the same type of education was a vital part of nationalist movement's mobilisation for self-determination and a state of their own.[4] In the following I am especially going to focus on the West European or Swedish experience, but it is important to recognise that popular education has fulfilled different functions in different societal contexts.

In my view, the history of popular education can be regarded as a historical process from temporality, discontinuity and insecurity to steadiness, continuity and the forming of a real sector or sphere. I call this historical development 'the rise of a continuous popular educational sphere'. The origins of popular education can be traced to early modern Europe. During this period the lower nobility, tradesmen, capitalists, officials, priests, journalists and doctors founded patriotic periodicals and civic educational associations, clubs and movements, inspired by the enlightenment and later the romantic movements.[5] Learning or *bildung* on the premise of voluntarism can be regarded as an important element in the making of a European middle class, and its ideological battle against the old absolutist monarchs and the high nobility. Self-education became a method, perhaps *the method*, for non-violent political action.

As a political phenomenon, popular education has often been interpreted as emancipatory actions for and by the repressed and marginalised. The first traces of this can be found around the decades of the revolutions of 1848 when popular education became a political tool in the hands of the workers, the artisans and the lower middle classes. During this period, the tendency was that radical organisations popped up and lived sporadic and rather uncertain lives. Movements were often kept alive by certain charismatic gentleman leaders and through the direct engagement of the members.[6] Furthermore, the degree of involvement varied between different cities and parishes because of the decentralised nature of the organisations. One famous English example is the ephemeral *Grand National Consolidated Trades Union*, founded by the socialist Robert Owen, which never developed into a large cross-country union, which was the intention. The reasons were in part the lack of great national mobilisation. The 'restorated' governments also played a role in circumscribing or-

2 Popular education is a problematic concept to apply objectively in this sense, but I have, in loss of a better term, chosen to use it to encircle the object of study.

3 Tom Steele, *Knowledge is power! The Rise and Fall of European Popular Educational Movements, 1848–1939* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007), 41–66.

4 Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000[1985]), 8–10; Steele (2007), 15–17, 36–38, 43, 241–78.

5 In the case of Sweden, see especially Lars Petterson, *Frihet, jämlikhet, egendom och Bentham: Utvecklingslinjer i svensk folkundervisning mellan feodalism och kapitalism, 1809–1860* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1992), ch. 6; Anne Berg, *Kampen om befolkningen: Den svenska nationsformeringens utveckling och sociopolitiska förutsättningar ca 1780-1860* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2011), ch. 3–5.

6 James Vernon, *Politics and the People: A Study in English Political Culture, c. 1815–1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 257–60.

ganisations. In France the most radical and republican movements, such as the *Société des droits de l'homme*, was wrecked by oppressive law-making in 1835.[7]

The history of Swedish popular education harbours many examples of these tendencies. The first Swedish popular organisations were the so-called educational circles (*bildningscirklar*), established in the year 1845. The circles were educational and political movements which aimed to enlighten the urban-dwelling artisans. All in all thirty educational circles were founded in Sweden but they only survived a few years at a time.[8] The decentralised workers association before the 1880's also suffered from the lack of national unity, which in part explains their fluctuating success. Also in Sweden, the government tried to suppress educational organisations with radical and communist agendas.

While uncertainty and discontinuity was the overall pattern in the decades that surrounded 1848, the beginning of the 1870s and onwards saw the emergence of popular educational movements and institutions characterised by steadiness, stability and incomparable numerical growth. University extension, worker's institutes, worker's associations, temperance movement's and 'popular movements' spread over Europe. In this historical phase, which Eric Hobsbawm discussed above, the rural areas and their lower classes were included as well. Although the urban milieus and the working class population continued to be important, the folk high schools in Denmark and Sweden are examples of this rural development.[9]

As I mentioned above, and as the brief sketch illustrates, the historical development of popular education from the 1870s and onwards can be interpreted as a rise of a continuous popular educational sphere. Now the question at hand is of course how this rise can be explained? Why did this sphere arise and grow in Sweden during the period stretching from the 1870s to the First World War?

The main argument in this article is that the state's economic role in the development is a previously overlooked explanation to why a continuous popular educational sphere emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As I will try to show, the launching of a state-grants system was a crucial factor and material condition for 'the rise'.

The history of popular education is closely tied to the history of political, economic and social modernisation.[10] When scholars have painted a picture of the rise and the historical development from discontinuity to continuity they have highlighted certain conditions, actors and explanatory mechanisms. The most predominate historical explanation consists of a chain of causal events which can all be connected to the process of industrialisation and especially its social consequences. Popular education has often been analysed as one of a range of institutions for the political awakening of the masses from the late nineteenth century and forwards. Thus, class struggle and class politics has often been the main explanatory mechanisms. In the well-argued synthesis *Knowledge is Power! The Rise and Fall of European Popular*

7 Ronald Amnizade, *Ballots and Barricades: Class Formation and Republican Politics in France, 1830–1871* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 29.

8 Berg (2011), ch. 7.

9 Steele (2007), 189–95

10 The question of why movement's rise in the first place has been one of the principal questions in this field of study during the last decades. See e.g., J. Craig Jenkins, "Resource Mobilization Theory and the Study of Social Movements," *Annual Review of Sociology* 9 (1983), 527–53.

Educational Movements, 1848–1939, Tom Steele narrates the development as caused by the formation of a bourgeois public sphere, later a proletarian public sphere, and especially the rise of mass politics and larger popular movements.[11] Eric Hobsbawm, quoted above, makes a similar observation but inserts organised labour as the key agent in the story.[12] Swedish research on the development of popular education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – especially in the hands of the so-called popular movements (*folkrörelserna*) – has to a large extent followed the same explanatory pattern.[13]

There is no single-cause answer to the question of why popular education embarked on a more stable path from the 1870s and onwards. Therefore I want to underline that the causal factor I will put forward is one – although in my view an important one – situated in a set of other causal factors. Social forces of collective agency and popular education as a function of a larger history of class politics are necessary and important elements. Strangely, the material economic conditions have seldom been discussed as a crucial mechanism. Still, popular education needed financial security in order to survive. In order to be able to hold courses, the folk high schools needed school houses, furniture, books and writing materials; teachers, heat and wood. And in order to hold lectures for the working classes and the larger public, lecture societies needed currency to pay the public speakers, to pay for material, the rent of the lecture hall, advertisement and to heat up the building they used. How did they get the finances to afford the crucial equipment?

The financing of organisations is often a result of a complex mix of external and internal funding, such as donations and membership fees. Furthermore, the different types of economic input rest on different social forces and conditions.[14] A precondition for membership fees is the ability of prospective members to actually afford them. In turn, the ability to pay is conditioned the levels of salaries, and also the belief in the goals of the organisation and the spare time which is needed to go to meetings. Accordingly, the material basis of organisations is in turn conditioned by

11 Steele (2007), 1–3, 10, 41–43, 53–55. One problem with this explanation is that the phenomena and its explanatory factor are basically two parts of the same event.

12 Hobsbawm (1989), 263.

13 For a discussion of the earlier research on the rise of popular education in Sweden (and popular movements which practiced popular education), see especially the summaries in Samuel Edquist, *Nyktra svenskar: Godtemplarrörelsen och den nationella identiteten 1879–1918* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2001), 26–30; and Samuel Edquist, *En folklig historia: Historieskrivningen i studieförbund och hembygdsrörelse* (Umeå: Boréa, 2009), 32–36. For the rise of popular movements in Finland, see Henrik Stenius, *Frivilligt jämlikt samfällt: Föreningsväsendets utveckling i Finland fram till 1900-talets början, med speciell hänsyn till massorganisationsprincipens genombrott* (Helsingfors: Helsingfors universitet, 1987). The importance of the rise of organised labour has been underlined in Inge Johansson, *Bildning och klasskamp: Om arbetarbildningens förhistoria, idéer och utveckling* (Stockholm: Arbetarnas bildningsförbund, 2002). The role of the ideologies of popular education and their connections to the spread of democracy has been discussed in e.g., Bernt Gustavsson, *Bildningens väg: Tre bildningsideal i svensk arbetarrörelse 1880–1930* (Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet, 1991). Sven Lundkvist has underlined the emancipatory function of popular movements and popular education in *Folkrörelserna i det svenska samhället 1850–1920* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1977). On the rise of libraries, and espacially as a part of class formation, see Marion Leffler, *Böcker, bildning, makt: Arbetare, borgare och bildningens roll i klassformeringen i Lund och Helsingborg 1860–1901* (Lund: Lunds universitet, 1999).

14 David Knoke, *Organizing for Collective Action: The Political Economies of Associations* (Hawthorne: A. de Gruyter, 1990), 47–55.

a range of structural regularities. One such structural factor was, as I will show, the modern industrial state.

The role of the new industrial state has never been identified as a part of the narration and causal historical arguments on the subject. This is problematic due to the fact that the government offered subsidies to the main institutions of the popular educational sphere. Hence, one benefactor of popular education has seldom been acknowledged as an important agent in the overall story. The absence of studies on the role of the state and the economy of popular education is a conundrum since non-governmental organisations and especially social movements' abilities to gather resources has been underlined as crucial in order to secure a stable development.[15] Furthermore, the research that has commented on the economic foundations or the Swedish state grants directed at for example folk high schools has not studied their impact.[16]

'The state' is however a troublesome concept. Evidently the rise of a continuous popular educational sphere coincided with the formation of a modern style of government – the 'spreading out of the state' – and the second industrial revolution. During the period 1870–1910, and especially from the 1890s and onwards, the economic growth and the states' revenues accelerated. Economic growth was mainly caused by the new areas of productions, such as the chemical and paper industries and the production of engineered and electrical goods.[17] The nineteenth century capitalist state managed the economy through enabling measures such as subsidies and economic policy-making, for example in form of trade barriers and taxes. Thus, the state enabled and drove the industrial development.[18] A famous Swedish example is the protectionist politics from the late 1880s, which aimed to protect domestic agricultural production against cheap U.S and Russian grains. The state also managed the population through mass education, social policy and by redistributing taxes. Thus, "effective state craft", as Peter Evans puts it, was important and necessary to secure the economic conditions of industrialisation, as well as the formation of industrial societies.[19] As Bob Jessop has argued, economic interventions, for instance into the private sector, is a structural preference "built into the capitalist state".[20]

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15 On the importance of different kinds of resource mobilisation, see e.g., John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald, "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory," *American Journal of Sociology* 82, no. 6 (1977), 1212–241; L. A. Banaszak, *Why Movements Succeed or Fail: Opportunity, Culture, and the Struggle for Woman Suffrage* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996); Pernilla Jonsson and Silke Neusinger, *Gendered Money: Financial Organization in Women's Movements, 1880–1933* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012), 3–10.

16 These studies have often focused on one or more specific institutions and not the consequences of the state grants system as a whole. See Sven Swensson, "Folkhögskolan och myndigheterna," in *Svensk folkhögskola 100 år,* 1, ed. Allan Degerman, Eric Tengberg, and Sven Swensson (Stockholm: Liber, 1968); Bo Andersson, *Folkbildning i perspektiv* (Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet 1980), 256–70.

17 Lennart Schön, "The rise of the fiscal state in Sweden, 1800–1914," in *Paying for the Liberal State: The Rise of Public Finance in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. JL. Cardoso and P. Lains (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 164–65, 180–82.

18 Rolf Torstendahl, *Bureaucratisation in Northwestern Europe, 1880–1985: Domination and Governance* (London: Routledge, 1991).

19 Peter Evans, *Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 5–6.

20 Bob Jessop, *State Theory: Putting the Capitalist State in Its Place* (Cambridge: Polity, 1990), 185.

Another way in which the state spread out is connected to the reform of the political system of governance in 1862 and 1866. In 1862 the first steps were taken to the introduction of a decentralised political system in which municipalities (*kommuner*) would be the basis of local governance. In 1866 the reform of parliament abolished the membership in an estate as grounds for political participation and introduced a franchise system based on income and taxation.[21] Thus, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the political government was spatially separated in the central bureaucracy and the local political communities. The state apparatus was made up by a compound of bodies, especially the central bureaucracy but also the state church, the parliament and local political institutions such as the country administrative board (*länsstyrelsen*), county council (*landsting*), and municipal assembly (*kommunfullmäktige*). It should also be noted that during the period 1870–1910s the local institutions of government were perceived as self-governing communities with the responsibility for, among other things, health care and education. Therefore it is important to separate the central bureaucratic apparatus, in this case the Department of Ecclesiastics and Education (*Ecklesiastikdepartementet*) from the other branches in the analysis of the public sector as a whole. In the following I will refer to the whole apparatus of the political government as 'the state' or 'the public sector', and specify in detail and separate different divisions of it when needed.[22]

In order to analyse the material preconditions and the role of the state in the rise of a continuous popular educational sphere, this article focuses on the size, impact and possible influence of the state grants. I start out by sketching a picture of the state grants-system and which sorts of institutions the economic policies were directed at. In the study I have concentrated on the three largest reforms that launched under the period 1870–1914: the grants to folk high schools in 1872 (and the conjoined scholarship-grants for lesser able students to attend the schools in 1884), the grants for giving lecture courses from 1884, and grants for setting up libraries in 1905. The main sources in this part are the official statutes of the policy programs and earlier research. The Department of Ecclesiastics and Education also supplied grants to universities who held lectures for the public, to editors of certain journals and books, and to groups that supported sobriety. Although these minor grants can be considered as state support for popular education, they are not included in the study due to their trivial size. Also, this limitation makes possible a more thorough analysis of the impact of the three largest reforms. It must be noted that the state by issuing these grants, also demarcated which kinds of educational organisations and practices that should evolve. Study-circles – perhaps one of the most known forms of popular education – did not receive grants until 1947.[23]

21 Erik Nydahl, *I fyrkens tid: Politisk kultur i två ångermanländska landskommuner 1860-1930* (Härnösand: Mittuniversitetet, 2010), 15–20.

22 On this wider concept of 'the state', see the discussion on the liberal state's appearance as a separate central bureaucracy with spatial limitations in James Ferguson and Akhil Gupta "Spatializing States: Toward an Ethnography of Neoliberal Governmentality," *American Ethnologist* 29, no. 4 (2002), 981–82; Patrick Joyce, *The State of Freedom: A Social History of the British State since 1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 25. In economics the public sector is used in order to separate the sphere of the governmental institutions on different levels from the private interests of the business world. This is how the concept is used in this article. On the public-private terminology, see Jonas Harvard, "Historikerna och den osynliga offentligheten," in *Dolt i offentligheten: Nya perspektiv på traditionellt källmaterial*, ed. Staffan Förhammar, Jonas Harvad and Dag Lindström (Lund: Sekel, 2011), 11.

23 See Samuel Edquists article in this issue.

After the background I move on to analyse the extent of the public grants and their relationship to the expanding sphere. Firstly, I deal with the development of economic grants, issued by the Department of Ecclesiastics and Education. For this study the official state budget is used. In this section I also use official statistics in order to comment on the growth of the institutions of popular education. Secondly, I analyse the role of public funding for the material conditions of popular education. The basis for this analysis is the part played by public money in relation to the total incomes of folk high schools and agents who offered lectures for workers and the wider public. Here I have utilised audit reports and accountings from a few selected cases.[24] The bulk of this source material consists of the audit reports that grant-seekers had to send in to the Department of Ecclesiastics and Education with their applications. They are mostly handwritten and signed but some of these reports existed in printed form and was adjoined in the applications. Because the material for the most part was produced for the eyes of the state and used to apply for subsidies it is problematic from the perspective of source criticism. To put it bluntly, there is always a risk that the organisations exaggerated their need for public money by downplaying the share of private funding. Still, the audit reports did go through a lot of checks, such as external accountants and the county councils, before they were sent in, which made cheating, not improbable, but harder to get away with. Also, the annual audit reports in the stack of applications are the largest corpus of this kind of information to be found, and in order to study the organisations which received funding, this is the most effective way to go about it.

The time frame in this study corresponds to the era of history Eric Hobsbawm discussed above – the age of imperialism in which popular education expanded. But there is another argument for ending this study before the First World War. From the early 1910s and forward, the state started to reform, regulate and integrate popular education into its sphere of governance more thoroughly. To name one example, in the year 1912 the folk high schools' grant-system was reformed. In practice, the government introduced a more deployed system of inspections and surveillance.[25]

The policies and the grants-system

The folk high school, directed at the self-owning lower-middleclass segments of the agricultural classes, was one of the first examples of popular education becoming an object of economic policy. In 1872 the parliament decided that schools would be offered financial support if they fulfilled certain conditions and the reform was implemented the following year. Ten years later, an additional reform passed, offering the schools a possibility to apply for scholarships for so-called "less fortunate" students.[26] The three reforms and grants-systems focused in this article were constructed according to the matching grants-principle. Matching grants was a common method used in educational development in nineteenth century Sweden; the public school system

24 I have limited this particular study to focus on folk high schools and lecture-givers. Further limitations, in order to make the large material manageable, are discussed in the sections below.

25 Tomasz Maliszewski, "On the History of Folk High Schools in Sweden," in *Folk High School – School for Life*, ed. Marek Byczkowski, Tomasz Maliszewski, and Ewa Przybylska (Wiezyca: Wiezyca, 2003), 108–20; Caroline Runesdotter, *I otakt med tiden? Folkhögskolorna i ett föränderligt fält* (Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet, 2010), 80–81.

26 Swensson (1968), 138–44, 181–84, 200–1; Runesdotter (2010), 57–63.

was in part financed in this way.[27] In the case of folk high schools, it was initially prescribed that local backing should count for the majority of the grants, constituting double the amount given by the government. However, this requirement was soon abolished as the stipulated sums were too high. Henceforth private, municipal or county council counter-financing, put together, should match the government's amount.[28]

The next large reform was especially directed at popular education in an urban setting. In 1884, the Swedish parliament decided that the government was going to offer grants to urban institutions and associations which held lecture-courses for the working class. In 1908 the clause regarding the intended audience of the lectures was removed. Henceforth the program was intended for "organisations and institutions which offered lectures on popular science for a popular educational purpose". (In practice it was primary the middle classes that actually visited the lectures.) The ability to apply for lecture-grants was extended to the countryside in 1892.[29] Finally, in 1905, the last major reform during the period discussed here, offered the possibility to apply for funding for setting up public libraries. This reform was tailored for people living in the countryside as well as the cities, and funding was available for local political institutions as well as voluntary societies and organisations.[30]

State intervention, such as economic policy-programs, hinges on political struggles in the governmental infrastructure.[31] The economic reforms were originally non-government bills coming from left-liberal members of the second chamber of parliament; many of whom were personally engaged in both popular education *and* local politics. Thus, even though some of the initiatives can be seen as products of the wider state, in the eyes of the representative's, popular education belonged to the private self-ruling sphere.[32] In each of the cases the decision to allocate funds was preceded by parliament debates and reports by the State's committee (*Statsutskottet*).[33] Generally speaking, the bourgeois liberals and the agricultural interests-groups of the second chamber were in favour of economic backing and the conservative upper class of the first chamber had a more precarious outlook. However, high-ranking

27 Esbjörn Larsson and Johannes Westberg, "Om skolreformers ekonomiska förutsättningar och konsekvenser," in *Allt på ett bräde: Stat, ekonomi och bondeoffer: En vänbok till Jan Lindegren*, ed. Peter Ericsson, Fredrik Thisner, Patrik Winton, and Andreas Åkerlund (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2013), 161–68.

28 When subsidies increased sharply in 1912, the demand regarding the matching of grants was further reduced, indicating a deeper financial responsibility taken by the central bureaucracy. From 1878 an additional reform was passed. Schools could get 1,000 SEK extra in grants if they instituted a second year. In 1888, the extra contribution was raised to 3,000 SEK. Swensson (1968), 187–90.

29 Andersson (1980), 256–59.

30 Magnus Torstensson, *Att analysera genombrottet för de moderna folkbiblioteksidéerna: Exemplet Sverige och några jämförelser med USA* (Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet, 1996), 47–54; Dan Andersson, *Folkbibliotek makt och disciplinering: En genealogisk studie av folkbiblioteksområdet under den organiserade moderniteten* (Stockholm: Stockholm universitet, 2009), 47–54.

31 Jessop (1990), 186.

32 Runesdotter (2010), 65–67. On the interconnectedness between agents from the private sector, local government and central bureaucracy in nineteenth century Sweden, see Annette Zimmer and Stefan Toepler, "The Subsidized Muse: Government and the Arts in Western Europe and the United States," *Journal of Cultural Economics* 23, no. 1–2 (1999), 39–40.

33 Valfrid Palmgren, *Förslag angående de åtgärder, som från statens sida böra vidtagas för främjande af det allmänna biblioteksväsendet i Sverige* (Stockholm: I. Hæggström, 1911), 33–36.

participants of the first chamber, including the minister of the Department of Ecclesiastics and Education, held that popular education was an essentially good idea. And such support probably helped to get the grants-system passed.[34]

In a larger theoretical perspective, the answer to the question "why state grants?" is that giving subsidies was a new method of state governance. The new industrial state, often called the 'social liberal state', was a state of autonomy. It helped to create autonomous free sectors and exercised power through 'the conduct of conduct'. Instead of working against the formation of voluntary action in civil society, the state started to manage the space of possibilities and steer organisations in a functional direction. In a larger perspective, the policy programs shared ideological traits with other contemporary social policies. Increased popular education was for instance supposed to act as a social remedy.[35] In official discourses, the society and its population was more and more considered as an integrated national body, where different productive classes was to perform different functions. Education for the nation's working classes would, as commented by Ola Andersson in one of the bills for folk high schools, fuel the industrial development.[36] Arguments for popular educational was in other words similar to those put forward for the expansion of public schooling for the nations young.[37] The purpose of this article is not to expand on the arguments for state grants but to estimate their impact. However, generally speaking, the arguments differed between organisations directed at the rural farmer's class, such as the folk high schools, and the lectures for the working class, which were directed at urban milieus. The farmers were supposed to become more industrious and also learn how to act as political subjects in the local government. The workers were to stay away from filthy literature, drinking and other socially dangerous leisure activities. Thus, the case at hand, speaks to how governmental intervention into different segments of the population increasingly became an acceptable solution in order to secure the totality.[38]

The steering of the structure of popular education can for instance be seen in the statutes governing the grants-system. In order to receive funding, the organisations had to fulfil a range of requirements which in all likelihood influenced their behaviour. In every case of grant seeking, the ability to guarantee counter-financing from the local county council was mandatory. This clause in the regulations forced

34 Swensson (1968), 137–42; Anderson (1980), 257.

35 Anne Berg, "The State of Autonomy: The Social Liberal State and the Politics of Financing Non-Formal Education in Sweden c. 1870–1910," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 40, no. 1 (2015), 48-69.

36 Ola Andersson, Om beviljandet af anslag åt folkhögskolorna, non-government bill no. 160 (1872), *Riksdagens protokoll vid lagtima riksmötet. Andra kammaren* (Stockholm: Riksdagen, 1867–1948). See also A. Key, Om förhöjning i anslaget till understöd åt anstalter eller föreningar, som anordna föreläsningar för arbetsklassen, non-government bill no. 147 (1886), *Riksdagens protokoll vid lagtima riksmötet. Andra kammaren* (Stockholm: Riksdagen, 1867–1948); F. Bergs & E. Hammarlunds, Om statunderstöd till folkbibliotek, non-government no. 90 (1902), *Riksdagens protokoll vid lagtima riksmötet. Andra kammaren* (Stockholm: Riksdagen, 1867–1948).

37 Fritz Ringer, "On Segmentation in Modern European Educational Systems: The Case of French Secondary Education, 1865–1920," in *The Rise of the Modern Educational System: Structural Change and Social Reproduction 1870–1920*, ed. Detlef K. Müller, Fritz Ringer, and Brian Simon, (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1987), 61.

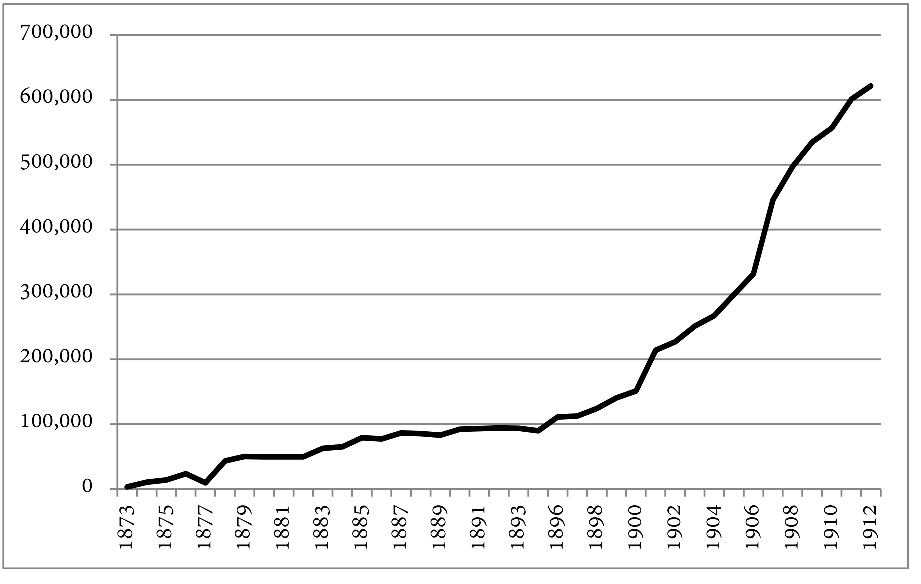
38 On the discourse of governmental intervention in late nineteenth century Sweden, see e.g., Svenbjörn Kilander, *Den nya staten och den gamla: En studie i ideologisk förändring* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1991).

the institutions to cultivate good relations to the town boards, county council and municipal assembly. Furthermore, the folk high schools and the organisations that offered lectures had to ascribe to certain forms of institutional make-up and allow inspections in order to receive funding. Also, the folk high schools could not hold their terms during sowing and harvest, and public talks could not include political or religious content.[39] However, what the state wanted to do, and tried to do, through the regulations for funding – and what this tells us about the governmental methods of the state – is a whole other matter than asking if the public funding actually played a part in its very development.

The grants and the growth of popular education

How much money did the central bureaucracy spend on popular education from 1873–1912, and what can be said about *their* impact? As illustrated below, state grants to popular education increased steadily during the period. During the period 1873–1912 the official expenditure rose from 3,235 to 621,446 SEK; yet never averaging more than 0, 1 percent of the total state budget.[40] The period stretching from the late 1890s to early 1910s saw the largest rise in subsidies. This was a consequence of successive reform work, the emergence of new institutions and the overall growth of the sector.

Figure 1. State grants to popular education 1873–1912 in Swedish Crowns (SEK)



Sources: The data concerning the economic grants to folk high schools and grants for lesser able students, lecture courses and libraries are based on the official economic budget in ch. "Åttonde huvudtiteln," *Kapitalkonto för rikshuvudboken* (1872–1912). The inflation was low during the period and therefore the expenses are described in nominal value in this article.

39 Berg (2015), 48–69.

40 All the numbers in the text have been rounded off to the nearest integer.

As I mentioned earlier, the state grants for folk high schools were implemented in 1873. The first proposal for grants set the total sum of assigned funds to 10,000 SEK, and each school could apply for a maximum of 2,000 SEK. The actual expense did however go beyond the apportioned sums – although the first year was an exception – because the number was a proposed sum that could be exceeded. In 1873, the first year of disbursement, only 3,235 SEK were dispensed. On the other hand, only 8 schools of the existing 10 applied for funding.[41] In the year 1880 the sum elevated to approximately 49,700 SEK, in the year 1901 125,400 SEK and 275,200 SEK in 1912. Additionally, the assigned amount for scholarships to students who could not afford to pay their tuition fees was set at 15,000 SEK in 1884 – the first year of practice. In the year 1912 the amount had risen to 35,000. Also in this case, the largest increases taking place in the end of the 1890s. Statistics from a public inquiry shows that the number of students in the period 1873–1912 was quite extensive. According to estimates, 65,000 young men and women took a course or a few semesters at the schools during these decades.[42]

The idea of private, municipal or county counter-financing, matching the government's amount, was reused in the reforms aimed at lecture courses and libraries. As in the case of folk high schools, the matching grants system meant that local political institutions came to carry the largest burden of counter-financing. According to the first charter regarding the economic aid to lecture courses for workers, 15,000 SEK was set aside in the state budget for 1885 and 14,250 SEK was dispensed. An individual applicant could at most obtain 3,000 SEK and the maximum sum did not change during the studied period. A decade later, the total sum of distributed funds had risen to 23,925 SEK, in 1905 the grants reached a total of 120,300 SEK and in 1912 the total amount of funding was 242,300 SEK. Also in this case, the largest increase in funding occurred in the period from the late 1890s and forward. The biggest leaps were taken in the period 1902–1909 when the funds grew between 20,000 and 35,000 SEK each year. Furthermore, additional means in the range of 8,000–10,000 SEK was added from 1906 and onwards, which was distributed amongst so-called central offices, which in turn distributed funds to agents giving lectures on a regular basis (even though they were not included in a specific lecture course). As in the previous case, additional reforms after the first one, especially the extension of possible applicants in the early 1890s, is a clue to the overall picture of a sharp rise in funding in the 1890s and onwards.

Another contributing factor to this picture is that the last big reform was founded in the early 1900s. When the library reform launched in 1905, it stated that two kinds of library organisations could apply for money. The first group consisted of "some kind of public libraries," which addressed applicants from all of the school districts in the country, churches in Stockholm and Gothenburg (for the establishment and maintenance of parish libraries), rural and urban municipalities (for the establishment and maintenance of municipal libraries) and local associations "which stands

41 See the file Nyköpings m. fl. Landshövding, ang. anslag till folkhögskolor. Konseljakter E1A, 1873-07-18, no. 17, Ecklesiastikdepartementets arkiv [The archive of the Department of Ecclesiastics and Education], at the Swedish National Archives. For numbers of folk high schools, see Swensson (1968), 287–88.

42 Margit Vinge, ed., *Elever i icke-obligatoriska skolor 1864–1970* (Stockholm: Statistiska centralbyrån, 1977), 80.

on equal footing with the school district or municipality". The second group that could apply consisted of "certain key compounds" which "effectively acted as agencies for libraries, such as ambulatory libraries.[43] A sum of 60,000 SEK was appropriated in 1905 and 10,000 SEK of the amount was divided among key compounds; the rest was divided between school districts, townships, municipalities and other institutions. Individual applicants in the first group could receive up to 75 SEK per year. Applicants in the second group could receive up to 1,500 SEK per year.[44] During the period 1906–12 the appropriated funds lay still at 60,000 SEK per year. Before 1909 the government actually had to reallocate funds for the following year because the number of applicants that met the conditions was too few. But after this year the real expenditure surpassed the granted proposed resources. In the year 1909, 60,085 SEK was dispensed and in 1912 69,200 was granted to a range of libraries.[45]

Looking at the big picture, the government successively passed new reforms and raised the amounts of economic grants during the period. But did the state grants have any bearing on the formation of a continuous popular educational sphere? Scholars who have studied the government's and municipal's contribution to private preschools and residential industrial schools, has argued that they had a stimulating effect on the development of these kinds of voluntary organisations. Also, in the case of public mass education, state grants functioned as a stimulating factor.[46] Did the increasing pay-out of state grants from the Department of Ecclesiastics and Education correspond, if all, to the rise of a continuous popular educational sphere? The relationship between increased funding and numerical growth of organisations is not clear cut. To argue that the first caused the second is not possible unless the connection between the two trends can be asserted. It is highly possible that the growth in institutions from below caused the growth of expenses from above. The figures do however suggest that the grants-system at least acted as a stabilising factor – creating the economic possibilities for financial continuity, in tune with other factors.

In line with the modern state's proneness for information-gathering, the development of popular education quickly became a topic of statistical reporting and documentation.[47] The data was published in *Sweden's Official Statistics* and *Statistical reports*. This tells us that the government sought to gather information regarding the benefits and effects of the reforms; and also, using the figures presented, that the organisations experienced stabilisation due to government subsidies.[48]

The folk high schools got so-called proposed funding (*förslagsanslag*). This meant

43 *Svensk författningssamling* (*Swedish Code of Statues,* hence shortened SFS) 1905:29. The rules of the 1905 statutes did not change significantly until the reform of 1912. SFS 1912:229. Bih. 29, 1905, *Svensk författningssamling* (Stockholm: Svensk författningssamling, 1868–1912).

44 SFS 1905:29.

45 The data concerning the economic grants are based on the official economic budget in *Kapitalkonto för rikshuvudboken*, ch. "Åttonde huvudtiteln," for the years 1906–1912.

46 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* 41, no. 1 (2013), 1–22.

47 Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991); Joyce (2013), 162–84.

48 *BiSOS: Kungl. Befallningshavandes Femårsberättelser Ny följd IV. Jemte sammandrag för åren 1871–1875* (1878), 56; *BiSOS: Kungl. Befallningshavandes Femårsberättelser Ny följd IIV. Jemte sammandrag för åren 1886–1890*, 93–94; "Statsbidrag till föreläsningsföreningar för år 1911", *Sociala meddelanden*, no. 1–6 (1912), 312–18.

that the assigned funds could be exceeded. Proposed funding were given to institutions in the ordinary budget (*ordinarie stat*) when it was hard to account for the real financial need beforehand. For example, the prison system had proposed funding to meet its fluctuating needs. Furthermore, proposed ordinary funding could not be put on hold if the government needed to re-allocate resources.

The case of folk high schools exhibits a pattern of co-variation of increased funding and institutional growth. The majority of the 45 schools founded before 1912, enjoyed continuity. From 1873 to 1876 the number of schools doubled from 10 to 20. The distributed funds at the same time rose from 3,235 to 23,780 SEK. Although the expenses increased from 23,780 in 1876 to 57,510 in 1900 only an additional 9 schools were established. Thus, the expansion of schools did not grow in tune with the growth in funding; instead it was probably the case that each school got more and more financial aid. On the other hand, only a handful of schools were forced to close. It is highly possible that the funds stabilised and kept the folk high school sector intact, but did not directly stimulate establishment of new schools. Still, it is possible to see a growth in establishment of new schools when the proposed funds grew. During the period 1900–1912 the proposed funds rose from 55,000 SEK to 220,000 SEK. The real expenses were 78,892 and 275,179 SEK respectively. Throughout the years of this large increase in funding, 15 schools were founded, and the total amount of schools was 45 in the year 1912.[49]

Grants for lecture-courses were posted under the extra ordinary budget (*extra ordinarie stat*). This meant that a decision on granting or not should be made every new budget-year. Thus, the policy was amenable to the wishes of the sitting parliament and could be postponed. However, no postponements took place during the period under study.

The number of grant-taking organisers of lecture courses did not increase much during the first ten years when the proposed funding ranged between 15,000 and 25,000 SEK and the real costs hovered slightly under. This era only saw a small rise from 12 organisations in 1885 to 27 in 1895. However, from 1895 and onwards (when the appropriated sum was increased by 5,000 each year) a larger movement was formed. Between 1901 and 1905 the number of grants-takers tripled. In 1901 63,336 SEK was distributed among 123 applicants. In 1905 the funding had doubled to 125,000 and 338 organisations received grants. From 1905 to 1910, when the appropriated sum of 125,000 SEK almost doubled to 235,000 SEK (the real expenses was 120,273 and 242,275 SEK) the number of institutions who got funding increased from 338 to 505.[50]

Library grants appear to follow a similar pattern. Grants for public libraries were, in the same way as folk high schools, posted under the title of proposed funding in the ordinary state-budget. The economic reforms for funding of libraries came fairly late in comparison with the other large non-formal educational organisations, thus contributing to the illustrated increase in total funding from the late 1890s discussed above (see Figure 1). The appropriated funds were set at 60,000 SEK 1906–1912, during the following six years the real expenditure grew from 10,376 to 69,229 SEK.

49 On the number of schools, Swensson (1968), 287–92.

50 "Sammanslutning mellan föreläsningsföreningarna," *Svensk läraretidning*, no. 44, (1902), 833–834. A list off the recipients for the year 1912 was published in the article "Statsbidrag till föreläsningsföreningarna för år 1911," *Statistisk tidskrift* , no. 4 (1912), 312–18.

This rise in real expenses mirrored the growth of library institutions. It is hard to calculate how many so-called private associational libraries (*föreningsbibliotek*) the state distributed funds to, or the average resources received by a library in the hands of a larger movement such as *The Stockholm Society for Workers Libraries*. But some figures exist for the years 1906–1908 in an official rapport on the subject. The number of private library institutions that received funding in 1906 was 49. Two years later, the number had risen to 98.[51] During the same time the total sum of expenses grew from 10,375 to 55,478 SEK.[52] Because the maximum amount an individual private applicant could ask for lay fixed during the period, it is perhaps not controversial to draw the conclusion that the pattern of gradually increased spending reflected the expansion of the number of associational libraries. It also means that the importance of funding probably varied locally and between different associations.

Due to the financial continuity state grants offered, and the fact that the amounts and the number of grant-takers gradually increased, the indications are that grants helped to stabilise and secure a sphere of popular educational initiatives. Government grants did not make the sector, but they probably secured and stabilised its development. Before the introduction of grants, popular education lived a fairly insecure life. The promise of economic security, and the unceasing expansion of reforms, most likely helped to make the organisations continuous. This argument will be further reinforced in the next section.

The share and significance of public funding

In order to fully estimate the impact factor public funding had on the stability and continuity of the sphere, an analysis on the grants from both the Department of Ecclesiastics and Education and local governments share of the total budget of the organisations which inhabited the popular educational sphere is called for. In the following I discuss this issue on the basis of a few selected cases of folk high schools and institutions that applied for lecture-grants.

In modern societies, money, rents and property are the most important resources. Before the 1870s, popular educational societies was for the most part dependent on membership fees or donations by individuals or families. A donation could mean giving clean money or instructional materials – books to a thirsty library or maps to empty compound walls. For example, *The Society for Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, founded in 1833, partially lived off the interest rates from tenants of the homestead Broddarp bequeathed to the society by the count Trolle-Bonde. However, this particular society was composed of aristocrats, capitalists and educated higher middleclass men, and a donation of this kind was generally not available to the educational associations of the paupers.[53] For instance, the early educational circles and workers associations mainly financed their activities on membership fees. In their ground-breaking study of the financial system of Swedish women's movements 1880–1933, Pernilla Jonsson and Silke Neusinger concludes that membership fees were the most important and principal source of income. Furthermore, this gave the

51 Palmgren (1911), 69.

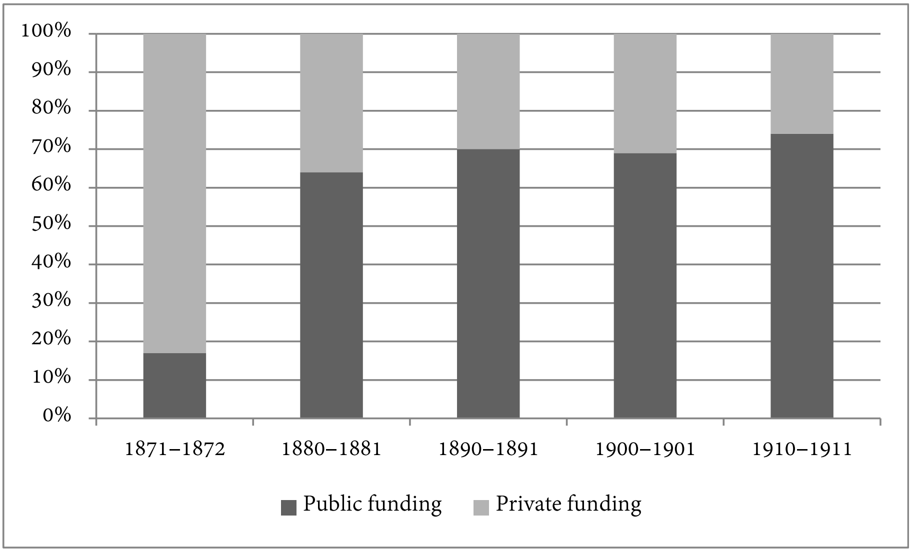
52 The figures can be found in ch. "Åttonde huvudtiteln," Kapitalkonto för rikshuvudboken (1904, 1906).

53 Berg (2011), 204.

organisations independence from other interests – the government or other agents. But at the same time the cash flow was affected by the economic climate and member's ability to pay.[54] The Swedish women's movements reliance on membership fees diverges a lot from the folk high schools, libraries and the lecture-societies, mostly composed of workers institutes.

From the early 1870s to the early 1910s, the share of public resources in the overall economic foundations of the folk high schools grew massively. Out of the total budget of folk high schools, the share of the public sectors revenue averaged on 17 percent for the years 1871–72. The 17 percent consisted of grants coming from municipalities and county councils.[55] Forty years later this figure had risen to 74 percent (see Figure 2). If we only consider the state grants coming from the Department of Ecclesiastics and Education – leaving out the grants from local governmental institutions – the figures is not surprisingly 0 percent for the first years of the study (before the grants system was introduced) and averages on 33 percent 1880–1881 and 44–45 percent for the following three periods under study.

Figure 2. The percental share of public and private funding of folk high schools, 1871–1911



Sources: The figures are based on the declaration of income that folk high schools seeking state grants had to include in their applications. See the applications in the files Nyköpings m. fl. Landshövding, ang. anslag till folkhögskolor. Konseljakter E1A 1875-10-01, n:o 25; Ang. understöd för folkhögskolor för år 1882, Konseljakter E1A 1875-10-01, n:o 21; Ang. fördelning af anslaget till folkhögskolor, Konseljakter E1A 1892-07-01, n:o 26; Ang. anslag till folkhögskolor för år 1902, Konseljakter E1A 1902-06-13, n:o 28; Ang. understöd åt folkhögskolor, Konseljakter E1A 1912-06-14, n:o 76. All files are deposed under the Ecklesiastikdepartementets arkiv [The archive of the Department of Ecclesiastics and Education], at the Swedish National Archives.

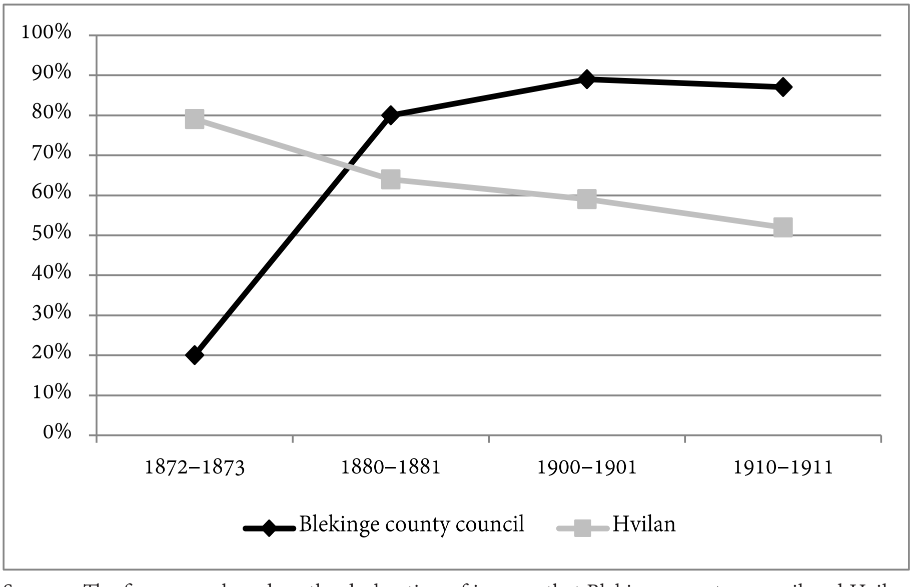
54 Jonsson and Neusinger (2012), 219–21.

55 I have focused on the share of government grants from the schools' total set of incomes. I have not studied the share in relation to the total set of resources and assets, such as the market value of the school-houses or the inventories. Also I have not taken into consideration the differences in grants directed at courses for women and men respectively.

The investigation on the share of public funding clearly shows how the grants successively became one of the most important sources of income for folk high schools. Expanding the argument, we can say that the economic material basis of the folk high schools to a large extent was provided by the state apparatus.

Folk high schools have traditionally been regarded as one of the key institutions of the popular educational sphere. Some of the folk high schools were either started by or taken over by county councils during the period 1870–1912 which complicates things.[56] Thus, in my theoretical perspective, some institutions can be seen as being parts of – or becoming parts of – a larger state apparatus and therefore these schools should probably be funded by public resources to a larger extent. In either way, this pure fact speaks to the role played by the industrial state in the rise of the sphere.

Figure 3. The share of public funding for two folk high schools, 1872–1911



Sources: The figures are based on the declaration of income that Blekinge county council and Hvilan folk high schools included in their applications for state grants. See the applications in the files Nyköpings m. fl. Landshövding, ang. anslag till folkhögskolor. Konseljakter E1A 1875-10-01, no. 25; Ang. understöd för folkhögskolor för år 1882, Konseljakter E1A 1875-10-01, n:o 21; Ang. understöd åt folkhögskolor, Konseljakter E1A 1912-06-14, no. 76. All files are deposed under the Ecklesiastikdepartementets arkiv [The archive of the Department of Ecclesiastics and Education], at the Swedish National Archives. I have left out the years 1900–1901 in this study because there are no figures from Blekinge folk high school for this period.

A study of two of the earliest and long-lived folk high schools of the time, Hvilan (1868) and the Blekinge county council folk high school (1869) reveals that this is the case (see Figure 3). Both of the schools started out as rural projects with a folk high school association in the background. Hvilan never became owned by the county council, which was the destiny of many folk high schools. The folk high schools which started in all corners of Sweden between the years 1880 and 1900 were all

56 Anna Lundin, *Folkbildningsforskning som fält: Från framväxt till konsolidering* (Linköping: Linköpings universitet, 2008), 104–5, 166–67; Runesdotter (2010), 65–67.

founded by county councils.[57] Blekinge county folk high school was started by men who were engaged in the folk high school movement at large and in local politics. In this case the chieftaincy lay in the hands of the county council from the very beginning. As mentioned earlier, there was a strong connection between engagement in the folk high school cause and rural politics. Rural politics was to a large extent dominated by rich farmers – the folk high schools chief target group. Hence, many of the farmers who became parliamentarians during the early twentieth century had been former folk high school students.[58]

The privately owned Hvilan started out with a very high percentage of public funding. Gradually this source of income became less important, still never being less than 52 percent of the total revenues in 1910–11. At this later stage the majority of the incomes came from student's fees. The school in Blekinge, on the other hand, only got 20 percent of their livelihood from public institutions in the early 1870s. But in the 1880s and forward the public funding became the dominant source of income for the school, peaking at 89 percent in 1900–1901 and 87 percent in 1910–11 (see Figure 3). Yet, setting the differences aside, public funding was an important part of the material preconditions for all folk high schools during the period. And taking this fact into account, the funding from the public institutions was probably an important reason to the preservation of new schools.

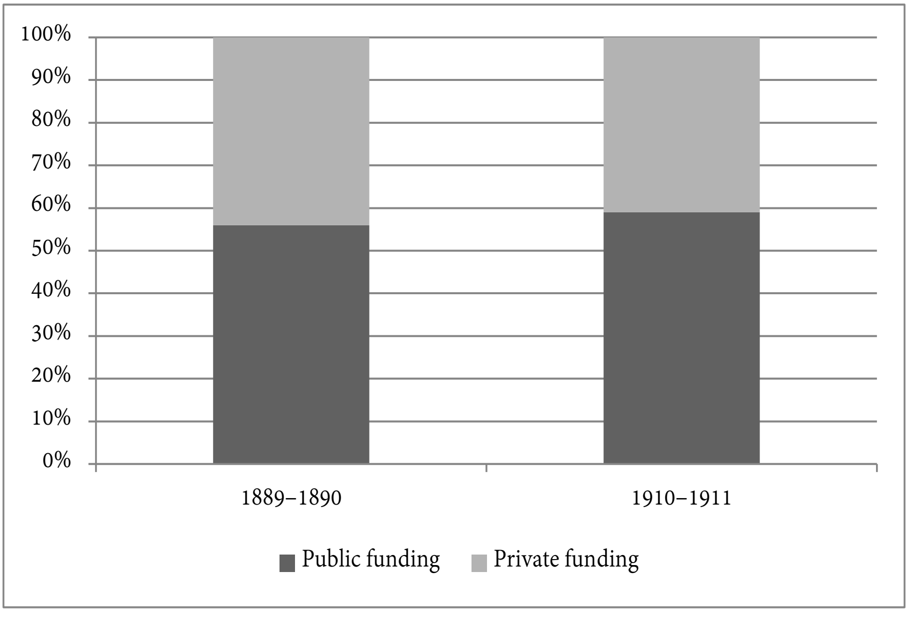
The organisations which received grants for holding lectures for the working class and the wider public was workers institutes, sections of the workers movements and a range of so called lecture-societies. As mentioned earlier, the amount of grant-takers increased enormously during the period of study. Therefore I have done a sample study of the institutions which applied for grants the year 1890 and the year 1912. The focus, as in the former example, is to assess the part played by the state in securing the organisations economic livelihood.

In 1890 there were only seven applicants, mainly from Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö – some of the largest cities in Sweden at the time. The year 1912 the figure had risen to 505. The conclusions drawn on comparisons between the general amount of economic income coming from public means and private means over time are therefore rather trivial. In order to get a more manageable number of applicants for the later date, I have chosen to study the organisations which sent in their applicants to the county administrative board in the small province of Halland. Located in the southern part of Sweden, Halland was however only one of 21 Swedish counties at the time. Yet, the applicants from Halland consisted of the characteristic blend of workers institutes and lecture-societies. Also, the average amount of grant-takers per county 1912 was 21 institutions. The number of applicants in Halland 1912 was 24. This tells us that Halland did not stand out in this account, and that the county is as good as any other in this regard.

57 Runesdotter (2010), 66–67.

58 Maliszewski (2003), 112–13.

Figure 4. The share of public and private funding for lectures 1890–1891 and 1910–1911



Sources: The figures are based on the declaration of income from organisations seeking state grants, which they had to include in their applications. See the applications in the files Ang. fördelning af anslaget för år 1891 till föreläsningar för arbetsklassen, Konseljakten 1890-12-19, no. 25, E1A, Ecklesiastikdepartementets arkiv, Swedish National Archives; Ang. understöd till anordnande af populärvetenskapliga föreläsningar. [Västerås and Halland county] Konseljsakten 1912-02-02 (file no. 58, Västerås and Halland county), E1A, Ecklesiastikdepartementets arkiv, Swedish National Archives.

The economic incomes for applicants the year 1890 consisted both of public and private resources. The average means from the public sector, the state and the town councils, was 56 percent. The grants from the Department of Ecclesiastics and Education averaged on 40 percent of the total amount of public funding. To illustrate: *The Workers Institute of Stockholm* had a total income of 14,491 SEK the budget year of 1889, of which the amount 8,000 SEK consisted of public funding: 5,000 SEK from the town council and 3,000 SEK from the government. Remaining resources came from private sources such as membership fees and entrance charges.[59]

On the other hand I must mention that the average percentage of public funding actually misrepresent the total economic situations of the grant-takers for the budget year 1890–91. The fact is that the overall pattern is that different institutions solely survived on public funding while others took very little if any at all. For example, 96 percent of the total income of *The Workers Institute in Gothenburg* consisted of public funding, while only 6 percent of *The Stockholm Burghers Schools* budget came from public grants.[60]

59 See the application act for *The Workers Institute of Stockholm* in Ang. fördelning af anslaget för år 1891 till föreläsningar för arbetsklassen, Konseljakten 1890-12-19, no. 25, E1A, Ecklesiastikdepartementets arkiv, Swedish National Archives.

60 See the application files for *The Workers Institute in Gothenburg* and *The Stockholm Burghers Schools* in Ang. fördelning af anslaget för år 1891 till föreläsningar för arbetsklassen, Konseljakten 1890-12-19, no. 25, E1A, Ecklesiastikdepartementets arkiv, Swedish National Archives.

The figures for the economic budgets of the grant seekers from Halland in 1911–12 are much more consistent and reliable. Still, on average, a similar figure of 58 percent was the amount coming from public funding of some sorts. The rest of the resources came from membership fees and the entrance charges. In rare occasions, the majority of the private assets came from business corporations. In the small town of Oskarström in Halland, the local sulphite corporation (*Oskarströms Sulfitaktiebolag*) and textile industry (*Skandinaviska Jute Spinneri & Väveri AB*) accounted for 43 percent of the total set of incomes for the Oskarström lecture-society for the budget year 1911.[61] As in the case of the early mass educational system, the capitalist class sometimes funded educational initiatives.[62]

Generally, the societies and organisations that applied for lecture-grants probably needed these grants to stay alive. The case study shows that public funding – state grants as well as city or county council grants – composed nearly 60 percent of the total revenue. The specific grants coming from the Department of Ecclesiastics and Education averaged on 26 percent 1890–91 and had risen to 37 percent of the total incomes for the years 1910–11. I shall not wander into the area of contra-factual history, yet as many as 500 plus organisations would probably not have enjoyed the same stability and continuity without public funding.[63] The share of public funding was over half of the incomes of the lecture societies from the 1890s to the 1910s. As in the case of folk high schools, the state's role in securing the economic preconditions for the organisations was vital.

Conclusion

During the long nineteenth century the middle and working classes of Europe started to engage in popular education, especially in class-based associations. They taught themselves how to practice democracy, learned about civic and social issues, improved their civic conduct and also learned practical skills. Popular education in the form of workers institutes, public libraries and lecture-societies spread all over Sweden from the 1870s and onwards. The organisations were characterised by being well-organised and enjoying continuity as well as pure numerical growth. Before the 1870s, popular education was characterised by being discontinuous. Organisations was fairly few and did not survive especially long due to state repression, fluctuating membership numbers and a low level of national organisation. Thus, the period between the early 1870s and the First World War saw the rise of a continuous popular educational sphere.

Why did this historical process occur? The existing international and Swedish research has to a large extent, and rightfully so, focused on class politics and class struggle as the chief explanatory mechanisms. However, organisational continuity

61 Application for Oskarström, Ang. understöd till anordnande af populärvetenskapliga föreläsningar. [Västerås and Halland county] Konseljsakten 1912-02-02 (file no. 58, Västerås and Halland county), E1A, Ecklesiastikdepartementets arkiv, Riksarkivet Marieberg.

62 Madeleine Michaëlssons analysis on the role of iron companies as contributors to school funding in ironwork communities supports this claim. Madeleine Michaëlsson, "From Tree Felling to Silver Lining: Diverse Ways of Funding Elementary Schools among Swedish Ironworking Communities, 1830–1930", in *History of Schooling: Politics and Local Practice*, ed. Carla Aubry & Johannes Westberg (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012), 55–58, 66–67.

63 "Statsbidrag till föreläsningsföreningarna för år 1911," *Statistisk tidskrift*, no. 4 (1912), 312–18.

does to some extent rest on the ability to secure a steady flow of economic resources. In this article I show how another structural regularity of industrialisation, namely the actions of the new industrial state, must be introduced as an important factor in the historical explanation. Theoretically, 'the state' is given a wide definition in this article. It is synonymous with the public arena – the apparatuses of government on a local as well as central level.

The first analysis in the article centred on the total amount of grants that were paid out from the Department of Ecclesiastics and Education. The investigation on the three largest economic reforms directed at popular education during the period – grants for folk high schools (1873), popular lectures (1884) and libraries (1905) – clearly shows that the total amount of grants from the Department of Ecclesiastics and Education increased during the period, as did the number of popular educational organisations that was sponsored. Thus it is probable that the two observable processes influenced each other. Folk high schools, organisations that offered lectures and founded libraries received state funding if they could get matching grants from the local political institutions or a compatible private interest. Further evidence that points in this direction is the fact that the state grants system integrated popular education in a system that secured a part of their finances, as long as the applicants followed the rules. After it was in place, it is plausible that the system worked as a stabilising factor.

A case study of the public funding's share of the total incomes of folk high schools and lecture societies in the southern province of Halland, further speaks to the new role of the state in creating the fruitful material pre-conditions for 'the rise'. In order to evaluate the role and impact of the state grants, I used both official economic data from the government, official statistics and audit reports from organisations that applied for grants. Public funding answered for at least half of the lecture-societies budgets. In the case of folk high schools, the majority of the economic incomes came from the public sector – from grants given by the Department of Ecclesiastics and Education, the county council and the municipalities. The case study shows that this was true both in the case of privately owned schools and the schools that were controlled by the county councils.

What do these results say about the rise of a continuous popular educational sphere in Sweden? I would argue that one has to incorporate the economic and enabling powers of the new industrial state apparatus into the causal narrative. Well, at least in the case of Sweden. I would also argue that too much weight has been laid on the explanatory mechanism adherent to the social consequences of industrialisation in previous research.[64] The rise of a modern class system and popular education as a method of popular politics was, as scholars such as Tom Steele has emphasised, necessary components in the overall explanation.[65] But the results in this article suggest that it was the combination of that momentous political force Eric J. Hobsbawm titled "the new working-class movements" engaged in class formation, a middle class seeking to capitalise on its hunger for education *and* the economic resources bestowed by the modern industrial state, that were the main conditions for the rise of

64 See generally, Lundkvist (1977); Leffler (1999); Johansson (2002); Hobsbawm (1989), 263; Steele (2011), 1–3, 10, 41–43, 53–55

65 Steele (2011), 1–3, 10, 41–43, 53–55.

a continuous popular educational sphere in Sweden.[66]

However, in order to fully answer this question more investigations into the material conditions of popular education are necessary. We need more case studies on the share and impact of public resources from different local environments. In this article, the case of Halland was chosen because it had an averaging number of organisations, and that the province has left behind a convenient amount of sources. But how did the share and significance of public funding vary between different social and cultural milieus? Would, for instance, a consistent investigation of urban milieus give us another answer? These are questions left to be answered.

66 Hobsbawm (1989), 263.

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Demarcating Popular Education with Government Subsidies: Sweden 1911–1991

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Abstract
By analysing the regulating mechanisms of state subsidies to Swedish institutions generally considered mediating "popular education" during the twentieth century, it is argued that a tension has been developed between two parallel notions of popular education. A narrower *ideal* popular education—emphasising non-formality and independence—has been discursively nurtured along with a broader *organisational* popular education, denoting the *de facto* institutions that have received government funding, primarily the folk high schools and study associations. It is argued that the organisational popular education is a reality in itself, spanning over border zones between, for example, non-formal and formal education. Furthermore, an argument against using "popular education" as an analytical concept is put forth, since it is overly contested. Rather, it is promoted as a discursive construct that has formed real organisational structures with their own logic, which cannot be denoted by words such as non-formal adult education.

Keywords
popular education, non-formal adult education, economics of education, cultural politics, Sweden

Introduction

In Sweden, institutions generally known to promote popular education (*folkbildning*) are often regarded as an important part of the success story of twentieth century Sweden as an example of democracy and social equality.[1] Popular education is—at least in political and scholarly contexts[2]—considered a free form of education, independent of the state, and a non-hierarchical arena outside the regular public school system.

In reality, popular education institutions do not always fit into that ideal, and the same can be said regarding their level of independence from the state. Government subsidies have largely shaped the size and content of these educational institutions. In 1872, owing to a parliamentary decision, *folk high schools* received regular funding, followed by *public lectures* in 1884, *public libraries* in 1905 and *study circles* in 1947 (which started receiving funding indirectly in 1912, if they supported a libra-

1 For example, in the government bill of 1991 on popular education: prop. 1990/91:82, 6–7. See the reference section for explanations of the abbreviations of this and other categories of state publications.

2 In a more "everyday" understanding, in Sweden, "popular educator" is rather associated with journalists, scholars or scientists that, as individuals, possess excellent abilities in transmitting knowledge to the general public.

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ry). However, the subsidies were conditioned, as a number of demands had to be filled in order to receive the funds. Thus, they functioned as regulatory mechanisms. In this article, I will focus on one such mechanism: the ways subsidies have come to influence the entire concept of popular education in Sweden.

As will be shown, some institutions and practices have been included in a discursively shaped popular education area. A tension between a narrower *ideal* popular education stressing non-formality and free and democratic forms, independence from the state and a broader *organisational* popular education has developed. The latter consists of the institutions that have received funding for popular education—primarily the folk high schools and study associations.[3]

I will highlight the tendencies that emerged at the beginning of the 1910s—a time of some major popular educational reforms, soon followed by other crucial changes, such as the adoption of general suffrage and the build-up of a modern, bureaucratic welfare state. The analysis ends in 1991, when the system of state subsidies changed radically. Some overall targets replaced most of the detailed regulations for subsidies, and the distribution of subsidies shifted from governmental agencies to a semi-public council (*Folkbildningsrådet*), composed by the popular education institutions themselves. This was part of a general shift in education policies from traditional bureaucratic regulation to management by objectives.[4]

The concept of popular education is a topic of vivid discussion in international research. For example, at the 2009 ISCHE (International Standing Conference on the History of Education) in Utrecht, it was the main theme. The international discussions of the popular education concept are coloured by different national settings. There is a narrow definition that seems prominent in Anglo-Saxon countries, which is rather restrictive, as it excludes most activities that cannot be described as being outside the state and having emancipatory purposes.[5] On the other hand, there is a wide definition that claims that mass educational initiatives of the nineteenth century—including mass schooling—should be included.[6] Finally, there is a definition that falls somewhere between these two poles, reflecting the situation in, for example, France and Scandinavia. While it excludes public schools, contrary to the narrow definition, it includes non-formal leisure and cultural activities for the youth, and without any demands for political or social radicalism.[7] Another typical feature, when the demarcation of the concept is not explicitly made, is to associate popular education with progressive forces in the Enlightenment tradition.[8]

3 The equivalence between *folkbildning* and the organisations receiving state subsidies has been touched upon by, for example, Erling Bjurström, "Bildning och demokrati," in *Bildning och demokrati: Nya vägar i det svenska folkbildningslandskapet*, ed. Erling Bjurström and Tobias Harding (Stockholm: Carlssons, 2013), 46–47.

4 Prop. 1990/91:127; SFS 1991:977; cf. Donald Broady, ed., *Skolan under 1990-talet: Sociala förutsättningar och utbildningsstrategier: Rapport till kommittén Välfärdsbokslut* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2000).

5 E.g., Jim Crowther, "Reflections on Popular Education in the UK and Sweden," in *Popular Education, Power and Democracy: Swedish Experiences and Contributions*, ed. Ann-Marie Laginder, Henrik Nordvall and Jim Crowther (Leicester: Niace, 2013), 261–62.

6 Sjaak Braster, "The People, the Poor, and the Oppressed: The Concept of Popular Education through Time," *Paedagogica Historica* 47, no. 1–2 (2011), 1–5.

7 Alejandro Tiana Ferrer, "The Concept of Popular Education Revisited – Or What Do We Talk about When We Speak of Popular Education," *Paedagogica Historica* 47, no. 1–2 (2011), 15–31.

8 E.g., Tom Steele, *Knowledge is Power! The Rise and Fall of European Popular Educational Movements 1848–1939* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007).

The general meaning of the Swedish term "folkbildning" is close to the "middle" definition of popular education.[9] Both "popular education" and "folkbildning" are equally contested, with an inherent vagueness, since they lean on the "the people"—for an analytical purpose, a tricky word to say the least. Therefore, I conclude that "popular education" is the most appropriate English translation of the Swedish word "folkbildning". In my view, other alternatives that are often put forward, such as non-formal adult education,[10] liberal adult education,[11] or simply "folkbildning" untranslated, do not fully convey its actual meaning.[12] The vagueness of the popular education concept is actually beneficial for this study, since I primarily regard it as a discursive construct—an "imagined concept" just as the "nation" or "the people",[13] something to be analysed rather than something to build the analysis upon.

As I will show, truly analytical concepts such as non-formal education would risk overemphasising the boundaries towards formal education, as well as those between "education" and "non-education". Instead, those boundaries are fluent, and have often been crossed by *de facto* activities within Swedish popular education. In my opinion, these border crossings are important and interesting phenomena as such. As I will show, many of the activities within *organisational* popular education in Sweden should from an analytical viewpoint rather be defined as formal adult education, for example.

In the following, I argue that popular education has been shaped through the state subsidy system, including constant negotiations regarding the boundaries towards other fields. Among other benefits of this viewpoint, I hope that a more realist picture of popular education is obtained. For long, research and history writing have tended to focus on those aspects of popular education that are "unique", with truly non-formal educational forms, whereas its elements of vocational training, cultural and leisure activities, for example, remained underemphasised. To some extent, and at least in the case of Sweden, this can be explained by the tendency of popular education research to treat popular education separately, rather as part of a larger context—for example the education system as a whole.[14] In this article, although I

9 "Folk" means "the people", whereas "bildning" is often contrasted to "utbildning", a target in itself rather than a means for obtaining a job, etc. However, the single word "bildning" has much more Humboldtian connotations than the stem in "folkbildning".

10 E.g., the study associations' joint website, http://www.studieforbunden.se/wp-content/files/Folkbildning_engelsk.pdf (accessed February 22, 2014).

11 E.g., Andreas Fejes, *Constructing the Adult Learner: A Governmentality Analysis* (Linköping: Linköpings universitet, 2006); Swedish Government website, http://www.government.se/sb/d/6997/a/67943 (accessed February 22, 2014).

12 *Folkbildning in Sweden* (2007), published at the website of *Folkbildningsrådet*, http://www.folkbildning.se; search path: index > Folkbildning > Translations > English (accessed February 22, 2014). See also the website of *Mimer*, the popular education research network at Linköping University, http://www.ibl.liu.se/pedvux/folkbildning?l=en (accessed February 22, 2014).

13 Cf. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983); Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: SAGE Publications, 1995).

14 Anna Lundin, *Folkbildningsforskning som fält – från framväxt till konsolidering* (Linköping: Linköpings universitet, 2008); Fay Lundh Nilsson, "Den svenska folkhögskolans yrkesinriktade utbildningar 1868–1940," in *Två sidor av samma mynt? Folkbildning och yrkesutbildning vid de nordiska folkhögskolorna*, ed. Fay Lundh Nilsson and Anders Nilsson (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2010), 81–82. See also Odd Nordhaug, "Livslang læring: forskningsmessige utfordringer," in *Livslang læring: En antologi om voksenopplæringens mangfold og enhet*, ed. Vigdis Haugerud and Jørg Kvam (Trondheim: Norsk voksenpedagogisk forskningsinstitutt, 1993).

will *analyse* institutions labelled popular education only, my aim is rather the opposite: to show that so-called popular education is not an island.

State subsidies as regulation

Since popular education is largely organised within the voluntary sector, an analysis of the state subsidies connects to the research field on the non-public, voluntary sector and its relations to the state. In that research, there is a tendency to abandon rigid and binary oppositions between state and civil society.[15] Thus, I find it fruitful to grasp the state and the non-public sector as a totality to be analysed.

The economics of education research is another obvious setting for the topic of this article. Contrary to the usual points of analysis in that field, which focus on effectiveness, the overall outcome on the human capital and the benefits for society as a whole, I analyse government funding as a regulating mechanism.[16] To some extent, I study the funding streaming to the popular education organisations, but my main interest lies on the policy level—the conditions for funding. This is important as, in previous research, the importance of state funding of Swedish popular education has often been noted,[17] but never really studied as the main topic in itself.[18]

Overall, one can speak of a single *funding system*. The subsidies were instigated and reformed in a political process, with official reports, government bills, parliamentary motions and debates. There, the various conditions of the subsidies and the overall contour of the system were decided and formed. This was often met with conflicting views, particularly visible in the parliamentary material and in consul-

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15 E.g., Nancy L. Rosenblum and Robert C. Post, eds., *Civil Society and Government* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002); Lars Trägårdh, ed., *State and Civil Society in Northern Europe: The Swedish Model Reconsidered* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007); Stephen P. Osborne, ed., *The Third Sector in Europe: Prospects and Challenges* (London: Routledge, 2008). For a valid critique of the traditional demarcation between "state" and "(civil) society", see Nikolas Rose, "Governing 'Advanced' Liberal Societies," in *Foucault and Political Reason: Liberalism, Neo-Liberalism and Rationalities of Government*, ed. Andrew Barry, Thomas Osborne and Nikolas Rose (London: UCL Press, 1996), 37–41.

16 Cf. Eric A. Hanushek, et al., eds., *Handbook of The Economics of Education*, 4 vols. (Amsterdam: North-Holland/Elsevier, 2006–11); for a somewhat more related study that focuses on the state–private sector dimension regarding the formal school systems, see David Mitch, "School Finance," in *International Handbook on the Economics of Education*, ed. Geraint Johnes and Jill Johnes (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2004), 260–98.

17 E.g., Bo Andersson, *Folkbildning i perspektiv: Studieförbunden 1870–2000 – organisering, etablering och profilering* (Stockholm: LTs förlag, 1980), 256–70; Inge Johansson, *För folket och genom folket: om idéer och utvecklingslinjer i studieförbundens verksamhet* (Stockholm: Liber Utbildningsförlaget, 1985); Lena Lindgren, *Kan en filthatt stärka demokratin? Om mål och ideal i folkbildningssammanhang* (Stockholm: Carlsson, 1996), 31–40.

18 In another related research field where state funding of the third sector is studied, extant studies tend to focus on economic *impacts*, but there are also discussions on a general tension between securing the existence of voluntary organisations, and diminishing their autonomy – see Stefan Toepler, "Government Funding Policies," in *Handbook of Research on Nonprofit Economics and Management*, ed. Bruce A. Seaman and Dennis R. Young (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2010), 322–26. See also Pernilla Jonsson and Silke Neunsinger, *Gendered Money: Financial Organization in Women's Movements, 1880–1933* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012), which also studies the financial aspects of Swedish voluntary associations. However, its focus differs from that of my study, namely on the voluntary organisations themselves and how they raised money. Cf. also Gøsta Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), 106, who emphasises that the *actual construct* of state welfare systems in various dimensions must be analysed, rather than simply comparing expenditures; "social-spending levels may camouflage more than they reveal".

tation bodies' opinions on official reports, that are gathered in the government archives. From 1919 to 1991, the distribution of funds had to be approved by a state authority, the National Board of Schools (*Skolöverstyrelsen*, hereafter referred to by its abbreviation *SÖ*) that interpreted the parliamentary decisions with its own detailed rules and decisions. In many cases, SÖ worked close to the larger popular education organisations through consultation and delegation of certain decisions on, for example, distribution of subsidies to singular lectures or study circles. In many ways, there was a kind of seamless web between "state" (government, parliament, SÖ) and "civil society" (non-public popular education). This structure was partly a result of many politicians active in popular education issues, as well as many SÖ officials, being rooted in the popular education movement.[19] The following study builds upon all the aforementioned source categories.

Municipalities and county councils (regional municipal authorities) also provided important contributions to popular education, the latter also owning a large part of the folk high schools. In my research, mostly due to the limitations of the project funding, my focus is restricted to the *state* subsidies only. Since the aim is to delineate the regulating mechanisms in conditions, rather than measure the amount of funding and its impact, I find that limitation excusable.

The regulating mechanisms of the state subsidy system are of different kinds and are sometimes overlapping. I have chosen to divide them into five *regulatory dimensions*—whereby the term "dimension" is used to stress that they are different *aspects*, rather than excluding each other:[20]

- monetary regulation (the regulatory impact of the subsidies themselves)
- organisational regulation (conditions regarding organisations)
- formal regulation (conditions regarding educational practises)
- ideological regulation (conditions regarding politics, religion, morale, etc.)
- demarcating regulation (towards things not considered popular education)

Some brief examples of the first four regulatory dimensions will be given here, in order to provide the full picture of the funding system.[21] This will enable me to engage more thoroughly in the demarcating regulation, in which "popular education" has been shaped as a specific set of institutions and practices. The period of almost a century that this article focuses on is deliberately long, since the purpose is to demonstrate the main mechanisms of the funding system in itself, rather than analysing the results of specific reforms, for example. Even though some aspects of this process changed during the twentieth century, there was continuity in others.

19 For numerous examples concerning the folk high schools and the state, see Sven Swensson, "Folkhögskolan och myndigheterna," in *Svensk folkhögskola 100 år*, vol. 1 (Stockholm: Liber, 1968). The ways non-public organisations were included in governance has been described as a typical feature in mid-twentieth century capitalism, see Rolf Torstendahl, *Bureaucratisation in Northwestern Europe, 1880–1985: Domination and Governance* (London: Routledge, 1991).

20 Thus, the concept is used in a way similar to, e.g., Jörn Rüsen's three dimensions of historical culture; Jörn Rüsen, *History: Narration, Interpretation, Orientation* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005).

21 These will be more thoroughly presented in subsequent publications.

Monetary regulation

For various popular education institutions, the *size* and *character* of the subsidies have often been the very basis of existence. Here, it has often been a question of prioritising between different forms of institutions. As can be seen in Table 1, the three institutions of folk high schools, lectures and study circles together increased their relative share of the total subsidies to education and research in the second half of the twentieth century. This suggests that not only the general growth of the modern welfare state can explain popular education's quantitative progress, but also demonstrates that study circles were most favoured of the three institutions:[22]

Table 1. State subsidies for popular education, 1915–1985

	Part of the total subsidies from the Ministry of Education and Research	**Subsidies for folk high schools**	**Subsidies for lectures/ cultural programs**	**Subsidies for study circles**	**Average subsidy to each study circle**
	%	*MSEK (1914 value)*	*MSEK (1914 value)*	*MSEK (1914 value)*	*SEK (1914 value)*
1915	1,56	0,29	0,23	–	–
1924/25	0,97	0,52	0,16	–	–
1934/35	0,87	0,69	0,10	–	–
1944/45	0,77	0,99	0,03	–	–
1954/55	1,24	2,50	0,11	1,03	21,41
1964/65	1,72	6,96	0,36	4,42	38,52
1974/75	3,99	16,95	0,61	30,56	109,73
1984/85	3,29	19,40	4,38	31,39	107,15

The *level* of state funding is only part of the story, another is the *character* of the government subsidies. During most of the studied period, there have been three major types of subsidies, one of which was simply called "subsidies". From these *undesignated subsidies* (*obetecknade anslag*), only the allocated sum could be used, and only during the year in question. In contrast, when a *reservable subsidy* (*reservationsanslag*) was granted, unused funds could be saved and used in the next budget period. In the most favourable form, the *propositional subsidy* (*förslagsanslag*), the allocated sum was more a form of checkpoint that could be exceeded. It is easy to understand that the propositional subsidies were generally regarded as advantageous, while the other two types often resulted in a selection of the intended recipients. During the period studied here, in Swedish popular education, all subsidies to folk high schools, study circles and libraries were propositional, whereas the lectures had the lower

22 The allocated subsidies are to be found in *Statsliggaren*, a yearly publication listing the government's subsidies with details on "sub-subsidies", e.g., the study circle and lecture subsidies have at certain periods been *parts* of a certain subsidy. Regarding the folk high schools, some additional subsidies are included at certain dates: "increased subsidies" and grants for construction work; however, grants to student fees are not included. The numbers of study circles are from *Statistisk årsbok*, the annual report från SCB, the state statistics authority. For calculating the price value of 1914, tables of Consumer Price Indices were taken from *Konsumentprisindex 1830–2001* at SCB's website, http://www.scb.se/statistik/PR/PR0101/2000I02/PR15SM0201.pdf (accessed February 22, 2014).

grades. As can be seen in Table 1, the lectures were also treated more harshly in bad economic periods before and during World War II.[23]

The regulations determining the proportion of the popular education activity that the state would fund are another important factor. A general demand of *matching funds* meant that the state met only a part of the total costs of the institutions, while the rest had to be compensated from municipal or private grants and donations. Also in this respect the study circles had—at least until 1981—very advantageous conditions with up to 75 per cent of the costs covered by the state.[24]

Organisational regulation

The state subsidy system has to a large extent shaped the organisational structures of popular education. From the beginning, for example, a basic demand that recipients should have a *board* was in place.[25] In some instances, functions—such as study directors, formal leadership and the like—were also mandated.

Perhaps the most important feature imposed by the state subsidy system is the creation of the study associations (*studieförbund*) that has primarily organised study circles. They were largely formed due to the condition for state funding introduced in the 1912 library reform, when libraries bound to study circles were given subsidies. This requirement was motivated by a wish for efficiency and means of control from the state. Official investigator Valfrid Palmgren proposed that they should have at least 20 000 members throughout the country. Although the leading temperance organisation, the Good Templars, already met that requirement, it was soon followed by the new study organisation of the workers movement—ABF—that quickly became the largest study association which it still is.[26] The exact minimum rules have changed, but not the general outline, and a number of additional study organisations were formed over time. From the 1920s, there has also been a regular subsidy for the organisational and administrative costs of the study associations.[27] Thereby, the state had formed large bureaucratic organisations that gradually started to take part in the distribution of state subsidies to single libraries and study circles.

Formal regulation of educational practices

The state subsidy system has also formed the educational practices. For example, from the outset, the public lectures were to be held regularly, which was later followed by rules that mandated a fixed minimum number of lectures per year. Regarding the folk high schools, the state regulations became rather precise in 1919, including a number of rules concerning obligatory teaching subjects and the minimum numbers of lesson hours per week, among other stipulations.[28]

23 It should be noted that, 1974, the lecture subsidies were subsumed into "cultural programs", with a direct increase in c. 150 per cent, and once again in 1981 with an approx. 250 per cent rise of the allocated money.

24 E.g., SFS 1965:170, 8 §.

25 See Anne Berg's article in this issue.

26 Valfrid Palmgren, *Förslag angående de åtgärder, som från statens sida böra vidtagas för främjande af det allmänna biblioteksväsendet i Sverige, afgifvet den 28 september 1911* (Stockholm: Ivar Hæggströms boktryckeri, 1911), 172–77; cf. Jonas Åkerstedt, *Den litterate arbetaren: Bildningssyn och studieverksamhet i ABF 1912–1930* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1967), 53–54.

27 Rskr. 1921:310.

28 SFS 1913:397; SFS 1919:866.

With respect to the study circles, they were largely defined by the state subsidy system. Before 1947, when the circles received funding indirectly via libraries, they lacked formal definition. However, in the 1947 legislation, a study circle was defined as "a ring of comrades [*kamratkrets*] for common theoretical or practical studies over a specified subject following a pre-arranged plan". This description was slightly changed in 1963 into "a ring of comrades for common studies according to plan, over a pre-specified subject or problem area".[29] While the definition was rather open, the quantitative rules on practices were more precise. Apart for strict rules concerning number, regularity and length of single meetings, the *size* of circles was mandated to include five to twenty members, with some possibilities for exception. Concerning *age*, study circle members were stipulated to be at least 14 years old—in the period 1947–63 there was even a specific category called "youth circles". From 1953, however, *music* study circles were allowed to have up to half the members younger than 14 years old.[30]

Ideological regulation

The ideological implications of the popular education subsidies can be broadly described as a development from explicit to implicit norms on politics and morale. On the other hand, the ideas concerning popular education's overall meaning for society have shifted. From the start, the public lectures were conditioned to be free from "political and religious battles or negotiations", which was later made milder, making at least possible to discuss political issues. Before 1963, the study circles were also forbidden to include "propaganda for political or religious views".[31]

Later in the twentieth century, two other ideological conditions of a rather vague character became dominant, the first being a sort of democratic ideology stressing values of objectivity. In the 1963 popular education reform, study circles and public lectures were expected to perform so that an "objective and comprehensive illumination of the study subjects" was realised. Furthermore, the work should be "conducted in a spirit of tolerance and respect for diverse opinions" and in such a way that promoted "independent thinking and stances".[32]

Secondly, there was a marked tendency to promote educational and/or cultural quality in the activities. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, a sharp line against what was considered immoral in the rules for state subsidies was evident. Thus, until 1930, libraries were prohibited from including "books with indecent content". While the rules gradually became milder, until 1965, a library had to follow regulations from SÖ. Thus, if the latter found the book stock not to be in a "generally satisfactory condition from a moral or artistic point" penalties could follow. It further stipulated that "young and immature readers" should not have access to literature "of a nature that they might be harmful in moral respect".[33]

The trend that emerged in the 1960s—whereby vocational and formal adult education within study associations and folk high schools was promoted—was also part

29 SOU 1946:68, 167, 251; SFS 1947:508, 22 §; prop. 1963:36, 59–60; SFS 1963:463, 7 §; SFS 1981:518, 11 §.

30 SFS 1947:508, 24 §, 26 § b; SFS 1953:392, 24 §; SFS 1963:463, 8–9 §§.

31 SFS 1884: bih. 34; SFS 1929:239, 3 § i; SFS 1947:508, 4 § i, 26 § f.

32 SFS 1963:463, 2 §.

33 SFS 1905:29; SFS 1930:15, 4 § h; SFS 1955:540, 3 § f.

of an ideology. This is in line with the "lifelong learning" ideology prominent from the late twentieth century into our time, promoting popular education for "flexible capitalism",[34] overriding the regulations in the 1970s that cultural programs, for example, must not have any commercial connection.[35]

Demarcating regulation – defining popular education

The very concept of "popular education" has long been a political issue. Since 1991, there has been a unified government subsidy for "popular education" (*folkbildning*), which is to be shared by folk high schools and study associations—the latter for study circles and cultural programmes under their roof. Prior to this change, subsidies were generally specified for particular activities and organisations. Still, from the late nineteenth century onwards, there has been a discourse on "popular education" with at least a core meaning, where folk high schools, public lectures, libraries and study circles were included.[36] From the start, popular education had a very positive connotation. Socialists, liberals and even conservatives regarded it as bringing promises for the future. In the official report of the 1920 popular education committee, "free and voluntary popular education" was defined as open for *everyone* regardless of class and educational background. It was different from *schools* and aimed at *grown-ups*, with the purpose of nurturing civic virtues and spiritual values.[37]

In the early twentieth century, the term itself entered into the names of societies that supplied books and lectures (e.g. *Folkbildningsförbundet* in 1903), often connected to university extension. The latter is interesting as, well into the 1920s, many leading figures in popular education, such as Oscar Olsson and Carl Cederblad, regarded the universities as a natural centre of popular education, often citing England as an example. Public libraries—including those organised by cities and municipalities—were also considered the very foundation of popular education.[38] That is indeed different to the marked association between popular education and popular (social) movements in the voluntary sector, which has been more pronounced in late twentieth century official discourse.[39] Today, libraries are only occasionally described as popular education institutions, presumably since, from the 1960s, they have been almost exclusively organised by the municipalities.

From 1914 onwards, libraries, lectures and a number of other purposes, such as university extension and temperance education, were listed in the government budgets under the category "Other popular education measures" (*Folkbildningsåtgärder i övrigt*). That category existed until 1960/61, and included the study circles from 1947. In contrast, the folk high schools were instead connected to primary schools in the government budgets. However, in other official contexts, such as the organisation of SÖ, the folk high schools were clearly linked to "popular education".[40]

34 Ann-Louise Petersen, *Marknadsorientering inom folkbildningen: Fritt och frivilligt i ett nytt ljus* (Göteborg: Bokförlaget BAS, 2006); Andreas Fejes and Katherine Nicoll, *Foucault and Lifelong Learning: Governing the Subject* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008).

35 SFS 1974:454, 3 § 2 mom.

36 E.g., *Reformatorn* no. 12, 1887.

37 SOU 1924:5, 9.

38 SOU 1924:5, 9; Ingvar Törnqvist, *Oscar Olsson folkbildaren: I synnerhet hans tankar om universitetens roll i folkbildningsarbetet* (Stockholm: Sober, 1996).

39 E.g., SFS 1981:518, 7 §.

40 SFS 1919:812, 2 § ("anordningar för idrott och allmän fysisk utbildning"); SFS 1943:962, 2 §.

Early demarcation issues

Still, from the beginning there were no fixed boundaries separating popular education from other areas. For example, there were many cases where "popular education" institutions purposely transcended into areas of moral training and leisure activities. Indeed, the subsidies for public lectures had the condition of "popular education purpose" (*folkbildningssyfte*) removed in 1911, since a previous committee report explained that, in remote areas, it would be sufficient to demonstrate that the institutions contributed by providing individuals with a better way of spending leisure time.[41] In the early twentieth century, the morally uplifting aspect of popular education was particularly emphasised. This was not only a politically conservative reaction against a dangerous working class youth, it was generally shared by those Liberals and Socialists who made up the majority within most popular education institutions.[42] The aforementioned 1920 committee was to some extent instigated by a general fear of the youth forming bad habits,[43] and it stressed a better entertainment as one of the positive effects of lectures or study circles.[44]

Moreover, the 1911 lecture reform opened up the possibility for compensatory adult education or even vocational training. In places where "elementary practical courses for adults" were not available, one third of the subsidies for public lectures could be used for courses in Swedish, arithmetic, childcare, etc.[45] Some agents commenting on the preceding official report believed that these objects warranted a subsidy on their own,[46] while others regarded them as a effective means of luring workers into the core fields of popular education.[47] However, only a small number of lecture organisations used this opportunity. This resulted in the introduction of a new subsidy in 1928 for so-called *itinerant folk high schools* (a hybrid between folk high schools and lectures).[48]

In reality, much of the popular education functioned as "citizen education" (*medborgarbildning*) with the purpose of being a replacement for the regular school.[49] That is also true for the folk high schools, which were largely responsible for formally distributing formal vocational training for the agricultural youth.[50]

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41 *Förslag angående ändrade grunder för statsunderstöd åt anstalter för populärvetenskapliga föreläsningar avgifvet den 12 januari 1911 af tillkallade sakkunniga* (Stockholm: Ivar Hæggströms boktryckeri, 1911), 45–46.

42 Samuel Edquist, *Nyktra svenskar: Godtemplarrörelsen och den nationella identiteten 1879–1918* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2001); Per Sundgren, *Kulturen och arbetarrörelsen: Kulturpolitiska strävanden från August Palm till Tage Erlander* (Stockholm: Carlsson, 2007).

43 E.g., AK mot. 1919:299 (Albert Zander); FK mot. 1920:179 (Oscar Olsson), 13–14.

44 E.g., SOU 1924:5, 78, 119. "Lifting of the entertainment culture" was a topic that the committee announced would have been examined if it had not been ended too abruptly: SOU 1924:5, 8.

45 SFS 1911:bih. 40, 8.

46 Prop. 1911:216, 25–26; opinions from *länsstyrelsen i Göteborgs och Bohus län* and *Lundby arbetareinstitut* (no. 14) in: Ecklesiastikdepartementets arkiv (huvudarkivet), konseljakt 1911-04-21 no. 80, 1st of 3 vols. [Riksarkivet Marieberg].

47 Opinion from *länsstyrelsen i Malmöhus län* (no. 12) in: Ecklesiastikdepartementets arkiv (huvudarkivet), konseljakt 1911-04-21 no. 80, 1st of 3 vols. [Riksarkivet Marieberg].

48 SOU 1924:5, 92, 132 f.; SFS 1928:418, 2 § mom 1 a. Cf. also SÖ's opinion (page 63) on SOU 1924:5, in: Skolöverstyrelsens arkiv, 05 Folkskoleavdelningen, B I a, vol. 83 [Riksarkivet Arninge].

49 Cf. Bernt Gustavsson, *Bildningens väg: Tre bildningsideal i svensk arbetarrörelse 1880–1930* (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1991).

50 Lundh Nilsson (2010).

Demarcation questions in the era of mass popular education

In 1947, study circles started to be directly funded by state subsidies, and soon became the by far greatest institution of Swedish popular education, organised within study associations. As we shall see, this quantitative rise soon created a strengthened need to underpin the borders between "true" popular education and other spheres, with the study circles as the main example.

Soon, the borders towards leisure and "hobby" activities—for adults and young people alike—were in the foreground of the discussion, and have been present ever since. In the 1960s, formal adult education rose to the foreground, and with that discussions on its borders with "true" popular education.

In the 1970s and 1980s, another demarcation area came to the forefront, namely that towards cultural activities, fuelled by the stronger political involvement in that area. Typically, demarcation issues were in the focus of the political treatment of popular education. For example, the committee that issued an official report in 1979, which eventually led to the 1981 popular education reform, had an entire chapter on demarcation issues, pertaining specifically to municipal adult education, higher education and corporate education.

The story is rather paradoxical though. Demarcation aspirations have gone hand in hand with popular education institutions being actively used by public authorities for means not traditionally considered be a part of the core public education. That development has led to a strengthened divergence between ideal and organisational popular education.

Blacklisting hobby circles and others

Soon after the introduction of the study circle subsidies in 1947, it was clear that they were a popular activity. Hundreds of thousands of Swedes flocked to the study circles, making them one of the more common spare time activities in a country where the standard of living increased rapidly after the war.

Consequently, the funding the state dedicated to these activities increased very quickly. However, after only a few years, the government and parliament decided to impose limitations. Alongside a new maximum limit of funding a single study circle could receive each year, it was legislated in 1952 that subjects that were deemed having a "hobby" character—as determined by SÖ, after consulting the study associations—would not be funded. The resulting list was very short—three subject areas were forbidden, namely "sports (e.g., table tennis, gymnastics, orienteering)", "board games (e.g., bridge, chess)" and "parlour games (e.g., ballroom dancing, folk dance, folk games)".[51] At the same time, study associations were ordered to be careful when approving study circles that were of a practical nature, so that they had to perform "qualified studies". In 1956, these stipulations were further sharpened, obliging all study circles in visual arts, handicraft, music, handiwork (*slöjd*) and theatre to be approved by specially assigned specialists within the study associations, to ensure quality.[52]

Two years later, in 1958, after consultations between the study associations and

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51 SFS 1952:602, 26 § i; Undervisningsavdelningens protokoll 1952-08-26, 2 §, in: Skolöverstyrelsens arkiv, 08 Undervisningsavdelningen, A I a, vol. 1 [Riksarkivet Arninge].

52 SFS 1956:251, 26 § h; Undervisningsavdelningens protokoll 1956-07-17, 3 §, in: Skolöverstyrelsens arkiv, 08 Undervisningsavdelningen, A I a, vol. 15 [Riksarkivet Arninge].

SÖ, the latter issued an even more detailed list of subjects that were outright forbidden (the list of 1952 was now extended to include, for example, "charm courses" and "basket weaving") or had to be carefully controlled in advance, such as, for example, "lace making" and "TV building".[53]

However, these lists were removed in the 1963 popular education reform, which signalled a more positive view of *practical* education, describing it as having the same value as theoretical education. It was emphasised that having lists of subjects was *not* the proper way of deciding the border between popular education and other activities. Instead, the decision should be based on the *purpose* of the studies, and the conditions concerning leaders and study materials.[54] These decisions were supposed to be continuously discussed by SÖ in consultation with the study associations—something that was, in the following years, conducted in the so-called Pedagogical Board composed of members of the study associations. There, mainly study materials for practicing study circles were discussed.[55]

Ironically, in 1968, a new list of forbidden subjects and subject areas was issued by SÖ, created by the so-called Demarcation Board of the Popular Education Bureau (*FGN, Folkbildningsbyråns gränsdragningsnämnd*), founded in 1967. While many of its members were from the study associations, it was still formally a part of SÖ. The FGN was supposed to discuss all border issues between popular education and other fields. For example, it was responsible for examining study materials for subject areas in the risk zone.[56] The 1968 list was changed and renewed a number of times until 1991, when the system was terminated. The outcome was excluding subjects or including new ones, such as "lampshade manufacture" in 1982, or "flower arrangement" in 1989. The archived discussion protocols make it possible to follow the lines of argument:

> The members' common understanding was that this is a material that should not be used. The subject may in many ways be compared with the tabletop, rockery planting etc. One has to be skeptical about the subject, otherwise it will be necessary to approve other questionable ones.
>
> From SÖ's side it was pointed out, that even if flower arrangement is popular, it belongs to such a flair that may be without state subsidies when society does not have the money for health care, school meals and such. Accepting this would not benefit the reputation of popular education and the outside view of study circle activities.
>
> […]
>
> FGN decided with a clear majority to recommend the rejection of the subject of flower arrangement. The justification is that the material does not meet the purpose and content requirements FGN places on a study material.[57]

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53 ASÖ 1958:17, pt 83, pages 266–68.

54 Prop. 1963:36, 12–13, 62.

55 *Bidragsvillkor och avgränsningsfrågor i studiecirkelverksamheten: Promemoria upprättad inom Utbildningsdepartementet* (Stockholm, 1970), 6–7; protocols from *Pedagogiska nämnden*, in: Folkbildningsförbundet med föregångares arkiv, 03 Samverkande Bildningsförbunden, F3B, vol. 1 [Riksarkivet Arninge].

56 *Bidragsvillkor* (1970), bilaga 1.

57 SÖ-FS 1982:173; SÖ-FS 1989:71, p. 2.2 i.; FGN minnesanteckningar 1988-10-06, page 4, in: Skolöverstyrelsens arkiv, 83 V-avdelningen, 03 Enheten för studieförbund, F1A, vol. 1 [Riksarkivet Arninge]. See also Per Hartman, *Att bilda med bild: En studie av de praktisk-estetiska studiecirklarnas utveckling* (Linköping: Linköpings universitet, 2003), 189–96.

In official documents—such as official reports, government bills and the regulations from SÖ—there was a continuous ambivalence between stressing the difficulties of demarcation and that it should rather focus on purposes in singular cases on one hand, and the general banning of whole subjects on the other.[58] Previous research also indicates that practical studies failed to achieve the highest prestige and support within popular education organisations.[59]

In parliament, the right-wing Moderate Party in particular had a rather "economical" attitude towards popular education, especially concerning aesthetical study circles. In some parliamentary motions, the attitude towards these forms of education was rather sharp. Sometimes, it was put in question whether they had any value at all for society:

> We are, however, very reluctant concerning the fact that state and municipalities like now should finance socialising and recreation. One might think that it is useful to learn how to sew certain clothes. But there are examples of people who have attended a dressmaking circle for 16 years. People weave in the same circle year after year, gathering precious tissues that they made virtually no cost at all. Washers and ships made of dead matches are in the thousands. If you think this is fun, you should of course go on with it, preferably in a group, but the question is whether it must be supported by tax money.[60]

After-school activities for youth and popular education

The demarcation towards "hobby" subjects is related to another one that rose to prominence in the 1950s. Starting in 1954, state subsidies were issued for after-school activities for youth, in leisure groups (*fritidsgrupper*) arranged by study associations or municipalities.[61] The question of the youth's leisure activities had been a central issue for a long time. As we have seen, popular education was often regarded a suitable way of integrating young people into society, offering them activities of good value. Long before 1954, state subsidies were offered to the youth organisations within the temperance movement and, from 1941, there were also specific state subsidies for settlements (*hemgårdar*). These targets were associated to the popular education sphere, and the new funding of after-school activities was also connected to popular education, for example within the government budget until 1977, as well as in the organisation of SÖ.

In preparing the 1954 reform, the boundaries between study circles—already open for anyone 14 years old or older—and after-school activities were discussed, in ways similar to those concerning education vs. "hobby" activities. Nonetheless, the demarcation remained unclear; a 1960 committee was obliged to discuss both "po-

58 *Bidragsvillkor* (1970), bilaga 1 (the 1968 list), pt 5.1; SOU 1979:85, 195–96; *Studieförbunden inför 90-talet: En analys av studieförbundens situation, verksamhet och uppgifter* (Stockholm: Skolöverstyrelsen, 1988), 54–55.

59 Gull-Mari Rosén, *Konst- och konsthantverkscirklar under 1970-talet: De fyra största studieförbundens syn på denna verksamhet med anledning av den nya kulturpolitiken* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 1984); Hartman (2003).

60 Mot. 1980/81:1301 by Blenda Littmarck and Anita Bråkenhielm.

61 SFS 1954:575, 11–14 §§.

pular education" and "youth activities", as well as the boundaries between them.[62] In the 1968 FGN list on the boundaries of study circles, once again, it was emphasised that "the borders between study circle and leisure group activities are maintained."[63]

Vocational education and formal adult education

In the 1950s and 1960s, popular education was also frequently discussed in relation to vocational education, raising issues similar to those concerning youth and hobby activities. The 1958 list also included a regulation that study circles aiming at basic vocational training must not be arranged in places where such education was already or could be fulfilled by existing vocational schools (*yrkesskolor*).[64] Further, it was stipulated that, in each case, vocational training should also be approved by the study associations and SÖ.

Thus, there was a pragmatic solution, similar to those of 1911 and 1928, discussed above. In the early 1960s, according to the results of an investigation, around 4 per cent of all study circles pertained to vocational education. At the time, border issues were evident; both study associations and vocational schools claimed that the other stepped into its territory.[65]

In the late 1960s, the demarcation between study circles and vocational education was integrated into a larger field—that between popular education and formal adult education as a whole. The 1960s were marked by major reforms in the Swedish educational system—not least with new primary and secondary school systems. The overall development resulted in the view that more Swedes should go to school for a longer time. In this process, the compensatory adult education was reformed, so that grown-ups could be given opportunity to attend primary and secondary school level courses. Owing to a parliamentary decision in 1967, municipal schools for adults (*Komvux*) developed rapidly from 1968 onwards.

Before this reform, popular education institutions, such as folk high schools and "evening gymnasia" (*kvällsgymnasier*) organised by some study associations, had in practice performed functions of formal compensatory education for adults.[66] Folk high schools also functioned in some instances as formal steps on the educational ladders, making it possible to gain entry to formal schools. As a result, in 1957, folk high schools were allowed to issue a form of grades.[67]

With the 1967 reform, the activities in study circles and folk high schools were formally included in the wider concept of "adult education" (*vuxenutbildning*), both within government budgets and in SÖ's internal organisation. On one hand, study

62 *Bidrag till ungdomens föreningsliv och fritidsverksamhet: Betänkande med förslag av 1953 års utredning angående stöd åt nykterhetsorganisationer och ungdomsvårdande sammanslutningar, II* (Stockholm, 1953), 58–60; SOU 1961:44, 10, 11, 190.

63 ASÖ 1970/71:15, 8.

64 ASÖ 1958:17, pt 83, page 267.

65 SOU 1966:3, 581–84; prop. 1967:85, 73–74.

66 Andreas Fejes, "Kvällsgymnasier – resultatet av ett vägval i vuxenutbildningens historia," *Vägval i skolans historia* 3, no. 4 (2003); cf. Staffan Larsson, "Förnyelse som tradition," in *Folkbildning – samtidig eller tidlös? Om innebörder över tid*, ed. Ann-Marie Laginder and Inger Landström (Linköping: Linköpings universitet, 2005), 182–83.

67 Prop. 1957:146; SU bet. 1957:173; Swensson (1968), 265; Per Hartman, *Skola för ande och hand: En studie av folkhögskolans praktisk-estetiska verksamhet* (Linköping: Linköpings universitet, 1993), 137, 143, 190–91.

circles and folk high schools were defined as something *other* than formal adult education institutions with grades and exams. This was underlined in the government bill of 1967, which emphasised that study circles and folk high schools played important roles in adult education, but that one had to clear the line not least concerning vocational education.[68] At the same time, a working group was instigated within SÖ, to examine and decide on the border between popular education and formal adult education at the secondary school level. The government ordinance issued in 1967 approved that municipal vocational school courses could be arranged as study circles. The exact rules were formulated by SÖ, defining subjects that would be organised by municipal vocational schools or by study associations as study circles.[69]

On the other hand, there was an increasing demand that folk high schools and study circles should actively engage in and be used for compensatory education and certain forms of vocational training.[70] In the 1970s, for example, folk high schools received formal state support in arranging the training of youth workers (*fritidsledare*). In the government bill, this involvement was justified with the argument that folk high schools for long had had elements of vocational training. Moreover, it was noted that the previous try-outs were successful and that youth work had close connections to popular education.[71]

In the 1970 government bill on adult education, it was emphasised that study circles, due to their informal nature, were ideal in reaching a wide range of socioeconomic groups, elderly people with insufficient formal education in particular. It was also noted that, since the reform of 1967, the young and well-educated seemed to have become overrepresented in adult education as a whole.[72] Therefore, the subsidies were generally increased, but so-called additional subsidies (*tilläggsbidrag*) were also introduced for study circles for a well-defined number of purposes. In these so-called high-priority study circles (*priocirklar*), one could study Swedish, English, Mathematics or Civics corresponding to the primary school syllabus. The additional subsidies were also given for circles aiming at aiding disabled persons in communicating.[73]

The reform was successful; in the third year, 1972/73, almost 80 000 high-priority study circles were operational, engaging 716 000 participants, equivalent of 36 per

68 Prop. 1967:85, 91–93.

69 SFS 1967:452, 3 §, 57 §; ASÖ 1967/68:54, 1–16; ASÖ 1967/68:64, 1–2; cf. Inge Johansson, *Striden om vuxenutbildningen 1967–1970: En folkbildares försvarstal* (Stockholm: ABF, 1990).

70 A similar development was visible in Norway; Sigvart Tøsse claims that there was a shift in the 1960s whereby adult education was dominantly seen as tool for "formal education, vocational training and labour market policy", and the previous dominant element—culture—turned into the background; however, the latter was revived in the 1970s: Sigvart Tøsse, "Adult Education Trends and Reforms," in *Reforms and Policy: Adult Education Research in Nordic Countries* (Trondheim: Tapir Academic Press, 2000), 7, 10–11.

71 Prop. 1975:14; SFS 1975:399. Another example is the education of interpreters (*kontakttolkar*) in study circles and folk high schools, that were formally regulated in 1977 after three years of try-outs: prop. 1976/77:100, 445–56; UbU bet. 1976/77:19, 12; SFS 1977:461. Cf. Inger Landström, *Mellan samtid och tradition: Folkhögskolans identitet i kursutbudets yrkesinriktning* (Linköping: Linköpings universitet, 2004).

72 Prop. 1970:35, 15, 41, 44–47. Cf. Berndt Johansson, *Government-Subsidized Adult Education in Sweden* (Stockholm: Swedish Institute, 1973), 26; Lars-Erik Olofsson and Kjell Rubenson, *1970-talets vuxenutbildningsreformer: Reflexioner kring strategier och utfall* (Stockholm: Institutionen för pedagogik, Högskolan för lärarutbildning i Stockholm, 1986).

73 SFS 1970:329, 8 §; *tilläggsbidrag*.

cent of the total number of study circle attendants.[74] As the system of additional subsidies was further developed, in 1975, education for immigrants in their native languages, as well as trade union education, was added to the list of additional subsidies.[75] The system was eventually terminated in 1991, prior to which some changes were introduced—most notably a general cutback in the 1981 reform. The original structure was, however, partially restored in the years following the Social Democrat election victory in 1982.[76]

The 1979 official report on popular education concluded that the "demarcation problems" between study associations and municipal adult education had diminished over the 1970s, but that there would still be concrete demarcation cases in the future. The report advocated that the municipal school boards should arrange consultations on planning that involved all actors in adult education. Moreover, it recommended that the various targets and particularities of different actors be well-known at least within the organisations and its co-workers. Such statements indicate that the distinction between local practices of study circles and municipal schools for adults was even more difficult.[77]

Another demarcation issue that was often discussed in the 1970s and 1980s was that between popular education and higher education. As previously noted, many of the early popular education initiatives came from the universities. Thus, a (downsized) result of some of the ideas of the universities being the centre for popular education was the state support of so-called university circles from 1924 onwards, with the English tutorial classes as a model. With the 1947 study circle reform, university circles were defined as a distinct form of study circle with high demands with respect to leader qualifications and quality of educational content.[78] The 1979 official report, however, found it necessary to uphold the demarcation between popular education and higher education, since the latter recently received broader assignments. The outcome was that university circles that followed a syllabus were no longer eligible for receiving state support, since they did not accord with "the work form and purpose of the study circle".[79] As this issue became a political battlefield, the proposal was not realised until after the Social Democrat election victory in 1982. In the following years, Moderate and Liberal representatives repeatedly demanded that syllabus-bounded university circles should once again receive subsidies.[80]

74 SOU 1974:54, 90.

75 SFS 1975:428, 9 §.

76 SFS 1981:518, 19 and 24 §§; cf. SFS 1984:569, 19 and 24 §§. In 1987 and 1988, additional subsidies were also introduced for those that were not sufficiently educated, combined with freer rules on the length of meetings and such; SFS 1987:536, 21a §; SFS 1988:583, 26b §.

77 SOU 1979:85, 81–82. Another indication is the blunt formulation in the 1968 supplementary directions for study circles; "any tendency by various means to denote pure hobby activities and different kinds of sport and recreational activities as education in the spirit of the popular education ordinance, must be curbed" (*Bidragsvillkor* (1970), bilaga 1, page 2). See also SÖ-FS 1981:138, 16, that emphasised that a certain group could not be funded as a "study circle" and "cultural activity" at the same time.

78 SOU 1924:5, 149–60, 187–89; FK mot. 1924:72; AK mot. 1924:115; rskr. 1924:8 A, 118–21; SFS 1947:508, 24 §.

79 SOU 1979:85, 161, 169.

80 Prop. 1980/81:127; prop. 1982/83:100, bilaga 7, 576–78; mot. 1982/83:1913; mot. 1982/83:1915; mot. 1989/90:Ub254; mot. 1989/90:Ub267; mot. 1989/90:Ub825. However, there was also a motion from individual Social Democrats who wanted to reinstitute them in order to strengthen remote regions (mot.1985/86:Ub404).

Cultural activities and popular education

From the beginning, cultural activities have been an important part of the programs study circles and folk high schools offered. Once World War II ended, this development became especially prominent, despite the mentioned demarcations against "hobby" and "leisure" activities. At that time, many folk high schools developed a specific aesthetic profile, while study circles offered many subjects in cultural areas.[81] For example, many prominent pop and rock bands started as study circles.[82]

Over time, it became necessary to formulate demarcations between popular education and (other) cultural activities, owing to the rise of cultural politics as a prominent sphere. In a number of reforms implemented in 1974 and the following years, the subsidies to a number of cultural activities, such as theatres and films, were substantially increased. The reforms emphasised values, such as decentralisation, anti-elitism, and anti-commercialism. In this so called "cultural policy of 1974", popular education was also discussed, and various actors raised the possibility of establishing relations between popular education and the cultural field as a whole. Many actors were critical towards the official report, as it had divided popular education into a "cultural" and "educational" part.[83]

The reform also affected the popular education funding system. Most importantly, the 90-year-old subsidy to public lectures was replaced by a new subsidy for so called *cultural programs*, which was to include public lectures but also song, music, dance, drama performances, film screenings and exhibitions. The Swedish Arts Council, a new state authority, supervised the programs. Thus, between 1974 and 1991, certain activities in popular education institutions were attached to the state *cultural* bureaucracy, rather than the *educational* bureaucracy.

The cultural programs were in themselves a sort of border zone between education and (other forms of) culture. There were no pedagogical or educational demands in the regulations; rather, the new subsidy was—owing to its foundation in the existing study associations that received the largest proportion of the funding—seen as a convenient way of supporting cultural activities.[84]

The official report on popular education of 1979 proposed a widening of the cultural programs subsidies to include means for study circles that wanted to present their results through, for example, films or exhibitions. Their proposed name "other educational activities" was changed in the government bill in 1981 into "cultural activities within popular education, etc.", since the aim was to also include *ensemble activities*, such as dance or theatre.[85]

The cultural programs brought border issues to the fore, which took two distinct directions—towards study circles and towards cultural activities outside the popular education realm. SÖ stipulated the border towards study circles as a question of the

81 E.g., approx. 30–35 per cent of all study circles in the 1960s: SOU 1972:66, 51.

82 http://www.studieforbunden.se/studieforbund/kultur/musik (accessed February 22, 2014).

83 *ABF och Kulturrådets förslag Ny kulturpolitik* (Stockholm: Arbetarnas Bildningsförbund, 1973), 5–6, 13–14; see also SÖ, opinion [no. I:20] on SOU 1972:66, page 9–10, in: Utbildningsdepartementets arkiv (huvudarkivet 1975–), konseljakt 1975-02-27 no. 3, vol. marked "del 1 p. 11.3" [Riksarkivet Arninge]. The development of Swedish cultural policy is analysed in My Klockar Linder, *Kulturpolitik: Formeringen av en modern kategori* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2014).

84 Prop. 1974:28, 315–17; SFS 1974:454, 3 §.

85 SOU 1979:85, 263; prop. 1980/81:127, 26–27, 33–40; SFS 1981:519.

"main target" of the activity in question. For example, in 1981, groups wishing to engage in the subject areas of choirs, ensembles, dance and theatre had to know that study circle subsidies could be obtained if the *main target* of the activity was to "on the grounds of study circle methods broaden the participants' knowledge and general orientation in the respective subject". On the other hand, if the activity "aims to prepare for public recitals or otherwise don't work according to the principles outlined above", the group had to apply for the cultural activities subsidies.[86] However, the borders could change; in the 1981 study circle reform, the government explicitly stated that some study circles in the aesthetical area should be completely transferred to cultural activities. One consequence of this change was the banning of study circles in *dance*, including folk and jazz dance, from July 1982 onwards. However, later in the 1980s, dance was once again allowed as a study circle subject area.[87]

Thus, in the late twentieth century Sweden, the study associations have functioned as an important actor in the cultural field as a whole. That situation has also created some conflicts between the popular education sphere and independent cultural actors, such as local theatre groups and the like. The main objection of the latter was that the study association bureaucracy intervened into the cultural field, getting its "own" state subsidy earmarked for cultural activities in popular education organisations. Moreover, the independent actors felt that state subsidies for local cultural activities should, to a lesser degree, be allocated to popular education institutions. One argument was that independent cultural groups were truly free and democratic, unlike those within study associations—which were somewhat regarded as semi-public corporations.[88]

The end of a system?

By the 1980s, the major popular education organisations—the study associations and the folk high schools—engaged in numerous activities outside of the border of the "ideal" popular education, the definition of which has been rather constant over time: largely informal learning activities for adults, without exams and grades.[89] Partly because of the explicit intensions in the state subsidy system, partly due to the inherent freedom of popular education institutions to engage in all kinds of activities, a sort of tension had risen between the narrower ideal popular education and the larger organisational popular education—consisting of all those activities popular education organisations actually engaged in.

This tension became apparent in the debates preceding the 1991 reform, when it was feared that the outcome would push popular education closer to the narrower

86 SÖ-FS 1981:138, 16.

87 Prop. 1980/81:127, 62; SÖ-FS 1982:173; SÖ-FS 1985:111 (allowed as exemption cases); 1986:151 (permitted after approval by and accounting to SÖ); SÖ-FS 1988:131 (only approval needed); SÖ-FS 1990:62 (no approval needed).

88 E.g., Svenska Teaterförbundet and Teatercentrum, letters 1974-02-12 and 1974-02-11 to Ministry of Education and Research (U dnr 6½/74), in: Utbildningsdepartementets arkiv (huvudarkivet), konseljakt 1974-03-08, A 1, vol. marked "Kap. 25 del 1" [Riksarkivet Marieberg]. See also joint spontaneous opinion from Danscentrum, Filmcentrum et al., June 1980, in: Utbildningsdepartementets arkiv (huvudarkivet 1975–), E1A, vol. 1435 {regeringsakt 1981-02-19 no. 13, 5th vol.} [Riksarkivet Arninge].

89 Gunnar Sundgren, *Folkbildningsforskning – en kunskapsöversikt: Om forskningsfältets historiska bakgrund, nuläge och framtid*, vol. 1 (Stockholm: Folkbildningsrådet/Mimer, 1998), 11–18.

ideal and non-formal aspects. Therefore, representatives of folk high schools and study associations expressed the view that their wide traditions of adult education should not be thrown away. A number of folk high school teachers protested in late 1990 against what they saw as a limitation of folk high schools to strictly "popular education" means in the folk high school official report of that year. They emphasised that folk high schools span over *both* "adult education" and "popular education":

> We want to fight for a folk high school that can develop its traditions from both adult education and popular education. The folk high school is the only option available that can in democratic forms provide study opportunities for people who have not previously been able or willing to study.[90]

In letters to school minister Göran Persson, ABF representatives expressed a similar view, stressing that the study associations had had and should continue to have a function within a wider adult education field *as well*. One of the ABF representatives claimed that the present policy, just as in the 1960s and 1970s when popular education had to stand back for municipal adult education, was a "state socialist" view that had no confidence in the voluntary movements. He was also of the view that the narrower idealist tradition within popular education now triumphed over the broader citizen education tradition that emphasised the values of "useful" education.[91]

The 1991 reform was initially viewed as a triumph of this narrower definition of popular education. It was ruled that activities in study circles and folk high schools must clearly differ from education in formal schools and higher education. However, already in 1992, that rule was abolished for the study associations, and for the folk high schools in 1998. This decision was partly rooted in discourses of "lifelong education", purporting that popular education must freely be one of the parts in a growing educational market, not least for the unemployed.[92] Thus, the tension between ideal popular education and organisational popular education, performing activities on or over the fluent borders to cultural activities, leisure activities and formal education, is still vivid.

Conclusion

This article has had a "deconstructive" purpose regarding the concept of popular education. I have argued against using it as an analytical concept—predefined by the researcher. Rather, I have made it the object of inquiry. As an analytical concept, *non-formal adult education*—meaning roughly the same as the *ideal* popular education I have discussed—would be much clearer. However, it should not be used for demarcating a certain *area* of activities. Instead, it could be viewed as an ideal type, which many study circles or folk high school activities would resemble (just as,

90 "Upprop för svensk folkhögskola" (1991-01-31), in: Utbildningsdepartementets arkiv (huvudarkivet 1975–), E1A, vol. 3380 {regeringsakt 1991-02-14 no. 22, 2nd vol.}, in the beginning of the file of U dnr 2468/90 [Riksarkivet Arninge].

91 Bosse Bergnéhr, letter 1990-10-17 to Göran Persson (U dnr 3142/90); Kent Jakobsson, letter 1990-10-30 to Göran Persson (U dnr 3362/90); both in: Utbildningsdepartementets arkiv (huvudarkivet 1975–), E1A, vol. 3381 {regeringsakt 1991-02-14 no. 22, 3rd vol.} [Riksarkivet Arninge].

92 Prop. 1991/92:157; KrU bet. 1991/92:31, SFS 1991:977, 5 §; SFS 1992:737, 5–6 §§; prop. 1997/98:115, 1–2, 27–29; SFS 1998:973, 6 §; Petersen (2006); Landström (2004), 22–23, 130–40.

for example, completely un-organised reading groups), while other ones would be considered being formal, or not for adults—or not even "education".

Swedish popular education in its *organised* meaning is a more historically shaped, empirically observable set of institutions—mainly study associations and folk high schools. To some extent, this also applied to libraries and other institutions that regard themselves or are regarded by others as belonging to popular education. For a long time, state funding has largely shaped both the selection of institutions and their internal organisation. That institutional structure has created a sort of logic on its own, so that large study associations perform and strive to develop those activities they have already engaged in, rather than limiting themselves to some abstract idea of "popular education" that would prohibit for example vocational training.

By highlighting the actual activities that organised popular education has engaged in, I have shown that the border zones between non-formal and formal education, or between education and (what is generally understood as) cultural activities, are interesting phenomena in themselves. Organised popular education has been an important agent in formal education, as well as in youth and cultural activities, and those aspects ought to be even more illuminated in future research.

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Official print (with abbreviations)

AK = *Andra kammaren* (second chamber of the Swedish parliament, existing until 1970).
ASÖ = *Aktuellt från Skolöverstyrelsen* (an SÖ publication, primarily with various regulations).
FK = *Första kammaren* (first chamber of the Swedish parliament, existing until 1970).
KrU bet. = *Kulturutskottets betänkande* (report from the parliamentary committee of culture, that processed some bills and motions in popular educational matters from 1971).
mot. = *motion* (parliamentary motion).
prop. = *proposition* (government bill).
rskr. = *riksdagens skrivelse* (confirming decisions in the Swedish parliament).
SFS = *Svensk Författningssamling* (laws and ordinances).
SOU = *Statens offentliga utredningar* (Swedish government official reports; the ones used are also specified under “Other references” below).
SU bet. = *Statsutskottets betänkande* (report from the parliamentary committee of the state, that processed most bills and motions in popular educational matters until 1970).
SÖ-FS = *Skolöverstyrelsens Författningssamling* (delegated legislation from SÖ).
UbU bet. = *Utbildningsutskottets betänkande* (report from the parliamentary committee of education, that processed most bills and motions in popular educational matters from 1971).

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The Economy of Scandinavian-American Exchange: Donations and Scholarships in the American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1912–1995

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Abstract
The importance of philanthropy for academic exchange cannot be overestimated. Especially in the first half of the twentieth century, scholarships for academic exchange originated from the private sector instead of the state. But what is the relationship between academic exchange and the donations which finance scholarships? How can specific donations and the restrictions placed on them change the flow of exchange? This article investigates donation and scholarship praxis within the American-Scandinavian Foundation (ASF) from 1912–1995, a philanthropic organisation devoted to academic exchange between Scandinavia and the United States. The period, 1912–1944, is characterised by various small donations and few scholarships to mostly American fellows. The second period, 1945–1995, represents an era of economic growth created from a surge in large, restricted donations invested in scholarship funds. This led to an increased number of scholarships to a more geographically diverse population.

Keywords
philanthropy, private foundations, American-Scandinavian exchange, scholarships

Introduction

The importance of philanthropy for academic exchange cannot be overestimated. Scholarships for study and research abroad during the first half of the twentieth century were first and foremost awarded by philanthropic organisations, rather than state authorities. Even with the growing influence of state organisations after the Second World War, philanthropy has continued to play an important role in exchange. However, their work is seldom investigated in detail. There is, for instance, a general lack of research into the impact of philanthropy on Swedish research although an estimated 8–10 per cent of the research funding at Swedish universities in 2001 came from foundations in Sweden or abroad.[1] Furthermore, though there is a lack of historical estimations, it is probable that the importance of philanthropy for higher education and research was even higher before the expansion of state financing. In

1 Hans Sjögren, "Svenska stiftelser," in *Sista fracken inga fickor har: Filantropi och ekonomisk tillväxt*, ed. Pontus Braunerhjelm and Göran Skogh (Stockholm: SNS Förlag, 2004), 35–36.

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this article we will focus on the funding of academic exchange, instead of the funding of research projects or infrastructure.

Philanthropic organisations are an interesting study object as they represent a different motivation for funding exchange than that of the state. Contrary to a state scholarship system – as described in the article on exchange funding of the Swedish Institute in this journal issue – funded money is not as flexible. Donations are normally restricted through the will or rules set up by the founder or donors, which are difficult, if not impossible, to change.[2] Many philanthropic organisations also have other limitations to their work. They might fund exchanges for only a certain level of student or researcher; a particular subject, such as economy or biomedicine; or only work with a limited geographical area. The latter is the case with the American-Scandinavian Foundation which is investigated in this article.

The flipside of these limits is that one organisation may have a relatively high level of importance as a funder within its area of specialisation.[3] Contrary to state scholarship systems, which are used as tools within public diplomacy for creation of goodwill or as a part of international development assistance, philanthropic organisations can be viewed as more stable in their missions. As shown in the other article on exchange in this special issue, there is historical variation in state-sponsored scholarships, as these are normally thought to work separately for the creation of goodwill, for knowledge transfer within development assistance, for the internationalisation of higher education and research, or for the establishment of international contacts important for trade and economic growth.[4] Although the use of donations or endowments to philanthropic organisations is restricted by donors or other regulations, there is often enough maneuverability within the board of trustees during times of change. However, contrary to a state-funded, normally tax-funded, program, scholarship funding through a private organisation without a perpetual endowment is more vulnerable to shifts in general economic development, as the economic stability of this type of organisation depends on donations.

The recognition of this fact inevitably directs our interest toward life inside philanthropic organisations, towards the donors and creators of these institutions and their legacy and towards the praxis of the boards of trustees as interpreters of this legacy. How do private donations to philanthropic organisations create scholarships and what impact do these have on the international flow of students and researchers? Is it possible to identify patterns in donation praxis and scholarship funding over time? What have shifts in the economic history of these donations meant for international mobility through a certain organisation? In the present article, the internal economy of the American-Scandinavian Foundation (ASF) is investigated in a long-term perspective. The main aim is to show how the available assets through

2 Waldemar A. Nielsen, *Inside American Philanthropy: The Dramas of Donorship* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 10.

3 In Sweden, the research foundations of the Swedish bank *Handelsbanken*, which funded a large part of economic research in Sweden, serve as an example as compared to the state-run Swedish Research Council or the *Riksbankens Jubileumsfond* for Humanities and Social Sciences; Lars Engwall, "Stiftelsernas fördelning av forskningsmedel," in *Femtio år av forskningsfinansiering: Jan Wallanders och Tom Hedelius stiftelse, Tore Browalds stiftelse, 1961–2011*, ed. Bo Damberg and Jonas Rehnberg, 46–51 (Stockholm: Informationsförlaget, 2011).

4 Åkerlund's article in this issue.

donations and endowments have changed from the establishment of the foundation's scholarship program in 1912 to 1995, and how these changes have affected the awarding of scholarships.

American-Scandinavian Foundation in context: The roles of large and small philanthropy

In order to grasp how the American-Scandinavian Foundation fits into the historical picture of United States philanthropy, it is important to shortly contextualise the role of both large and small philanthropic organisations in international higher education and research in the twentieth century.

The early twentieth century saw the rise of big philanthropy in the United States in the form of private foundations. The beginning of this rise was marked by the creation of the Carnegie Corporation of New York (1911) and the Rockefeller Foundation (1913), and later the Ford Foundation (1936). These so-called "Big 3" constituted some of the first large-scale, perpetual private foundations in the United States. Established on the premise of paying forward the extreme wealth gained by their respective donors, founders outfitted these foundations with large endowments as well as grand and often abstract goals.[5] For the Carnegie and Rockefeller foundations, these goals included promoting "the well-being of humanity" and "the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding" respectively, which were operationalised through various concrete endeavors.[6] An important part of these endeavors were contributions to higher education and research. Since many private foundations, especially the "Big 3," were general purpose, grant-making foundations, their primary way of contributing to the field of higher education and research was through the making of grants from their endowments to universities, research institutes, and other organisations for the creation of infrastructure and in smaller part for the granting of individual scholarships.[7]

Though, the "Big 3" were among only a few private foundations which granted a significant portion to higher education and research in the international arena.[8] In fact, American foundations created before 1950 are cited to spend 12.4 per cent of their annual budget on overseas giving.[9] The influence of these grants in Europe can be seen in the areas of medicine, natural sciences, social sciences, public health, among others.[10] In Sweden, the influence of Rockefeller grants on medical research

5 Nielsen (1996), 10–19.

6 Waldemar A. Nielsen, *The Big Foundations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), 35, 50; Merle Curti, *American Philanthropy Abroad* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1963): 175, 188–89.

7 Christian Helgesson, "Donationer i Sverige, filantropi i USA," in *Sista fracken inga fickor har: Filantropi och ekonomisk tillväxt*, ed. Pontus Braunerhjelm and Göran Skogh (Stockholm: SNS Förlag, 2004), 147.

8 Nielsen (1972), 274–76; Helgesson (2004), 153.

9 Peter Frumkin, "American Foundations and Overseas Funding: New Challenges in the Era of Globalization," in *Globalization, Philanthropy, and Civil Society: Toward a New Political Culture in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Soma Hewa and Darwin H. Stapleton (London: Springer Science, 2005): 101.

10 Giuliana Gemelli, ed. *American Foundations and Large-Scale Research: Construction and Transfer of Knowledge* (Bologna: CLUEB, 2001); John Krige and Helke Rausch, eds., *American Foundations and the Coproduction of World Order in the Twentieth Century* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012).

at the Karolinska Institute in Stockholm has also been documented.[11] In this way, private foundations were the forerunners to governmental entities in the United States and Europe, which largely focused their international investment on relief and humanitarian aid until after the Second World War.[12]

Parallel to the investment of large foundations in higher education and research were smaller philanthropic organisations, often national or regional in character, more limited in their means and their foci. Since many of these organisations could not rely on perpetual endowments to permanently fund operations, these smaller organisations worked on a more personal level to supplement their endowments by fundraising and utilising grants made from educational institutions, organisations, businesses, and government entities. As a part of operationalising their goals, large private foundations also made grants to smaller philanthropic organisations.[13] This is a tendency which continues to the present day, as larger foundations continue to use the mission of their founders and their perpetual funds to guide their diverse operations while smaller organisations engage more personally with their unique missions through attracting and utilising donations.

In essence, while large philanthropic foundations focus on the big picture of higher education and research abroad by investing in large-scale projects, infrastructure and other organisations, smaller organisations focus on the day-to-day operationalisation of their own donations and grants made to them. This article focuses on the ASF, one smaller organisation in the United States. Though literature on the ASF is generally confined to self-published overviews of their founding and activities, there is preliminary research which has cited the ASF as being an integral part of the history of United States philanthropy in the role of funding international exchange. What follows is a short overview of the organisation as well as research relating to the role of the ASF in Scandinavian and American academic exchange.

The mission of this New York-based organisation, established in 1911 by the wealthy Danish-American industrialist, Niels Poulson, was to build cultural bridges through educational exchanges between the United States and Scandinavia. In the first thirty years, this meant exchange between Denmark, Norway and Sweden, and the United States, and in later years exchanges were also extended to Finland and Iceland. This exchange, named the Fellowship Program, ran parallel to the ASF's other activities of publishing and translating literature, arranging cultural events and lecture tours, and running their own Bureau of Information. Additionally, the ASF opened the William Henry Schofield Memorial Library in 1929 to provide a place for students, teachers, and researchers to access literature on Scandinavia, and in 1950 they opened the ASF Music Center to encourage American musicians, conductors, and record manufacturers to engage with Scandinavian music and to bring Scandinavian composers and performing artists to the United States.[14]

What set this organisation apart in the early twentieth century was its uniquely

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11 Olof Ljungström, *Ämnessprängarna: Karolinska Institutet och Rockefeller Foundation 1930–1945* (Stockholm: Karolinska Institutet University Press, 2010).

12 Curti (1963), 175; Frumkin (2005), 99–105.

13 Nielsen (1972), 26–27; Helgesson (2004), 147.

14 Erik J. Friis, *The American-Scandinavian Foundation 1910–1960: A Brief History* (New York: The American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1961).

international focus. Merle Curti stresses that the ASF paved the way for the creation of later organisations focused on international academic exchanges including the Netherlands-America Foundation and the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation.[15] Preliminary research on the ASF by Dag Blanck also asserts that this organisation has played an important role in shaping the relations between Scandinavia and the United States in the early twentieth century, through the facilitation of cross-cultural contact and influence during academic exchanges. The ASF has provided a conduit for those with Scandinavian backgrounds and those interested in Scandinavian languages, culture, and history to participate in the organisation, whether it be through donating time or money, working as a trustee, or participating in academic exchange or the other activities of the ASF.[16] This Scandinavian cultural element, which remains a centerpiece of the organisation, has dictated not only the mission of the ASF but the donations to the organisation throughout its history.

Although there have been no long-term studies on the scholarship operations of the ASF in particular, a pilot study was conducted by Andreas Melldahl on the fellows of ASF's cooperating organisation in Sweden, the Sweden-America Foundation (*Sverige-Amerika stiftelsen*), from 1919–2006. In this report, Melldahl argues that the academic interests of fellows are often connected to economic interests of the nation as board members tend to favor fields deemed economically important within a specific historical context.[17] Melldahl does not directly discuss the donations and funding behind these cycles, but his results show that there is generally flexibility within the Sweden-America Foundation which allows it to recommend scholars and grant scholarships that respond to the perceived economic interests of the nation. What is missing in his report and what this article investigates are the economic frames and limits created by donations and endowments.

Sources and methods

The American-Scandinavian Foundation is an excellent study object for the economic development of a small philanthropic organisation focused on international academic exchange. Established in 1911, it has an unbroken history long enough to permit long-term investigations, but its limited size makes it possible to grasp its trajectory within the limited frame of an article. The time period covered in this article extends from 1912–1995, where 1912 is the first year of scholarship operations and 1995 is the last year for which detailed economic data is available.

Two main sources are used for this article, financial statements in the ASF Annual Reports from 1912–1995 and the ASF Directory of Fellows, 1912–1997. Additionally, a database of ASF scholarship holders compiled from the index card system located at ASF headquarters in New York and literature published by the organisation has been utilised to verify and complement information from the above sources. The ASF Annual Reports are located at Carolina Rediviva at Uppsala University and the

15 Curti (1963), 307.

16 Dag Blanck, "Scholars Across the Seas: The American-Scandinavian Foundation and the Sweden-America Foundation in the Transatlantic Exchange of Knowledge," *American Studies in Scandinavia* 40 no. 1–2 (2008), 112–14.

17 Andreas Melldahl, *Västerled tur och retur del 1: Utbildning och ekonomi: En ekonomiskhistorisk studie av Sverige-Amerika Stiftelsens stipendieverksamhet 1919–2006* (Uppsala: SEC Research Reports no. 44, 2008)

National Library of Sweden in Stockholm,[18] while the Directory of Fellows has been sourced from the ASF headquarters in New York.

Financial statements in the annual reports are used to trace assets, donations, grants and funds, and scholarship expenditures of the organisation. Fellowships and scholarship expenditures in 1912–1995 have been used to create Figure 1, while grants and funds established in 1945–1980 have been charted in Table 1. Figure 2 shows the total scholarship holders separated by country in 1912–1995.

As the annual reports from 1919, 1953 and 1967–1969 are missing, financial information from these years has been calculated based on yearly scholarship expenditures preceding and following the missing years. In the financial statements of 1936–1940, 1947–1952 and 1954–1962, scholarship expenditures are combined with grants or with trainee administration costs, so scholarship expenditures have instead been taken from the table of total scholarship expenditures from 1947–1952 recorded in the 1952 annual report; calculated manually for 1936–1940 and 1954–1959; while expenditures for 1960–1962 have been calculated using the same method as data for missing years. In order to remain consistent for all missing data in 1919, 1953, 1960–1962 and 1967–1969, expenditures for missing years are calculated by dividing the total scholarship expenditures by the number of fellows for three years prior to and after the missing year(s). This amount is then multiplied by the number of fellowships for each of the missing years.

In order to trace only the scholarships financed by the ASF, all funding not handled by the treasurer – i.e. any funds given directly to fellows, trainees, or honorary fellows via cooperating organisations, universities, or businesses – has not been included in the calculations of scholarship expenditures. The only exception to this rule is the support through project grants made by private foundations, as these were often woven into the operating budget of the ASF. Because of the length of the investigated time period, the financial statements have changed several times and contain varying levels of detail, which has made the task of determining the exact amount spent specifically on fellowships difficult. Therefore, it is possible that the scholarship expenditures for some years include administrative costs. For the years 1985–1995, administration costs were clearly included in the scholarship expenditures, so they have been removed by calculating the average percentage of administration costs from the years 1970–1984. The totals for scholarship expenditures for missing years as well as for years with included administration costs, grants, and trainee costs are therefore our own calculations and may constitute a slight over/under-representation of actual scholarship expenditures. Lastly, all scholarship expenditures from 1912–1995 have been adjusted to the price level of 2013 using the United States Consumer Price Index.[19]

Since what will be mapped in this article are the donations and funds given to the ASF as well as the money spent on scholarships, specifically fellowships, terminological clearance is required. There are various kinds of donations which were made to the American-Scandinavian Foundation. The most important distinction is between private donations used for singular or time-limited funding and large bequests or

18 Location of annual reports from specific years can be found in the References.

19 Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Consumer Price Index," United States Department of Labor, http://www.bls.gov/cpi/.

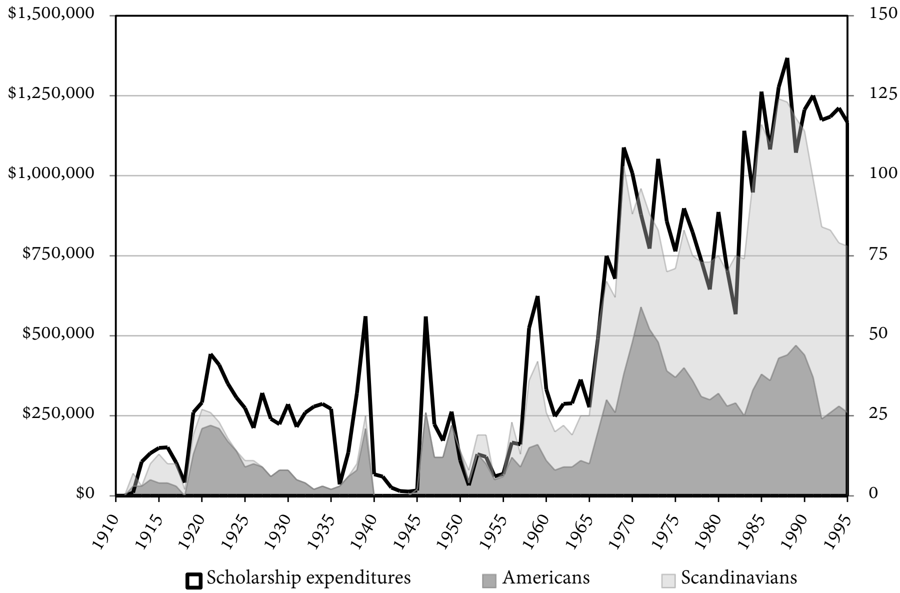
endowments used for the creation of perpetual funds. The first type of donation was a small private donation. Donations of this kind were generally given in the form of cash or check and were used immediately to fund specific fellows or within a pre-determined time frame. The second type of donation is a group donation or fundraiser donation made also in the form of cash or check. These were used to create time-limited programs or to create or add to existing funds. The third and fourth types are small and large private bequests or endowments. These were generally given on behalf of a death or in memoriam and were either used in the short-term or to create perpetual funds.

All four of these donation types carried restrictions based on the interest and will of the donor, whether it was for a particular person, within a certain time, or for a specific geographical or academic area. In the case of the ASF, the most common restriction was based on geographical origin or background of particular donors. In the case of donations or bequests for perpetual use, donors also placed specific restrictions on how bequests were to be utilised. Some donors also placed specific limits on the percentage of income which could be used for administration and other related costs, while other donors placed time-limits on use. It was then the task of the Board of Trustees to use the donations or funds available in a certain year to award merit-based fellowships, which met the restrictions placed upon them.

It should be noted that exchange as understood and carried out by the ASF was not based on reciprocity, as discussed in the article on the Swedish Institute in this issue. As such, ASF did not conduct one-to-one exchanges, or create formal bilateral programs – common through state organisations and universities. Instead, the numbers of scholars were determined by the funds available to the ASF in any given year. There were three main programs: for trainees, or those traveling for job training; fellows, or those traveling for study or research; and honorary fellows, or those traveling for teaching or research. Trainees and honorary fellows were generally financed through other organisations, universities or businesses, while the ASF provided contacts and administrated their travels in the United States. Fellows, on the other hand, needed to be vetted and approved by the ASF board of trustees, or the boards of cooperating organisations in Scandinavia, in order to receive scholarships from the ASF. Therefore, fellows are the focus of this article – as they are most closely related to the economic assets of the organisation.

Figure 1 is an overview of scholarship expenditures and fellowships for the period 1912–1995. This figure clearly shows that the available funds as well as the number of awarded scholarships have varied a great deal over the years. As can be seen by this figure, real increases in the level of fellowship expenditures and fellowships were not seen until the mid-1950s. From this point, there was a nearly steady increase in expenditures and fellowships into the early 1990s. Beginning in the 1950s, there was also a large increase in the numbers of fellows from the Scandinavian countries, shaped by changed donation patterns arising in the 1940s. Therefore, a chronological and a thematic division will be utilised in this article. The chronological division will span from 1912–1944 and 1945–1995. The period after the Second World War will be addressed in two ways: firstly, through the changing economic circumstances of the organisation and secondly, through the ways in which this funding affected the fellowship awards.

Figure 1: ASF scholarship expenditures and fellows 1912–1995



Sources: ASF Annual Reports 1912–95 and ASF Directory of Fellows 1912–97

1912–1944: Orientation in the international arena

The first thirty years of the ASF fellowship can be understood by the personal nature of donations. In these early years, there were two main sources of funding: interest income from the endowment of founder Niels Poulson and private donations for scholarships by private persons. From 1912–1928, much of the core scholarships were funded through the income of the Niels Poulson endowment, while additional scholarships were made possible through donations by private persons with personal ties to the organisation, originating primarily from the United States but also from Scandinavia.

The first part of this period, leading up to the First World War can be seen as a period of orientation for the ASF within the organisational environment of the United States and Scandinavia. In 1913, ASF had officially acquired all of the Niels Poulson endowment bequeathed to the organisation upon his death, which totaled approximately $500,000 of bonds and real estate formerly owned by Poulson's company, Hecla Iron Works. Interest income from the bonds and mortgages on real estate was estimated at $20,000 per year, which would be used for operating expenses, including administration, publishing, and educational exchange. The real estate, an estimated value of $100,000, was to be sold off to add to the principal of the endowment.[20]

These years were also utilised for creating contacts, establishing a solid board of trustees and attracting scholars. This also meant establishing advisory committees

20 American-Scandinavian Foundation 1913 Annual Report, December 31, 1917: 6–8. From herein all annual reports will be notated as ASF AR 19XX, page number.

in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden – initially appointed by the respective Foreign Ministers – to nominate candidates for scholarships to the United States.[21] Later, these committees were established as independent cooperating organisations in each of the Scandinavian countries: the Denmark-America Society in 1914, the Norway-America Foundation in 1919, and the Sweden-America Foundation in 1919. These organisations can be seen as complementary to the ASF; they sought their own donations and created their own scholarships, but also recommended Scandinavian fellows for ASF scholarships.[22] In addition, the ASF also cooperated with universities, which allowed for scholars to receive reduced tuition or grants directly from the universities even if they were not officially financed through the ASF.[23]

During the First World War, there was no real growth in fellowship operations due to the war. In 1919, however, this quickly changed through help from the business communities in Scandinavia and the United States. A group donation by more than 40 private individuals, including bankers, merchants, educators, and industrialists from both sides of the Atlantic, made the first time-limited exchange program possible. The "Five-year Forty-Fellowship exchange" program ran from 1920–25 between Sweden, Denmark, Norway and the United States. Twenty Scandinavians were officially financed through their respective cooperating organisations while twenty Americans were financed through the ASF. Every year for five years, twenty American, ten Swedish, five Danish and five Norwegian fellows were awarded scholarships of $1000 each for study or research abroad.[24] This division of labour between the ASF and its cooperating organs in Scandinavia was to a large extent upheld during the period until the Second World War. This meant that the funds raised by the ASF were primarily used for the financing American scholars, 79 per cent of ASF fellows in this period originating from the United States. [25]

Before the Second World War, program directives like the one described above were rare, and private donations in the form of scholarships were more popular. These scholarships often came directly from ASF trustees to support specific persons, which made these donations both more flexible and more restricted. For example, in 1920 a special fellowship of $1000 was awarded to American poet Robert Hillyer for travel to Denmark. This fellowship was made possible through the donation of funds by ASF trustee Henry Goddard Leach.[26] It was also common for individuals to sponsor specific scholarships for a certain academic subject or geographic area; in the mid-1920s, for instance, there were specific scholarships donated by residents in Gothenburg and Stockholm for Swedish students studying in the United States. These scholarships were administrated by cooperating organisations in Scandinavia, in this case the Sweden-America Foundation in Stockholm, Sweden. [27]

As the ASF attempted to grow, it was increasingly constrained by its small opera-

21 Friis (1961), 29.

22 Blanck (2008), 111–12.

23 ASF AR 1920, 2–3.

24 ASF AR 1920, 20–21; 1923, 3; Friis (1961), 34.

25 Calculated from the 295 fellowships (234 American, 61 Scandinavian) awarded in 1912–44 as listed in the American-Scandinavian Foundation, *Directory of Fellows 1912–1997* (New York: American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1998).

26 ASF AR 1920, 5.

27 ASF AR 1926, 26.

ting budget which could not exceed the interest income of the Poulson endowment. Therefore, starting in 1915, the organisation called for supporters to become Life Associates of the organisation at the one-time cost of $200. The ASF had previously used annual dues, or associates dues, to support publications, but they wanted to expand this call so that life associate money could be added to the endowment and therefore to the interest income. In return, Life Associates would receive all publications printed under the auspices of the ASF. By 1923, this call was expanded to include the levels of Patron ($1000), Donor ($5,000), and Benefactor ($25,000). By 1926, there were 65 Life Associates, consisting mostly of Scandinavian-Americans citizens with Scandinavian roots. Several would later bequest large sums to the organisation, including John G. Bergquist, Winnifred Thord-Gray and Frederick Schaefer.[28]

In 1926, Hecla Iron Works fell into financial difficulty and could no longer make payments to the principal of the bonds given to the ASF through bequest in 1913. Although these bonds were set to mature in 1924, ASF agreed to continue holding the bonds for an additional five years. But in June 1926, when Hecla Iron Works could no longer make payments, a two-year process of selling the assets of the company began, so the ASF could finally be in full control of their endowment. Because of the length of this process, and the additional costs associated with the sale and taxation of this property, ASF was deprived of interest income for two years.

Consequently, exchange in 1926 and 1927 was supported mainly through small private donations as well as grants from private foundations. Grants from the Carnegie Corporation and the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial marked the first organised cooperation with large private foundations. By 1928, the majority of Hecla Iron Works property had been sold, and the ASF could again rely on pre-determined holdings in addition to interest income and mortgages to fund operations.[29] But this victory was short-lived. As the Great Depression swept through the United States, the newly-freed holdings of the ASF depreciated, leaving less income to fund operations, and especially fellowships in the 1930s. In 1929, the ASF held over $540,000 in assets; by the end of 1937, they held approximately $370,000 in assets.[30] As a consequence, during the 1930s a call for supporters to endow funds for fellowships was repeated in every annual report.[31]

This call was finally met in 1939 in memoriam of John G. Bergquist, former vice president and trustee of the organisation. Bergquist's wife, Mrs. Grace Cummings Bergquist, wrote a $25,000 check to the organisation on behalf of her late husband. At the time, this was the largest donation since the original contribution of Niels Poulson. According to Grace Cummings-Bergquist, the bequest would be designated "to establish a perpetual Scholarship Endowment whereby an American student appointed by the ASF may carry on his or her advanced studies in Chemistry in Sweden."[32] In 1944, the second donation designated for endowment was made. This $25,000 was given by Hans Christian Sonne, treasurer of the ASF and was to be used

28 ASF AR 1915, 12; 1926, 14–15.

29 ASF AR 1927, 13–15; 1928, 3–5.

30 ASF AR 1929, 14–15; 1937, 14–15.

31 ASF AR 1929, 10.

32 ASF AR 1938, 7.

to send American fellows to Denmark and Norway.[33] These endowments would signal the beginning of contributions restricted for capital funds flowing through the organisation, which utilised investment income to fund scholarships.

1945–1995: Growth in the system

After the Second World War, the American-Scandinavian Foundation achieved economic stability and embarked on a road of constant expansion. The number of funds consistently grew in 1945–1995 through group donations and fundraising, private bequests, and organisational grants. This made it possible to award more scholarships on a regular basis, which generated a steady increase in fellows. Moreover, the restrictions attached to funds by the donors also meant a larger variety in origin of the fellows as well as their areas of study or research. In order to address both of these phenomena, the first section will trace the chronology of funding while the second section will discuss the composition of fellows.

A steady flow of donations

The path to economic stability and growth which began in 1939 continued in 1945 when the first post-WWII donation was made by the American Friends of Norway, a New York-based organisation working for Norwegian interests. Their $50,000 donation was to become the King Haakon's Birthday Fund, designated for Norwegian students to study in the United States.[34] In the following 10 years, no additional donations of this magnitude were received, but time-limited grants maintained pre-WWII levels of fellowships, which included the Gustav V Fellowships from the Swedish government.

The Gustav V fellowships resulted from an unanticipated surplus of approximately $36,000 donated by the Swedish state to the Swedish Embassy in Washington DC after the Second World War. The surplus was created from the so-called coffee fund, organised by the Swedish consulate in New York for the transportation of private cargo packages, most commonly coffee, from Americans to relatives and friends in Sweden during the war. The extra funds were able to generate a total of 24 fellowships of $1,500–$2,000 for American fellows with a working knowledge of Swedish to study literature, history, art, government, social sciences, and economics in Sweden.[35]

Moreover, in 1946 ASF began more active fundraising. The organisation hoped to fundraise one million dollars in order to wipe out war deficits and add to their endowment fund.[36] This fundraising led to several new types of donations to the ASF, the majority of which were restricted to educational exchange. As there were many such funds, only a few will be discussed in detail. Additionally the donation types will be grouped thematically: firstly, group donations and fundraised donations; secondly, large single donations; thirdly, organisational grants; and fourthly, private bequests.

33 ASF 1944, 4–5.

34 ASF AR 1945, 6; Friis (1961), 61–62.

35 ASF AR 1944, 5–6; 1945, 6; 1947, 8–9; Friis (1961), 69. See also the correspondence from 1946 and 1947 between the Swedish Consulate in New York, the Swedish embassy in Washington, the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the Sweden-America Foundation in E1:35, Sweden-America Foundation, Riksarkivet [National Archive of Sweden, Stockholm].

36 ASF AR 1946, 8.

Table 1. Funds and grants of $50,000 or more for educational exchange, 1945–1980

Year	Fund name (Donor origin)	Type	Amt ($)	Stipulation
1945	King Haakon B-day (U)	G	50k	Norwegians studying in U.S.
1955	Haakon Styri (U)	B	160k	Engineering between Norway and U.S.
1955	Henrik Kauffman (C)	G,F	150k	Between Denmark and U.S.
1956	Princess Märtha (C)	G,F	80k**	Between Norway and U.S.
1959	Finnish Leaders (U)	OT	140k	Finnish leaders to U.S.
1960	Bernadotte (C)	F	50k**	Between Sweden and U.S.
1962	Alice and Corrin Strong (U)	G	50k	Arts between Norway and U.S.
1964	Thord-Gray (U)	B	2.6m	Between Sweden and U.S.
1965	Thor Thors (C)	G,F,B,OT	100k*	Between Iceland and U.S.
1967	Finnish Fund (C)	F	60k**	Between Finland and U.S.
1967	Martha and Jack K. McFall (U)	B	70k*	Between Finland and U.S.
1968	George C. Marshall (S)	OT	1m	Americans studying in Denmark
1969	Thanks to Scandinavia (C)	OT	75k*	Scandinavians to U.S.
1972	Helen Lee and Emil Lassen (C)	O	175k***	Between Denmark and U.S.
1973	King Olav V 70th Birthday (U)	F	200k**	Between Norway and U.S.
1975	Icelandic Leaders (U)	OT	200k	Icelandic leaders to U.S.
1977	Mathilde Aas (U)	B	440k	Norwegians studying in U.S.
1980	Andrew and Norman Wigeland (U)	B	2.5m	Norwegians studying in U.S.
1980	Schaefer (S)	B	100k	Unrestricted educational exchange

Sources: ASF Annual Reports 1944–95, ASF "A Centennial Chronicle 1911–2011." Part 1–3.
Legend for donor origin: U=United States, S=Scandinavia, C=Combination of American and Scandinavian
Legend for type: B=Bequest upon death or in memoriam, F=Fundraised, G=Group donation, O=Donation from organisation, OT=Time-limited grant from organisation, P=Single donation from private person(s).
*Amount is approximated due to missing annual reports or incomplete information.
**Amount of fund after the initial fundraising period.
*** As of 1974

Table 1 above shows funds created from donations of $50,000 or more in 1945–1980. This table ends in 1980 as the ASF reformatted their annual reports after this time period, and there is less consistent information regarding the amounts, sources, and restrictions of donations. The selection shows that donations of $50,000 or more were generally given to the ASF by a combination of Scandinavian and American sources. While donations received before 1945 followed pre-war logic and were restricted for use by American fellows, donations after 1945 were progressively oriented toward Scandinavians traveling to the United States or for equal exchange between a particular Scandinavian country and the United States. Less common were restrictions based on academic subject or educational level, though there were two grants particularly devoted to funding Finnish and Icelandic leaders, a special group of fellows traveling to the United States to explore the industrial and business communities.

The first donations which boomed in this period are group donations and fund-raised donations. There were a total of 6 such funds created in 1945–1973 beginning with King Haakon Birthday Fund. Ten years later, large group donations resulted in the creation of both the Henrik Kauffman Fund and the Crown Princess Märtha Friendship Fund. These donations were the first of many to be donated by a combination of Scandinavian and American sources, in this case Danes and Americans and Norwegians and Americans respectively. While the Kauffman Fund was made in honor of the then Danish Ambassador to the United States, Henrik Kauffman, the second fund was collected in memory of Crown Princess Märtha of Norway.[37] Though these were considered group donations, they were left open for further donations which could be added to the principal, and therefore are closely related to fundraiser donations, the main difference being that these funds were initiated through outside sources instead of the ASF.

The period of strategic fundraising began in 1960 with the commemoration of the Bernadotte Fund. This was the first time in which the ASF initiated a campaign for fund development with a particular geographic focus, in this case for exchange between Sweden and the United States. The Bernadotte Fund was later followed by the Thor Thors Fund for two-way Icelandic exchange in 1965 and the Finnish Fund for two-way Finnish exchange in 1967.[38] In keeping with a renewed focus on fundraising, the ASF also created the Corporate Giving Program in 1960 with the same premise as the Life Associates program from the 1920s. Though, instead of targeting private persons, this campaign targeted American businesses. There were three levels: Corporate donor ($1,000 or more), Corporate Sustainer ($500–$999), and Corporate Contributor ($100–$499).[39] This proved to be a significant funding scheme for the organisation, generating $20,000 to $80,000 per year for unrestricted purposes into the 1990s.[40] These contributions were used for administrative and other costs, so that the income interest from capital funds could be used primarily for creating scholarships.

The second donation type of single, large donations from private persons led to two of the most restricted donations in 1959. Two $20,000 trust funds were donated by New York resident, Haakon Björnström Steffanson, the income to be used for Swedish graduate students to study in the United States, minus 5 per cent for administrative purposes. Candidates for these scholarships were to be nominated respectively by the Rector of Uppsala University and by the Sweden-America Foundation.[41] In addition to these rather large donations, there were several private persons who donated smaller amounts, between $5,000 and $15,000, for various purposes. Unlike the Björnström Steffanson donations, however, they were not restricted to using only interest income, so they were generally utilised in the short-term instead of establishing permanent funds. This logic was a remnant of the pre-WWII period and

37 ASF AR 1955, 5; Friis (1961), 79, 81.

38 ASF AR 1965, 6; 1970, 7.

39 ASF AR 1960, 5.

40 "A Centennial Chronicle 1911–2011," Part 2. Special Issue of *Scandinavian Review*, Summer 2011, 50–51.

41 Friis (1961), 89.

still remains as a small yet significant part of funding for academic exchange within the organisation.

Thirdly, in the late 1950s to mid-1970s, grants to the ASF from other organisations became increasingly common. These grants were generally given to the ASF for administration, to be used for a brief period. In 1959–1975, there were six such organisational grants, all time-limited in some fashion. The first of which was a large grant from the Ford Foundation in 1956 for Finnish leaders, followed later by a grant from the Independence Foundation in 1975 for Icelandic leaders.[42] The only grant given from a state-run organisation was the George C. Marshall Memorial Fund established in 1968 through funds raised in Denmark, which will be discussed more in the next section.[43]

In 1970, the most unique of these organisational grants was given by the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Foundation, the original $50,000 to be divided into three parts. $25,000 was to be used within two years to bring four Danish Foreign Service officers studying at the graduate level to the United States. The grant even suggested that these fellows could be placed at the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton University. In addition, $20,000 would be used to create the Helen Lee and Emil Lassen Fellowship Fund, the income of which would underwrite fellowships between Denmark and the United States. It was also hoped by the Doherty Foundation that future donations could be made to this fund. The remaining $5,000 was stipulated for administrative expenses. By 1974, through additional contributions by the Doherty Foundation and private persons, the Lassen Fund had grown to $175,000.[44]

The final category of donations is perhaps the largest and most important for the economic growth of the organisation. Private bequests in the form of estates, offered the largest sums of capital from which the ASF could utilise interest income. The first major bequest began with the creation of Haakon Styri Fund in 1955, made upon the death of Haakon Styri, an American engineer and former ASF fellow.[45] Five years later ASF received word that they would be the beneficiary of the Winnifred Thord-Gray estate.[46] The bequest would be made concrete in 1964, upon the death of Winnifred Thord-Gray and was the largest bequest received by the ASF up to that point, rivaled only by the bequest of the Wigeland estate in 1980. The bequests amounted to approximately 2.6 million dollars each in securities and cash.[47] Because of the enormity of the Thord-Gray bequest, a personal note is written in the annual report in 1960, thanking Winnifred Thord-Gray and her husband for their participation as long-time Life Associates of the foundation as well as their interest in international education and Swedish-American relations.[48]

In the midst of these increasingly varied donations, a significant tax code revision for American philanthropic organisations was passed into law in 1969, and the ASF

42 "A Centennial Chronicle 1911–2011," Part 2, 50.

43 ASF AR 1970, 23.

44 ASF AR 1970, 5; 1982, 13.

45 ASF AR 1955, 6–7.

46 Friis (1961), 91.

47 ASF AR 1964, 4–5; 1980, 31.

48 ASF AR 1960, 7.

was required to re-register with Treasury Department to receive a tax ruling. On March 18, 1969, the ASF received news from the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) that it would be classified as a non-profit organisation under the section 501(c)(3) of the tax code and sub-classified as a "publicly supported institution," commonly referred to as a public charity. After this ruling, the ASF officially separated from its previous association as a private foundation. The organisation welcomed this news, as this new tax ruling offered up to a 50 per cent tax deduction for donors, while private foundations could only offer up to a 30 per cent deduction.[49]

As this section proves, the period of 1945–1995 was a period of substantial change for the organisation. Not only was the official classification of the ASF altered, but the size and character of donations changed significantly. While the pre-WWII period was marked by small donations for immediate use, this period saw the rise of large donations stipulated for perpetual investment. These led to an increase in the economic assets of the organisation. In 1941 the assets were $390,000; by 1995 these assets had ballooned to 21 million dollars.[50] Even when adjusted for inflation, this represents a 430 percent increase in total assets from 1941 to 1995. Additionally, there seem to be three characteristics to these donations which stand out. Donations were often given in memoriam or in response to a significant event in Scandinavian history and culture; bequeathed by those who had long-standing personal ties to the organisation; or given as grants through other organisations within the framework of shared goals and aims. Furthermore, these ties, whether personal, commemorative, or professional, dictated the purpose of the funds. In the case of the ASF, these restrictions were based on geography or time and, more seldom, based on academic subject or level.

The changing flow of fellows

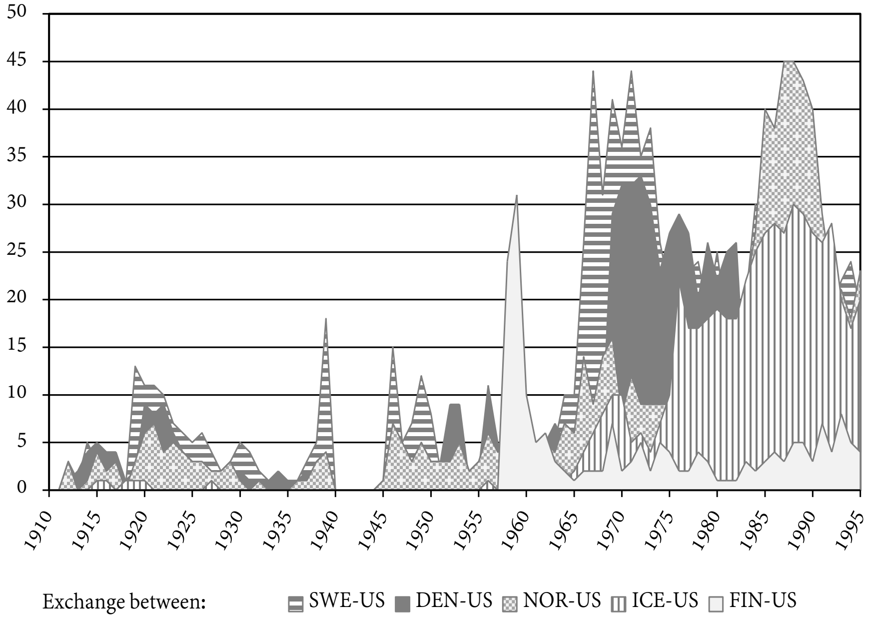
This altered funding pattern and increase in assets is also clearly visible in the compositional change of fellowship holders from before and after 1945. In the period of 1912–1944, scholarship funding focused on American fellows, while in 1945–1995, exchange was extended to an increasing number of Scandinavian fellows. While 79 per cent of fellows travelled from the United States before the Second World War, from 1945 American fellows made up only 44 per cent of the population.[51] This section will discuss how key donations accounted for much of the growth and compositional change with scholarship holders in 1945–1995. In order to understand the successive periods of change, these donations will be discussed in chronological order.

49 ASF AR 1970, 4.

50 ASF AR 1941, 12; 1995, 30.

51 Calculated from the 295 fellowships (234 American, 61 Scandinavian) awarded in 1912–1954 and the 3002 fellowships (1310 American, 1692 Scandinavian) in 1945–1995 as listed in the American-Scandinavian Foundation, *Directory of Fellows 1912–1997* (New York: American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1998).

Figure 2. Scandinavian and American fellows by exchange country, 1912–1995



Sources: ASF Annual Reports 1912–95 and ASF Directory of Fellows 1912–97

As can be seen in Figure 2 above, there are five major peaks after the Second World War which strongly relate to specific exchange countries: the light gray Finland-US peak in 1958–1961; the horizontally striped Sweden-US peak from in 1967–1973; the dark gray Denmark-US peak in 1969–1982; the vertically striped Iceland-US block in 1973–1995; and the dotted Norway-US peak in 1982–1990. While Figure 1 showed the overall increase of Scandinavian scholars, this figure shows all fellows traveling between the United States and the particular Scandinavian countries, as most funds are stipulated for equal exchange between countries. When fellowships between each Scandinavian country and the United States are graphed at the same level, it is easier to see which country dominated in a certain era.

The change of fellow composition begins with the light gray peak of Finnish fellows in 1958–1961. This peak followed a significant event for the ASF, when the Finland-America Society became the fifth cooperating organisation in 1956. The event was quickly commemorated by the donation of $140,000 by the Ford Foundation to begin an exchange program with Finland. The grant covered four years, 1957–1960, and stipulated that a total of 50 Finnish leaders in the fields of communications, creative and performing arts, and the legal and clerical professions be financed. Each leader was financed for a 60-day trip to the United States to meet American colleagues, make contacts, and "receive new impulses from American life and culture."[52] Though originally intended to support 50 Finnish leaders, the program eventually financed 74 leaders from 1958–1963.

52 Friis (1961), 82.

The second peak in 1967–1973 for Swedish-American exchange resulted from the creation of the Thord-Gray Memorial Fund. The sheer size of the 2.6 million dollar Thord-Gray bequest, received in 1964, was acknowledged by the ASF as "represent[ing] an opportunity of unprecedented proportions and point[ing] to a future pregnant with potential in helping to improve the quality of educational exchange and the level of understanding between Sweden and the United States."[53] The first exchange was conducted in 1966, and for the next seven years, there was a strong domination in exchange between Sweden and the United States. From 1966–1995, this fund supported approximately 630 fellows, with 48 per cent of these fellows traveling from Sweden. In addition to Thord-Gray, there were several other funds which contributed to the height of this peak, including the John G. Bergquist Fund and the Bernadotte Fund which in later years provided less income, reducing the number of overall scholarships. Thord-Gray, on the other hand, supported an average of 22 fellows per year in 1967–1995.

The third peak in this time period was triggered by George C. Marshall Memorial Fund. This fund was established on the twentieth anniversary of the Marshall Plan by the George Marshall Board in Denmark and supported American fellows traveling to Denmark. Though originally intended for only five years, this fund was extended for an extra 10 years.[54] In 1969–1982, this fund supported 282 American fellows to Denmark, sending an average of 20 fellows per year. At the end of the program, this grant had underwritten nearly one million dollars in fellowships for Americans to Denmark.[55] In the period of 1969–1982, 94 per cent of American fellows to Denmark were financed by the Marshall grant, as well as 55 per cent of all American fellows. An increase in American scholars during this period can also be seen in Figure 1.

The fourth peak, or rather block, represents fellowships for travel between Iceland and the United States. This is the longest block of scholars represented in the graph, extending from 1973–1995, though it is likely that this dominance continued for later years as well. The block consists primarily of fellows financed by the Thor Thors Fund. This fund is one of the most complex funds held by the ASF, and is made up of two parts. The original $25,000 donation was given by the Rockefeller Brothers in 1967, but as it was considered a grant, it needed to be used within five years. This can be seen in the rise of Icelandic fellows from 1965–1970. The second part of the fund used large donations for investment, $50,000 worth of the fund was donated through fundraising and another $50,000 was donated to the ASF directly by Iceland's president in 1967. Much of the donation from the Icelandic president consisted of contributions from Icelandic industries and the government which had benefited from Marshall Plan aid.[56] From the original $100,000, more funds were constantly raised, so by 1985 this fund amounted to nearly $370,000.[57] This long-term trend of exchange between Iceland and the US led to an impressive 18 per cent of the total post-WWII population. Though, despite the fact that the Thor Thors fund was stipulated for two-way exchange, only 2 per cent of this population was American.

53 ASF AR 1964, 5; ASF AR 1966, 11.

54 ASF AR 1970, 23.

55 "A Centennial Chronicle 1911–2011," Part 3, 33.

56 "A Centennial Chronicle 1911–2011," Part 2, 47.

57 ASF AR 1985, 32.

The fifth and final peak consists of Norwegian fellows throughout the 1980s. This peak was triggered by the bequest of the Wigeland estate in 1980, which became the Andrew E and G. Norman Wigeland Memorial Fund. From 1980–1995, this fund provided scholarships for over 300 Norwegian fellows. At its peak in 1985–1990, the interest income allowed for the funding of 30 fellows per year. 88 per cent of all fellows traveling from Norway to the United States after 1980 were financed by this fund. In addition, the Wigeland fund was established within a few years of the Mathilde Aas fund, also designated for Norwegian fellows, which only added height to this peak. These two restricted funds also allowed for the ASF to use funds donated for exchange between Norway and the US on scholarships for American fellows. So despite the size of the Wigeland and Mathilde Aas funds, this did not create a large disparity in the two-way exchange between Norway and the US. In fact, 40 per cent of the Norway-US fellows consisted of Americans after 1980.

As can be evidenced from the examples, there are two major elements which cause peaks for fellows from certain countries within the ASF: the size of a donation and the type of restriction. In the case of the peaks discussed above, large funds restricted by geography or by time tend to cause the biggest compositional shifts. What is also interesting is that there was a much more equal distribution of fellows in the post-WWII years, with the exception of Finland and Iceland. The majority of scholarships continued to be dominated by the three countries which established cooperating organisations in the 1910s: 22 per cent of scholars traveled between Denmark and the US, 23 per cent between Norway and the US, and 31 per cent between Sweden and the US. While Finland-US exchange continued to comprise only 6 per cent of the population, Iceland-US exchange constituted 18 per cent of the population.

Conclusions

The financial history of the American-Scandinavian Foundation analyzed in this article is clearly divided into two eras, with the Second World War as the central watershed. The first period of 1912–1944, began with the ASF orienting itself within the organisational environment in the United States while striving to make contacts with Americans with personal ties to Scandinavia as well as reaching out and establishing cooperating organisations in Scandinavia. The ASF was able to maintain a low, but nearly constant level of scholars before the Second World War, 79 per cent of which were American. These scholars were mainly financed through direct donations from individuals with close personal ties to Scandinavia and the organisation. In some cases, such as the poet Hillyer mentioned in this article, the ASF seems to have served as a mediator between Hillyer and ASF trustee, Henry Goddard Leach. In times of disruption, such as the late 1920s and 1930s, the ASF also received financial support from large private foundations such as the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation in combination with private contributions. Compared to the post-WWII era, however, the numbers of fellowships remained low.

The period 1945–1995 marked a changed logic in both organisational economy and scholarship financing. From the first bequest of $50,000 in 1945, large donations stipulated for educational exchange steadily flowed into the organisation. An important difference from the previous period was the increasing number of large bequests and donations used to form perpetual funds. These funds financially stabilised the ASF, which made long-term planning possible. The surplus of such funds also allowed the organisation to finance larger numbers of scholars. While only 302 fellows traveled before 1945, 3002 fellows, or 91 per cent of the population investigated in this article, traveled in 1945–1995.

Another important shift from the pre-WWII era to the post-WWII era is the larger variety in the geographic origin of donations. Before 1945, the donors were almost exclusively from the United States, but during the post-WWII period a number of donations were made from mixed or purely Scandinavian sources. Additionally, the organisation widened its scope to include Iceland in 1940 and Finland in 1956. The group of fellows in the post-WWII period was thus not only substantially larger, but there was much more variety in both the origins and destinations of the scholars. While the majority of fellows before the Second World War were American, the post-WWII period saw a rise in fellows from all parts of Scandinavia. The cooperating organisations in Scandinavia continued to play an important role in recommending and administrating ASF-financed Scandinavian fellows in this period, which maintained the international cooperation fostered in the pre-WWII period.

The most notable block of increased interchange was due to the Thor Thors fund for exchange between Iceland and the United States, which funded large amounts of Icelandic fellows for study in the United States from 1965. As shown in the last part of this article there is an obvious relationship between the large donations made to the ASF and the geographic area of exchange at a certain point in history. This was exemplified with the large donations made for Sweden-US exchange and for Norwegians to the US, both funded from large bequests of over 2.5 million dollars. It was also shown through the short bursts of scholarships created by organisational grants from the Ford Foundation for Finland and for Americans to Denmark from the Danish government.

Although the ASF shows a rising number of scholarship holders, the composition of this group regarding origin has not been constant. Instead, the present study shows that the geographical origin has fluctuated as a direct result of donations made to the organisation. On a more general level, this means that some of the fluctuations and long-term changes in international exchange could be explained through examining how it is financed. In relation to previous research, in particular Melldahl's report on the Sweden-America Foundation, this article provides fundamental insight into the financial basis of ASF exchange activities in particular and of American-Scandinavian exchange in general, which has not previously been investigated. This article shows that although the donations to the ASF were restricted, they were primarily restricted by country rather than academic field. Therefore, funding generally only dictated the amount of scholarships for a given country, not the academic composition of scholarship holders. This means that the available funding through donations and the rules attached to these donations were additional factors which should be considered when explaining the number, origin and in some cases academic fields of scholarship holders as presented by Melldahl.

This small investigation does, however, need further contextualisation in at least two regards. Firstly, further investigations should be conducted regarding the internal economic life of philanthropic organisations working in international exchange as well as regarding the relationship between donations and organisational operations in general. How is the work of other philanthropic organisations affected by funding obtained through donors and beneficiaries? Secondly, the relative size of

Scandinavian-American exchange through the ASF should be investigated. Has the organisation historically been a large actor in this arena? Does it represent a microcosm of a much larger Scandinavian-American organisational network for international exchange? Despite the need for further clarification, the present article does show that educational exchange financed by the ASF has grown and diversified from 1912 to 1995, and much of this growth and diversification can be explained by the character of the donations made to the organisation.

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For Goodwill, Aid and Economic Growth: The Funding of Academic Exchange Through the Swedish Institute, 1945–2010

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Abstract
The article investigates the financial basis of state-sponsored international academic exchange through the Swedish Institute (SI). Founded in 1945 the SI is the main institution for Swedish public diplomacy and is as such part of modern foreign policy and Swedish soft power. This article maps the changing sources of funding as well as the sums spent on academic exchange from 1945–2010. It also discusses the various forms of exchange programs and gives an overview of the ideas behind and arguments for such programs. The overall picture is that state-sponsored exchange after 1945 has expanded. Not only has more and more money been spent on exchange, which led to an increase in the number of persons benefitted, but there has also been a diversification in exchange schemes towards parallel programs, each designed to fulfill a certain task. Though they fund different parts of the SI exchange scheme, the main sources of funding, however, have remained the same: the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, various development assistance agencies and programs as well as the Ministry for Education.

Keywords
public diplomacy, internationalisation, exchange financing, scholarships, official development assistance

Introduction

How do money and financial matters affect educational and scholarly exchange? Since money is a key pre-requisite for travel in general as well as for studies and scholarly work, this is a fundamental question. The exact relationship between financiers and recipients, between funding bodies and selected scholars has however not yet attracted much attention. There are several reasons for this. One is that exchange is situated at the intersection of different research fields, namely between research on internalisation of education, international philanthropy and public diplomacy. Especially the latter has often been concerned more with the policies and strategies behind various state-sponsored exchange programs than with the financial basis of such programs and their effects on the flows of individuals over the globe.[1] On the

1 Examples of such policy oriented studies are Liping Bu, "Educational Exchange and Cultural Diplomacy in the Cold War," *Journal of American Studies* 33, no. 3 (1999); Christopher Medalis, "The Strength of Soft Power: American Cultural Diplomacy and the Fulbright Program during the 1989–1991 Transition Period in Hungary," *AUDEM: The International Journal of Higher Education and Democracy* 3 (2012) or Alessandra Bitumi, "Building Bridges across the Atlantic: the European

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other hand, recent research into the internationalisation of higher education often lacks a historical perspective, and not least important, the tools to work with historical sources, which are necessary to understand the development and long term impact of exchange programs.[2]

There are various challenges when researching the field of scholarly exchange. One challenge is the sheer number of funding bodies – that is foundations, professional associations and various forms of state-funded initiatives. Each funding body has different aims, rules and funding practices so investigating the various forms of financing exchange without concentrating on one organisation, or at least one type of organisation, is difficult. Another challenge is the necessity to research relatively long periods of time in order to identify continuities and changes. The impact of changing funding practices is only visible when looking at the development over several decades or more. Before it will be even possible to make conclusions about this field as a whole, various case studies into different organisations will be necessary. This article presents one such case study of the Swedish state-funded scholarships for foreigners between 1938 and 2010. It is based on the assumption that in order to understand the relationship between policy and its outcome – the international movement of scholars – it is necessary to explain the complex relationship between policy, the organisational makeup of the institution responsible for exchange, the origin and uses of state funding and the practice of scholarship programs. In the end such organisational matters determine not only how many foreign academics are allowed to enter the country through various programs, but also to some extent their origin and field of study. The long-term perspective makes it possible to see changes over time in funding policy, scholarship types and groups of scholars targeted by different programs through the years.

In short, this article is concerned with the following questions: Why is scholarly exchange being funded by the state at any given time? How is this visible in the availability of certain forms of financing throughout history? This correlates with the question: What is being financed? If exchange and the money invested in it are subject to politically motivated changes it is likely the forms of exchange are as well. This article is an explorative overview, which contains no in depth studies of decision processes or political debates, but instead sets out to map the long development lines of Swedish exchange funding from before the Second World War until the present.

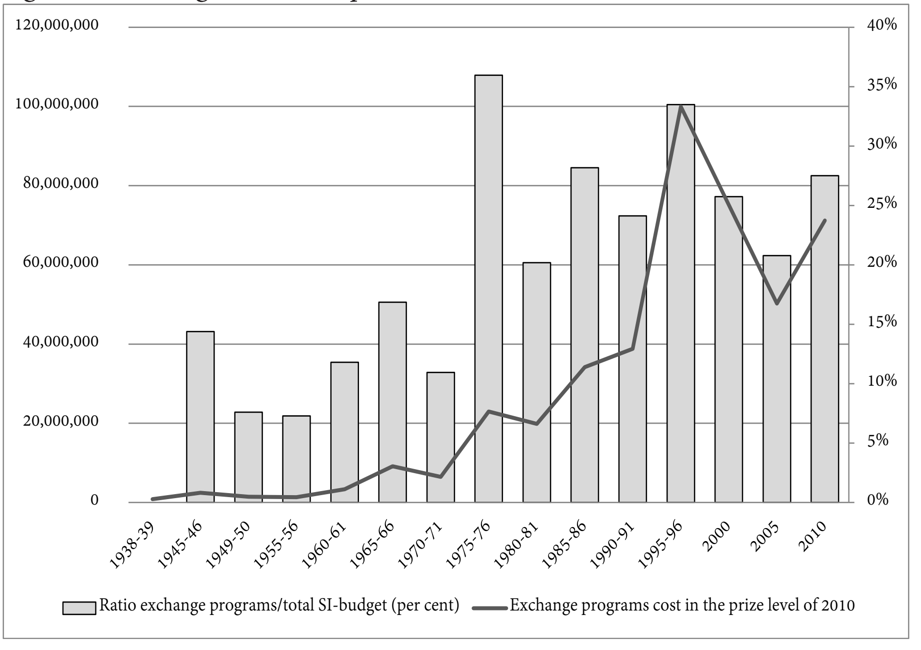
The institution which will be investigated in this article is the Swedish Institute (SI) which was founded in 1945 and is still in existence. Since its founding SI has administered state-funded exchange programs targeted at foreign scholars. The best source for scholarship funding from 1945 until today are therefore the SI yearly economic reports, which are the main source material for this article. A simple quantitative overview of exchange funding through this institution is found in Figure 1,

Union Visitors Program. A Case Study for Public Diplomacy and the Transatlantic Relationship in the 1970s," *The International History Review* 35 no. 5 (2013). Some basic numbers on US exchange funding for 1981 are provided in Kevin V. Mulcahy, "Cultural Diplomacy and the Exchange Programs: 1938–1978," *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society* 29 no. 1 (1999), 22, but they are not put into any larger budgetary context.

2 See for instance the rudimentary history presented in: Terri Kim, "Shifting Patterns of Transnational Academic Mobility: A Comparative and Historical Approach," *Comparative Education* 45 no. 3 (2009).

where roughly every fifth budgetary year has been evaluated in order to provide an image of the general development.[3]

Figure 1. Exchange cost development (amount and ratio)



Amount spent on academic exchange through the SI (1938: through the Ministry for Foreign Affairs) as a percentage of the SI total budget.
Sources: I 798, UD, RA; SI, *Verksamheten 1945–46*; SI, *Verksamhetsberättelse 1949–50*; SI, *Svenska Institutet 1955–56* (BVII, vol. 1, Hemmamyndigheten, Svenska Institutet, RA); SI, *Svenska Institutet 1960–61*; SI, *Svenska Institutet 1965–66* (BVII, vol. 2, Hemmamyndigheten, Svenska Institutet, RA); SI, *Verksamheten 1970–71*; SI, *Verksamhetsberättelse budgetåret 1975–76* (BVII, vol. 3, Hemmamyndigheten, Svenska Institutet, RA); SI, *Verksamhetsberättelse budgetåret 1980–81* (BIA, vol. 1, Hemmamyndigheten 2, Svenska Institutet, RA); SI, *Verksamhetsberättelse 1985–86* (BIA, vol. 3, Hemmamyndigheten 2, Svenska Institutet, RA); SI, "Resultatanalys verksamhet 1987/88–1991/92," (internal report from the Swedish Institute, 1992); SI, *Verksamhetsredovisning 1995/96*; SI, *Årsredovisning 2000*; SI, *Årsredovisning 2005*; SI, *För Sverige i världen: Svenska Institutets årsredovisning 2010*.

There are two basic points which can be made by looking at this chart. The first is that the state has increased its investment in scholarly exchange over the years. In particular, the 1970s and the 1990s were decades of increased investment in scholarly exchange as shown by the line. This becomes even clearer when looking at the bars, which show the ratio between the yearly spending on exchange programs related to the overall spending of the institute. Here the 1970s and 1990s stand out even more. In 1975/76 over 35 per cent of the institute's total spending was devoted to exchange programs and in 1995/96 spending is slightly under 35 per cent. In addition, compared to surrounding years the budgetary years of 1945/46 and 1965/66 also stand out as years of increased spending. Another general comment is that after 1990

3 1938/39 is the starting point as this was the first year scholarships were awarded. 1945/46 was chosen as the first normal budgetary year for the SI after WWII. 1949/50 was chosen over 1950/51 as this particular year is lacking in the SI archive. When SI was turned into a state agency in 1998 the budgetary year was changed from a broken year (July-June) to the calendar year.

the Swedish state began spending a significant amount more on scholarly exchange then before this time.

Apart from indicating a continuous rise in state assets invested in academic exchange; Figure 1 also shows us that the rise has not been linear. Instead, it consists of a number of steps or periods of rapid expansion. This general development will be explained through mapping the various forms of state financing of academic exchange and putting them in a political context. This means looking at the motives behind financing, the forms of grants as well as the relationship of the state grants to each other and the SI budget as a whole. The impact of this financing system on the composition of the group of incoming scholars will not be investigated as this investigation would be too large for a single article. Preliminary results on the relationship between changes in foreign policy and groups of incoming scholars have been published elsewhere.[4]

The origins of the scholarship system and the establishment of the Swedish Institute

The funding of Swedish state scholarships can be traced back to 1938 in large part due to the establishment of the Enlightenment Board (*Upplysningsnämnden*) in 1935. This board consisted of persons from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and The Ministry of Education as well as representatives elected by the Culture Council (*Kulturrådet*). Represented in this Council were a large number of civil society actors. Organisationally, the board was part of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs' press department.[5] In 1938, the board suggested the creation of scholarships for foreigners motivated by the fact that a few countries had already opened their scholarship programs to Swedes and additional countries had promised to offer Swedish citizens scholarships on the basis of reciprocity. In their proposal the board argued that such a program would help spread knowledge about Sweden abroad which would benefit the international image of the country. For this reason the rules stated that anybody studying Swedish language, history, literature, law or society would have priority to the scholarships.[6] Funds were assigned for a total of 21 scholarships for the academic year 1938/39: two scholarships each for Denmark, Finland, Norway, England, France, Czechoslovakia and Germany and one each for Iceland, Italy, Poland and Hungary.[7] In addition to these 18 regular, bilateral scholarships, extra funds were assigned to one unilateral scholarship each for Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.[8] The total cost for the program was 32,000 Swedish crowns.

4 Andreas Åkerlund, "Utrikespolitik och internationellt utbyte: Svenska statsstipendier som offentlig diplomati 1938–1957," in *Allt på ett bräde. Stat, ekonomi och bondeoffer: en vänbok till Jan Lindegren*, ed. Peter Ericsson et. al. (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet 2013); Andreas Åkerlund, "The Impact of Foreign Policy on Educational Exchange: The Swedish State Scholarship Program, 1938–1990," *Paedagogica Historica* 50 no. 3 (2014).

5 For the establishment of the Enlightenment Board see Andreas Åkerlund, *Mellan akademi och kulturpolitik: Lektorat i svenska språket vid tyska universitet 1906–1945* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet 2010), 135–42.

6 See Åkerlund (2013) for a detailed account on how the system was established and for the social composition of the scholarship holders in 1938–1957.

7 Copy of a letter from Kungl. Maj:t [Royal Majesty] to statskontoret [the State Treasury] September 8, 1938, I 798, UD [Foreign Ministry] 1920 års dossiersystem, RA [Riksarkivet, National Archive, Stockholm].

8 See documents in I 807, UD 1920 års dossiersystem, RA.

This program became a template for the manner in which Sweden would conduct international exchange until the 1970s. A central feature is the diplomatic character of the program. Because the program was based on reciprocity, the countries selected either already offered scholarships to Swedish citizens or they were of special interest for the Swedish government in that one could expect future reciprocity from them. This reciprocity also meant that foreign authorities recommended candidates for Swedish scholarships and a Swedish committee recommended Swedish candidates for scholarships offered by foreign countries.

This situation was short-lived; the outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939 complicated exchange activities. Funds were assigned for scholarships through the entire war, but on a much smaller scale and in many cases the scholarships assigned were used as economic aid for academics stranded in Sweden as a result of the war. When more systematic exchange activities were resumed after 1945, they were so in a very different political and organisational setting. In 1945, the Swedish Institute for Cultural Exchange (the name was later changed to Swedish Institute) was established as a joint venture between the Swedish state and private interests, mainly Swedish companies. The mission of the SI was to propagate Sweden and Swedish culture abroad and further international cultural exchange. This changed the general organisation of Swedish public diplomacy as information activities directed to foreign publics were from that point detached from the state bureaucracy and transferred to this new semi-state organisation.[9]

This reorganisation also affected academic exchange. The scholarship program which had until that point been funded and administered by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs was successively transferred to SI. Although the ministry retained the right to make recommendations for a number of scholarships until 1957, from day one SI was solely responsible for the day to day organisation of exchange, including managing the payment of scholarships and travel grants.

Before continuing with the SI exchange programs, it is important to understand the organisational setting in which SI was located between 1945 and 1970. Co-founded and co-financed by both state and private interests, SI was a typical public diplomacy organisation of its time. With the memories of the Second World War still fresh in the minds of Swedish citizens, the detachment from the state administration was deemed necessary in order to avoid engendering the impression of, as Nikolas Glover states "yet another official crude propaganda machine".[10] The institute was to be a non-political institution, dedicated to information and enlightenment rather than state-controlled propaganda. Therefore, SI was to a certain extent independent from the government administration, although it maintained a close collaboration with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and other relevant state agencies. The funding of the institute's activities however came mainly from government grants. Although the organisational ideal was for member fees and private donations to constitute an equal part of the institute's budget this was never the case; state funding between 1945 and 1970 always exceeded private contributions by a ratio of between 1:2 and 1:6.[11]

9 See Nikolas Glover, *National Relations: Public Diplomacy, National Identity and the Swedish Institute 1945–1970* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press 2011) for a general description of the history of the Swedish Institute until 1970.

10 Glover (2011), 33.

11 Glover (2011), 110.

State-funded exchange in a semi-state institution 1945–1970

What did this new institutional setting mean for scholarly exchange? First of all it is important to stress that it took time for SI to establish something that could be called normal academic exchange. This was due to the unclear political situation directly after the Second World War, the broken state of many European academic institutions and networks paired with the establishment of the completely new institute, the Swedish Institute, which was looking to define its particular role. In the years following the war, the exchange activities of the institute to a large extent consisted of aid to foreign academics, mainly from Germany and Austria, who were invited to Sweden to establish contact with their colleagues after more than a decade of isolation. This exchange was partly financed through the Swedish government's aid programs to post-war Europe, which is the main reason for the relative high rate of exchange in 1945/46. Once this aid ceased in 1949, the exchange program consisted only of bilateral scholarships offered to a number of Western European countries as well as Canada, Argentina, Brazil and Japan. An interesting case was the Federal Republic of Germany, which was included in the program from 1949. These scholarships were not a part of the ordinary government grant for academic exchange, but were paid for by the Swedish Committee for International Aid (*Svenska kommittén för internationell hjälpverksamhet*), and thus were a continuation of the short-term scholarships offered to Germans directly after the war.[12] It was not until 1953/54 that exchange with West Germany was financed in the same way as with other countries.

The bilateral program maintained a special position in the budget of the SI in the 1950s and 1960s as it was not financed by the government grant from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs which financed other SI activities such as information brochures, expositions and so forth. These scholarships were instead paid for by the Ministry for Ecclesiastical and Educational Affairs.[13] This detail is interesting because it underlines how academic exchange sits at the intersection of foreign policy and public diplomacy on the one hand and education and science on the other.

The system of bilateral scholarships expanded slowly during the 1950s as more and more Western European countries began taking part in SI exchange programs. The largest expansion however began in 1960 when exchange with the Soviet Union was initiated. This, in turn, opened the door for bilateral exchange regulated through so-called cultural programs – in practice bilateral cooperation agreements – with the other Eastern European countries.[14] This expansion of the system towards the Warsaw Pact should be understood as part of the Swedish policy to normalise relationships with communist Eastern Europe, especially the Soviet Union.[15]

12 See SI, *Verksamhetsberättelse 1949/50*, 35, BVII, vol. 1, Hemmamyndigheten, Svenska Institutet, RA.

13 See for instance SI, *Verksamheten 1952–53*, 61–62, BVII, vol. 1, Hemmamyndigheten, Svenska Institutet, RA.

14 These agreements contained detailed accounts on the kind of exchange (student, lecturer, etc.), but also the number of exchange months available. Agreements are found in F9, vol. 1–18, Hemmamyndigheten 2, Svenska Institutet, RA.

15 The Soviet Union wanted to establish cultural exchange with Sweden since the 1950s, but the signing of a Soviet-US agreement for cultural cooperation was the first time Swedish authorities gave in to the Soviet demands. See Åkerlund (2014), 401–2.

Similar to the extension of scholarships to West Germany one decade earlier, the Soviet exchange, and later "cultural exchange with certain countries" – a euphemism for exchange with communist Eastern Europe – represented a special post in the budget. Soviet exchange scholarships were financed through the Ministry for Foreign Affairs instead of the Ministry for Ecclesiastical and Educational Affairs.[16] This situation persisted until the budgetary year 1967/68, where scholarship exchange with Eastern Europe was normalised in a financial sense, that is: paid for through the regular state grants.

From 1945 until the beginning of the 1970s bilateral scholarships financed through the Ministry of Education were the dominate form of scholarly exchange. New exchanges were initiated with special funds, but once the reciprocity was deemed stable, the scholarship costs were transferred and included in the standard state grants. Although the SI was a joint venture between the Swedish state and private actors, the scholarship program was almost exclusively financed through state grants.[17] The decision about which countries would be part of bilateral exchange was thus deferred to the government and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. The main rationale behind this decision was the same as in 1938, in that the main purposes of the scholarships were for establishing contacts and improving the knowledge and image of Sweden abroad. Needless to say, this bilateral organisation of exchange determined how the group of incoming scholars was composed. There cannot be much flexibility in a system where a certain number of scholarships are offered to a certain country and where this country in turn is allowed to assign the holders. The bilateral organisation of scholarships also benefitted larger countries, since they had the financial muscle to offer more scholarships. A financial evaluation from 1964/65–1968/69 shows that the largest part of the scholarship budget, 13 per cent of the grand total for these years, was designated for exchange with the Soviet Union, followed by France (8 per cent), Great Britain and Italy (7 per cent each).[18] Exchange with the United States of America was during this period not financed through the Swedish Institute, but left to the Sweden-America and the American-Scandinavian Foundations. This did not change until the establishment of the Guest scholarship program in 1973.[19]

Unilateral educational support: The Guest scholarship program

The Swedish Institute was reorganised in 1970 and transformed from a state-private joint venture into a state-financed, but organisationally independent, foundation. This was the result of an increasing ideological divide. The founding companies wanted returns on their investments in the institute whereas the radicalisation of culture in the 1960s resulted in the idea that cultural production should stand free from, if not oppose, capitalist market ideology. The reorganisation was a way for the state to resolve this conflict. The decision in favor of a foundation instead of a state agency

16 See for instance SI, *Svenska institutet 1960–61*, 31–32 and 74; SI, *Svenska Institutet 1961–62*, 48–49 and 76, BVII, vol. 2, Hemmamyndigheten, Svenska Institutet, RA.

17 The exception is six scholarships for Chilean engineers donated by Swedish companies active in Chile and awarded between 1946 and 1949.

18 SI, "Analys av verksamheten 1964/65–1968/69. Etapp I: Fördelning av resurser på finansiärer, media, länder och ämnen," (internal report from the Swedish Institute, 1970), 17 and diagram 7.8.

19 For the relationship between the SI and these foundations see Andreas Åkerlund, "The Nationalization of Swedish Enlightenment Activities Abroad: Civil Society Actors and their Impact on State Politics," in *Public Diplomacy in Context*, ed. Louis Clerc, Nikolas Glover and Paul Jordan (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

maintained the distance between the institute and the state administration.[20] This reorganisation also meant that the Ministry of Education no longer paid directly for bilateral scholarships. The SI was however still mainly financed by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

In May 1971 the Swedish parliament decided to create a new scholarship program. This was due to the parliament's decision to limit the possibilities for foreign citizens to receive normal student grants. The new program would also make it possible for students without economic assets to study in Sweden.[21] The shift in argumentation from 1938 is notable. The question was no longer about making the country known abroad, but helping people in need of an education. Similarly, the 1972 inquiry into the internationalisation of Swedish universities, argued that scholarships were a question of international solidarity and responsibility. Sweden had an obligation to educate foreigners in need of a Swedish education.[22] The Guest scholarships were also organised differently than the bilateral program. The scholarships were unilateral and offered to foreign scholars globally without the involvement of foreign authorities. Applications were therefore directed to SI.

The Guest scholarship program is the main reason for the rise in scholarship costs in the mid-1970s. For the fiscal year of 1975/76 the costs for international exchange of the SI were 35 per cent of the institute's total budget. Of the 4.65 million Swedish crowns spent on all forms of scholarly exchange, guest scholarships constituted 1.26 million or 27 per cent of this total.

The establishment of the large scale Guest scholarship program was however not the only important development in the 1970s. In the 1970s, SI was also assigned smaller programs, funded either directly by the state or by state-initiated foundations. The budgetary year 1978/79 serves as an example of this development. Not only did SI offer long-term and short-term bilateral scholarships for studies and research as well as the guest scholarship program, but they also offered the following special scholarships:

- For Swedish-Finnish exchange financed by the Swedish-Finnish Cultural Foundation.
- For social workers financed by the Council of Europe.
- For Latin American researchers, Portuguese experts and persons from certain developing countries financed by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA).
- For Vietnamese researchers financed by the Swedish Agency for Research Co-Operation with Developing Countries (SAREC).
- For Sweden-American exchange financed by the Bicentennial Swedish-American Exchange Fund of 1976 (*1976 års fond för personutbyte mellan Sverige och Förenta Staterna*).[23]

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20 Glover (2011), 135–38.

21 SI, *Verksamheten 1972/73*, 27, BVII, vol. 3, Hemmamyndigheten, Svenska Institutet, RA; Ulla Rylander, *Stipendier skapar relationer: En uppföljning av Svenska institutets gäststipendiater 1973–1997* (Stockholm: Swedish Institute, 2010), 8.

22 *Utbildningens internationalisering: Slutbetänkande från UKÄ:s internationaliseringsutredning*, UKÄ-rapport, no. 21 (1974), 149.

23 SI, *Verksamhetsberättelse budgetåret 1978/79: Del 1*, 25, BVII, vol. 4, Hemmamyndigheten, Svenska Institutet, RA.

There are two interesting trends visible in this list. One is that the state allowed SI to administer scholarships financed by other state foundations and state agencies. The Swedish-Finnish Cultural Foundation as well as the Exchange Fund of 1976 had been established by the Swedish state in order to promote cultural cooperation with Finland and the US respectively. The Exchange Fund of 1976 is oriented mainly towards "opinion-makers", such as politicians or journalists.

In 1984 another program was added when the institute was handed sole responsibility for a scholarship program for international researcher exchange (*stipendier för internationellt forskarutbyte*), originally jointly managed by the Swedish National Agency for Higher Education (*Universitets- och högskoleämbetet*, UHÄ) and the institute. The main aim of this program was to develop the international contacts of Swedish academia, especially with countries other than the US.[24] Scholarships in the new international program for researcher exchange were primarily intended for younger Swedish academics wishing to spend time at a foreign university and secondarily for inviting foreign academics to Sweden. The program was paid for by the Ministry for Education and the cost was roughly 4.5 billion crowns for the fiscal year 1985/86.[25] This was 25 per cent of the total exchange budget of the Swedish Institute for the year. The Swedish Institute's extended experience in administrating international exchange led to the institute handling externally funded programs, which were not directly paid for through the standard government grant.

The other trend relates to official assistance to developing countries. The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) had originally developed within SI as the Central Committee for Technical Assistance to Less Developed Countries, but this committee was dissolved in 1961 and replaced by the Board for International Assistance, a state agency which later became SIDA.[26] Nikolas Glover interprets this as a diversification of tasks in the international arena:

> Thus under the aegis of what I would characterise as a general trend toward specialization and professionalization of Sweden's various relations with the international community, the practices of technical and financial aid to developing countries were institutionally separated from those of information and cultural exchange.[27]

The institutional separation in the 1960s mentioned by Glover was however blurred during the 1970s as the SI also managed the scholarly exchange financed through official development assistance (ODA).[28] Around 8.5 per cent (1.89 million of 22.36 million Swedish crowns) of the SI budget for the budgetary year 1978/79 came from

24 SI, *Verksamhetsberättelse 1984–85*, 32, BIA, vol. 3, Hemmamyndigheten 2, Svenska Institutet, RA.

25 See Prop. 1983/84:107, appendix 5, 122; Prop. 1984/85:100, appendix 10, 375; SI, *Verksamhetsberättelse 1985–86*, 30–31, BIA, vol. 3, Hemmamyndigheten 2, Svenska Institutet, RA.

26 Per-Åke Nilsson, *Svenskt bistånd till den tredje världen: dess uppkomst under 1950-talet: En studie av SIDA:s och NIB:s föregångare: Centralkommittén för svenskt tekniskt bistånd till mindre utvecklade områden* (Hammerdal: Hammerdal förlag och reportage, 2004).

27 Glover (2011), 119.

28 The sources use a variety of expressions for aid to "underdeveloped countries" such as development aid (*utvecklingshjälp*), underdeveloped country-aid (*U-landshjälp*), technical assistance (*tekniskt bistånd*) and the like. To facilitate the reading, the technical term "development assistance" or the abbreviation ODA for Official Development Assistance has been used throughout the article.

this source.[29] The general development thus focused on the integration of scholarship programs with the aid given to the non-industrialised world. This development was pushed further in 1985, when money from the development assistance budget assured that 50 per cent of the scholarship holders within the guest scholarship program would come from developing countries.[30] What is visible here is the assumption that education is important for economic and technical development as well as that knowledge and technology transfer through education is a viable way to help the poorer countries in the world.

The general trend from 1970 to the end of the Cold War in 1990 was that a larger and larger portion of scholarship funding was assigned to the SI from other state foundations or state agencies, which led to a diversification of scholarship forms. The reason behind this diversification is of course that the various scholarships functioned differently. Some scholarships were granted for enhancing contacts with a special country, some for the internationalisation of science, and others were seen as important for foreign aid. This neatly illustrates the variety of tasks assigned to public diplomacy institutions in general. The trend away from bilateral and towards unilateral scholarships is also very clear. In the budgetary year 1988/89, SI spent 18.2 million crowns on both long-term and short-term scholarships. Bilateral scholarships, which had been the institutes' main scholarship form in the 1950s and 1960s, comprised only 3.1 million or 17 per cent of this sum. Geographically, the focus had shifted between 1945 and the late 1980s away from exchange with Western Europe.[31] In a government investigative survey (*Statens offentliga utredningar*, SOU) from 1988, developing countries and Eastern Europe were mentioned as the two most important areas targeted by SI exchange programs.[32] This was certainly a result of the changed policies described above, but also of the expanding Nordic integration of exchange through the establishment of the Scandinavian exchange scheme NORDPLUS run by the Nordic Council of Ministers.

European integration was another important factor in this context. In the same investigative survey, the Erasmus program and other EC programs were mentioned as examples of interesting developments on the European level. Although Sweden was not yet a member of the EU, the investigation also pled for a more active Swedish policy within the field of European collaboration in research, education and culture.[33] Therefore, it seems that the diminished exchange with Scandinavia and other parts of Western Europe was partially due to the transfer of responsibility from national level organisations to international ones.

The early 1990s: Educating Eastern Europe

The fall of the Berlin wall in 1989 marked the end of the Cold War and the start of a political transition in Eastern Europe from communism to a market-oriented libe-

29 SI, *Verksamhetsberättelse budgetåret 1978/79: Del 2*, 90, BVII, vol. 4, Hemmamyndigheten, Svenska Institutet, RA.

30 Rylander (2011), 8.

31 See Åkerlund (2014), 407–9.

32 SOU 1988:9, *Sverigeinformation och kultursamarbete: Betänkande avgivet av Utredningen om de statliga insatserna inom Sverigeinformationen och kulturutbytet med utlandet* (Stockholm: Fritzes, 1988), 332.

33 SOU 1988:9, 229–33 (Nordic cooperation) and 245–47 and 327–28 (European integration).

ral democracy. These political changes in the near abroad of Sweden were to mark one of the greatest changes for the SI and its various scholarship programs. From 1990 onwards the former communist countries in Eastern Europe became large recipients of Swedish development assistance. In 1990, the parliament decided on an aid and cooperation program for the former communist countries amounting to 1 billion Swedish crowns over two years.[34] Parts of this program were placed within the Swedish Institute because cultural contacts in general and academic exchange in particular were deemed to play an important role for the transition from communism to democracy. In the early 1990s, the Swedish efforts were mainly directed towards the Baltic Sea area: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Northwestern Russia and Poland.

The Swedish development assistance, and therefore also the educational measures, directed towards this region had four clear objectives. These objectives were to promote common security; to help establish democracy, democratic institutions and democratic values; to aid the establishment of a liberal market economy and to establish a knowledge base on environmental issues and help develop environmental friendly technologies in a region where industry was outdated, inefficient and polluted heavily.[35] The exchange programs established after 1990 must therefore be understood within this context of technology and value transfer from West to East, from Sweden to its near abroad. This new geographic focus is visible in the economy of the Swedish Institute. The budgetary year 1993/94 serves as an example. In this year 38.8 per cent of the total SI budget was directed towards Central and Eastern Europe alone.[36]

The large investments of the Swedish government for exchange with the formerly Communist Europe hugely impacted the economy of the Swedish Institute. As visible in Figure 1 the amount allocated within what was at this time called SI program 3 (for educational and scientific exchange) more than doubled between 1990/91 and 1995/96.[37] The period not only saw a rise in numbers, but also a shift in the forms of exchange that were organised and financed. This development is visualised in Figure 2 using the SI budgetary year of 1995/96.[38]

34 Prop. 1990/91:100, appendix 5, 6.

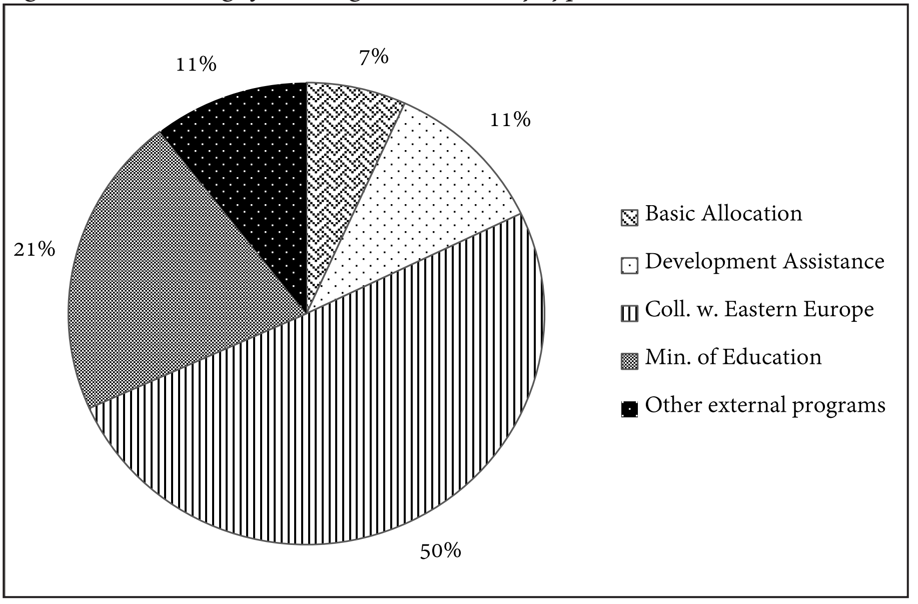
35 OECD, *Assistance Programmes for Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union* (Paris: OECD, 1996), 51–53. This is a very schematic description. For more detailed accounts see Elisabeth Hedborg, *A good Neighbourhood: Sweden's Cooperation with Central and Eastern Europe* (UD info May 1998), (Stockholm: UD, 1998) or Elisabeth Hedborg, *Europe in Transition: Sweden's Development Cooperation with Central and Eastern Europe* (UD info March 2002), (Stockholm: UD, 2002). For environmental aid see Stefan Hedlund, "The Environmental Problems of Eastern Europe and their Implications," in *Europe in the 1990s: Papers from the Third U.S.-Scandinavian Seminar for Parliamentarians in Stockholm, Sweden August 12–14* (Gentofte: Erling Olsens Forlag 1991) and for a more critical account, Ragnar E. Löfstedt, "A Review of Sweden's Environmental Aid to Eastern Europe: Criticisms and Possible Solutions," in *Environmental Aid Programmes to Eastern Europe: Area Studies and Theoretical Applications* ed. Ragnar E. Löfstedt and Gunnar Sjöstedt (Adlershot: Avebury, 1996).

36 SI, *Verksamhetsberättelse 1993/94*, 14.

37 From roughly 39 million crowns in 1990/91 to 100 million crowns in 1995/96, measured in the price level of 2010. The division of the Swedish Institute activities into different programs occurred in 1970 when the institute was restructured and transformed into a foundation. The name and content of the programs vary over time, but during the first half of the 1990s exchange was maintained as program 3.

38 All information in the following section comes from the yearly report: SI, *Verksamhetsredovisning 1995/96*, 18–31 unless otherwise indicated.

Figure 2. SI exchange financing 1995/1996 (by type)



Financing of SI exchange activities for the budgetary year 1995/96. Note: The category "Development Assistance" contains all official development assistance funding except the special programs directed towards Central- and Eastern Europe. These are included in "Coll. w. Eastern Europe". Sources: SI, *Verksamhetsredovisning 1995/96*; SI, *Årsredovisning 1995/96*.

Figure 2 neatly illustrates the impact of the new government policy on the exchange budget of the Swedish Institute. Half of the amount spent on exchange consisted of resources for collaboration and exchange with the former communist countries in Eastern Europe. This amount was received by the institute through different funding bodies which in turn led to the establishment of a number of new programs specially designed for Eastern Europe. For 1995/96 these were:

- Funds from the Legal, Financial and Administrative Services Agency *Kammarkollegiet* for a bilateral research collaboration program with Eastern Europe.
- Special funds from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for collaboration with Eastern Europe (budget line III G 1 and 2) for:
  - A special scholarship program for Eastern Europe.
  - Collaboration projects between Swedish and Eastern European universities.
  - Minor field studies in Eastern Europe.
  - Short-term exchanges of experts.
- Funds from the Nordic Council of Ministries for special scholarships to the Baltic States and Northeastern Russia.

The SI basic allocation as well as development assistance from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs (budget lines III D 1 and III C 1–7) financed bilateral and guest scholarship programs. At this point, however, these financial sources, constituted less than 20 per cent of the grand total spent on exchange. The trend towards administrating several parallel programs with different target groups and different external financing agencies which had started in the 1970s thus accelerated during the 1990s. Apart from the previously mentioned programs for Eastern Europe, the bilateral and the guest scholarships, the institute also handled the following exchange schemes:

- The international researcher program financed by *Kammarkollegiet*.
- Scholarships for Icelandic, Canadian and Swedish students for "European studies" financed by the Ministry of Education.
- Scholarships for Chinese and Malaysian students financed by SIDA.
- Travel grants for teachers and school leaders financed by the National Agency for Education.
- Scholarships from the Bicentennial Swedish-American Exchange Fund of 1976.
- Scholarships for Swedish citizens from the Scholarship Foundation for Studies of Japanese Society.[39]
- Collaboration projects between Germany and Sweden joint financed by *Kammarkollegiet* and the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD).

The fall of the Berlin wall in 1989 and the following breakdown of communist Europe clearly changed the geographic focus of the Swedish Institute. The turn towards Eastern Europe led to a remarkable rise in economic resources for exchange, which in turn resulted in a sharp rise in the number of scholarship holders as well. There were 677 long-term scholarship holders for 1995/96 according to the yearly report compared to 277 scholarship holders in 1988/89.[40] In 1995/96 a staggering 120 persons came to study and research in Sweden through the special scholarship program for Eastern Europe alone. The same year, 205 scholarship holders were designated within the guest scholarship program, open for persons from the entire world. The yearly reports do not provide more information than numbers, but since the large programs directed towards Eastern Europe had a very special focus, namely to enhance democracy and to support the transition towards a market economy and environmental friendly technologies, it is not surprising that persons within the fields of political science, economy or certain branches of natural sciences and engineering constituted the majority of scholarship holders within the programs.

On another level the heavy investment of the Swedish state in scholarship programs aiming at certain geographic areas was a continuation of the earlier development. This trended clearly towards more and more parallel programs, each one funded through yet another foundation or state agency and targeting a certain group or geographic area. This also meant that the classic diplomatic principle of bilateralism, which had been so important during the early years, was abandoned in favor of

39 This is a small state-initiated foundation similar to the Swedish-Finnish Cultural Foundation. The foundation was created using a small portion of the profit from selling half of the Swedish embassy property in Tokyo in 1987. See the foundation homepage for a description of its history: The Scholarship Foundation for Studies of Japanese Society, "Om Japanstiftelsen," Japanstiftelsen, http://www.japanstiftelsen.se/display.asp?apid=8 (accessed September 15 2014).

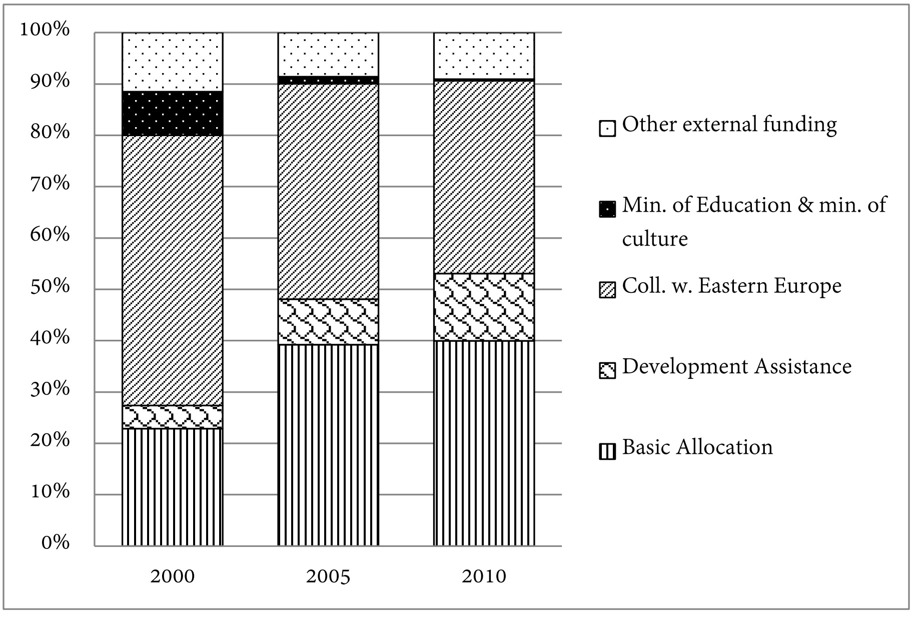
40 These numbers are an aggregate of the numbers for long-term programs presented in SSI, "Resultatanalys verksamhet 1987/88–1991/92," (internal report from the Swedish Institute, 1992) and SI, *Verksamhetsredovisning 1995/96*, 18–24.

unilateral solutions where the SI was solely in control of the specific designation, in accordance with the general lines drawn up by each funding body.

1998–2010: A state agency in favor of markets, democracy and security

In 1997, the Swedish state decided to reorganise the Swedish Institute once again. On January 1st, 1998 the foundation was transformed into a government agency.[41] This decision broke with the long tradition of attempting to maintain the SI a relatively independent organisation – one of the aims at its founding in 1945. The institute however continued to constitute a line on the budget of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. The transformation into a government agency however changed the way the institute recorded the use of allocated funds. Thus, from 1998 onwards it is not possible to specify exactly which funds went to certain scholarship programs. Any numbers for this epoch will therefore by necessity be calculated on a more aggregate level. One such aggregate presentation for the years 2000–10 is visible in Figure 3, where the general budget of the SI has been divided roughly along the same lines as Figure 2. The most striking feature in this figure is the large sums designated towards work in and collaboration with Eastern Europe.

Figure 3. SI general funding 2000–2010 by source/designation



The funding of the Swedish Institute 2000, 2005 and 2010 by source. Note: The category "Development Assistance" contains all official development assistance funding except the special programs directed towards Central and Eastern Europe. These funds are included in "Coll. w. Eastern Europe". Sources: SI, *Årsredovisning 2000*; SI, *Årsredovisning 2005*; SI, *För Sverige i världen: Svenska Institutets årsredovisning 2010*.

41 SI, *Årsredovisning 1997*, 1; SI, *Årsredovisning: Verksamhetsåret 1998*, 1.

The dominance of Eastern Europe is partly a continuation of the development assistance and collaboration programs of the early 1990s, but mainly the result of a government program for occupational and economic growth. In June 1996 the Swedish parliament decided on the so called Occupational Bill (*Sysselsättningspropositionen*) aiming at reducing unemployment by 50 per cent until the year 2000. This bill suggested an active economic policy for economic and occupational growth in combination with an expanded and deepened collaboration in the Baltic area as the emerging markets in this area were of great importance for Swedish export.[42] This bill was to have an important impact on the Swedish Institute, especially through the so-called Baltic Billions program (*Östersjömiljarderna*). The aim of this program was to "stimulate economic exchange, growth and employment in Sweden and the Baltic region, and to strengthen the position of Swedish companies in the region."[43] The first billion was allocated in 1996 and the second in 1998; both were to be used over a five year-period, which meant that the entire sum needed to be spent by 2003.[44]

A large part of the Baltic Billions program was transferred to the SI for exchange and collaboration activities with the neighboring countries around the Baltic Sea. The result was the Visby program, which is still in existence. At its establishment in 1997 the Visby program was a broad program for academic collaboration and exchange with Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and northwestern Russia (most notably St. Petersburg and Kaliningrad) which financed both individual exchange as well as institutional collaborations in the region. The Visby program was financed with 120 million crowns over the Baltic Billions. It was succeeded by the New Visby program in 2000, which in turn received 90 million crowns from the same source. The total budget of these two programs was 210 million Swedish crowns, which means that a total of 21 per cent of the first Baltic Billion was invested in academic cooperation and educational exchange.[45] There was also a parallel 100 million crowns program, the Baltic scholarship program, directed at the same geographic region and financed jointly by the Ministries of Employment (80 per cent), Education (10 per cent) and Foreign Affairs (10 per cent). This program was also a result of the occupational bill as indicated by the large sums provided by the Ministry of Employment.[46]

The New Visby program was not entirely financed through the Baltic Billions, but was partly a separate assignment from the government with an extra budget of 60 million Swedish crowns, in addition to the 90 million already granted over the Baltic Billions. The program ran over a period of one and a half years and applied to the same geographical area as the old programs, but was later extended to include Ukraine and Belarus. It also included the possibility to conduct exchange within

42 Prop. 1995/96:222, *Vissa åtgärder för att halvera arbetslösheten till år 2000, ändrade anslag för budgetåret 1995/96, finansiering m.m.*, section 5.1.

43 The Swedish Government, "Baltic Billion Funds: The Baltic Billion Funds – promotion of trade and industry in the Baltic region," Regeringskansliet, http://www.government.se/sb/d/3095 (accessed September 15 2014).

44 For the financial and political background see: *Förslag till riksdagen 2001/02: RR14: Riksdagens revisorers förslag angående den ekonomiska redovisningen av Östersjömiljarderna*, 17–22, or: Ds 2002:46, *Östersjöprogram för framtiden: Studie gällande behov av fortsatta särskilda statliga insatser för att främja näringslivsutvecklingen i Östersjöregionen efter år 2003*, 89–92.

45 SI, *Årsredovisning 1997*, 24; SI, *Årsredovisning 2000*, Appendix 3, 16–21; Boston Consulting Group, "Utvärdering av den första Östersjömiljarden: Del II (appendix 2: utvärderingar)," 2004, 107, 444.

46 SOU 2000:122 (bilaga), *Att utveckla samarbetet med Central- och Östeuropa: Utvärdering av utvecklingssamarbetet* (Stockholm: Fritzes 2000), 55–56.

secondary education.[47] The program was made permanent in 2002 and has since then been financed through state grants. It has however made an interesting journey through the state budget. In 2002 it was financed through the two-year special program "Collaboration with Central and Eastern Europe", located within the budget for development assistance.[48] By 2007, however, the Visby program ceased to be a part of the ODA budget and in 2010 it was listed in the budget for general international cooperation, which includes Swedish contributions to international organisations such as the UN and the Nordic Council of Ministers, to international peacekeeping and to research on security policy and international peace.[49] In less than 15 years, the program thus moved from being a part of the stimulation of growth, employment and economic exchange to being financed by development assistance, to being classified as a part of Swedish security policy financed through the money designated for international collaboration.

Besides the various Visby programs there were additional programs directed towards formerly communist Europe. The special scholarship program from the early 1990s was renamed Eastern Europe scholarships (*Östeuropastipendier*) in 1998. This program was directed to countries outside the Baltic area, with most applicants coming from Bulgaria, Romania and the parts of Russia not eligible for the Visby program.[50] The program was abandoned in 2006. The institute also administered various scholarship programs directed towards Eastern Europe on behalf of SIDA. Examples include the program directed towards Caucasus and Moldova (1997–2005) and the MSEE program (Master in Sweden for Eastern Europe in 2006–2010).[51] The intensified exchange with Eastern Europe which began in the early 1990s was continued during this period and was gradually expanded from its focus on the near abroad around the Baltic to also target more distant areas, such as the Caucasus.

Concurrently, the bilateral scholarship system was slowly dismantled. This old method of conducting exchange, with its roots in the classic diplomatic idea of reciprocity, seems to have lost its relevance as a result of European integration. This is best seen through the bilateral cultural programs with Eastern Europe, which were normally cancelled as these countries entered the European Union.[52] In 2005, bilateral exchange was carried out with 12 different countries, which sent a total of 43 students or scholars on long-term exchanges to Sweden.[53] In 2010, these numbers had fallen to only three different participating countries and 24 scholarship holders, of which 18 were from China alone.[54]

47 See SI, *Årsredovisning 2000*, Appendix 3, 22–26 for the New Visby-program.

48 Prop. 2002/03:1, *Förslag till statsbudget: Utgiftsområde 7*, 81–98; SI, *Årsredovisning 2002*, 66.

49 Krister Eduards, "Visbyprogrammet – ny uppdragsformulering," (internal report for the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, October 15, 2006); Prop. 2009/10:1, *Förslag till statsbudget: Utgiftsområde 5*, 35–36; SI, *För Sverige i världen: Svenska Institutets årsredovisning 2010*, 80.

50 SI, *Årsredovisning 2006*, 42.

51 SI, *Årsredovisning 1998*, 25; SI, *Årsredovisning 2005*, 31; SI, *För Sverige i världen: Svenska Institutets årsredovisning 2010*, 55.

52 An example is 2005 when the agreements with Poland, Slovakia and the Czech Republic were cancelled for this reason. SI, *Årsredovisning 2005*, 21.

53 The scholarship holders came from Bulgaria, China, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Romania and Russia. India, Switzerland and the Ukraine did not take advantage of the bilateral agreements this year. SI, *Årsredovisning 2005*, 20–21, 27, 42, 56.

54 The countries were China, Italy and Japan. SI, *För Sverige i världen: Svenska Institutets årsredovisning 2010*, 27, 32, 50.

A similar development is seen within the guest scholarship program, which is nominally open for applicants from the entire world. The cutting of funds for general exchange did however bias the program towards scholarships financed by official development assistance directed at countries receiving such assistance (ODA countries). This process is clearly visible from 1999 when the Swedish Institute started including detailed accounts of scholarship holders' origins in the yearly reports. The total amount of persons entering Sweden on a guest scholarship in 1999 was 111 of which 102 came from ODA countries outside Europe. This meant that only nine persons from Western Europe and North America were awarded scholarships, which is explained by the cutting of funds "for this part of the program", that is the part not financed by development assistance.[55] In 2005, SI granted 16 guest scholarships for non ODA countries and 38 scholarship holders from this category entered Sweden that year. This can be compared to 45 granted holders from ODA countries and the 96 persons from this category active in the country.[56] The total cost was 8 460 000 Swedish crowns of which 81 per cent or 6 861 000 went to ODA scholarships.[57]

Conclusions

Diversification is the word which best describes the general development of exchange financing through the Swedish Institute. Bilateral exchange starting in 1938, followed by the guest scholarship program in 1972, the aid programs towards Eastern Europe in the 1990s and the Visby-program after 1997 all had different aims, rationales and funding schemes. To these the various assignments from other state agencies and foundations can be added, which were normally directed towards a certain geographic area. Most of these seem to have been short-term programs, especially those financed by development agencies. In spite of the variety of programs, it is possible to identify three main sources of funding for scholarly exchange through the SI.

- The Ministry for Foreign Affairs has been a constant funder of the SI, although not always of their exchange programs.
- The Ministry for Education has been important during two distinct periods: 1945–70 (bilateral scholarships) and 1985–2000 (the international researcher program).
- Development assistance (either directly or through the various state aid agencies) has been a constant since the 1970s.

The first question posed at the beginning of this article was: why does the state sponsor exchange at a given time? As visible in this article there are several answers to this question depending on the time period and the intention behind the scholarships.

The entrance into bilateral exchanges, starting in the late 1930s was motivated

55 SI, *Årsredovisning 1999*, 26–27. No persons from Eastern Europe were granted guest scholarships as there were at least two special scholarship programs for Eastern Europeans this year. Therefore, the total number of scholarships financed through development assistance is likely much higher.

56 The difference between the numbers of granted versus utilised scholarships is due to the budgetary year not corresponding to the academic year. This means that scholarships granted in 2004 were also present in the budget of 2005.

57 SI, *Årsredovisning 2005*, 24–26 and 33–34.

by the Enlightenment Board who felt it was necessary to make the country known abroad. Organisationally, it was an adaption of the existing international system, where bilateral and reciprocal exchange was the standard. Originally paid for by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, after the Second World War exchange was the only part of the SI budget coming from the Ministry for Ecclesiastical and Educational Affairs. This is interesting as it positions academic exchange between both foreign policy and public diplomacy (through the organisational belonging) and educational and research policy (through the funding body). Another motive is what can be referred to as using exchange as an ice-breaker, especially during the Cold War when exchanges with the Soviet Union and other Warsaw pact countries were initiated. Here exchange was seen as a part of a larger strategy to use cultural contacts for normalising relationships between states.

From early on, scholarly exchange was also part of foreign aid and as such thought of as suitable for the one-sided transfer of knowledge and values from the giving to the receiving countries. The earliest example is the scholarships for occupied (and later West) Germany directly after the Second World War. But it was during the 1970s, when SI started to run programs for SIDA that exchange really became a part of Swedish development assistance. From that point scholarships were funded with ODA money in at least two ways. One was that SI was given the responsibility for special programs from SIDA or other aid organisations such as the Swedish Agency for International Technical and Economic Co-operation (BITS) or SAREC. The other was to partly finance the broader guest scholarship program through development assistance which began in 1985 and has continued since.

One surprising finding is that the general idea of promoting exchange for the internationalisation of science was championed by the SI at a fairly late point. Of the programs treated in this article, it was only the international researcher program (1984–2000), which was primarily motivated by internationalisation. This is however not surprising when considering that state funds for internationalisation of science were likely distributed through other organisations than the SI, which has the specific mission of representing Sweden internationally. How – that is through which agencies and through what parts of the budget – the state has historically funded the making of international contacts for research is however a question, which should receive further scholarly attention. The most recent motivation behind funding academic exchange is also one of the most interesting motivations. The Visby program clearly originates within a government program for employment and economic growth in Sweden, which aimed to stimulate economic exchange and thereby to strengthen the position of Swedish companies in the countries around the Baltic. The fact that 22 per cent of the first Baltic Billion was directed to academic cooperation and exchange shows that higher education and research was seen as an important sector for stimulating trade and economic growth. One open question for the future is whether this policy has favored certain subjects or universities within Swedish higher education and research and if so, which ones.

Although it is possible to identify various reasons or policies behind funding exchange, it is almost impossible to reduce exchange through the SI at any given time to a single rationale. Even when looking at the various post-1990 programs towards Eastern Europe, they all carried different rationales. Some were reciprocal and regulated in bilateral cultural agreements; some were paid for through the development assistance part of the budget and others were part of the Visby program which originated in an active economic growth policy. However, all exchange programs were a part of the basic mission of the institute: to represent Sweden abroad. What this article has shown is the variety of ways in which the Swedish Institute has organised and funded this representative task.

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CONCLUDING REMARKS

Why Do Finance?
A Comment About Entanglements and Research in the History of Education

Marcelo Caruso

Follow the money: Nancy Beadie, a noted scholar of the links between economy and education, described her way into educational historiography through this leitmotiv.[1] It is indeed anything but evident that money in general and the changing development of educational finance in particular have in the last years become the focus of a new generation of historians of education. Educational historiography among educationists, for a long time standing firm on the ground of a rather traditional history of ideas, simply ignored economic aspects of the development of modern education. Particularly, money as the codified means of economic exchange was not only ignored, but also even condemned as a utility that was detrimental to the moralising purposes of modern schooling and modern education.

Economic exchanges in schools and even in classrooms were a crucial part of early modern educational culture. Payment in kind for rural teachers, for instance, entailed the delivery of different products to schools or to the schoolmasters' rooms (often connected to the schoolroom). In settings where the monetary economy was stronger, the payment of school fees also took place in the classrooms. For a long time, entire fields of schooling remained highly commercialised. Money was everywhere. This was certainly the case for higher education for bourgeois middle and upper-middle class girls in Europe. As Christina de Bellaigue has put it, the "business of school-keeping", conservative in its purposes and its ideology towards the place of women in society, demanded a model of female entrepreneurship that was not compatible with the rather conservative characterisations of the education of women these schools' mistresses propagated.[2] It is this gap between the foundations of educational practices and institutions on the one hand, and the formative ideologies of education and schooling on the other, that may have hindered the consideration of money in educational history. In these comments to the articles of this special issue, I will delve deeper into the role of money and financial matters in education and the historiography of education.

1 Nancy Beadie, "Education and the Creation of Capital, or What I have Learned by Following the Money," *History of Education Quarterly* 48, no. 1 (2008).

2 Christina de Bellaigue, *Educating Women: Schooling and Identity in England and France 1800–1867* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

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The issue of money in school cultures: Two examples

In my own research, it has been evident that money played many—often inglorious—roles in the formation of school cultures in European and Latin American settings. For a particular case, namely, the research into the transcontinental diffusion and variation of the monitorial system of education in the early nineteenth century, this is quite unexpected. Monitorial schooling was strongly related to a commercial mentality, to the notions of merit, competition, and emulation, at least in its original context.[3] Joseph Lancaster himself wrote books in which he meticulously listed all kinds of costs to be considered in the establishment of a school of mutual teaching and working with monitors as teacher's surrogates.[4] One of the main networks of expansion of monitorial schooling included commercial connections and certainly a good number of port cities given their particular political cultures. Commercial groups in those cities enthusiastically adopted the English system of elementary schooling. As soon as monitorial schools were established in settings where this culture of merit, counting and money was not dominant, money rapidly developed into a problem that, some argued, should be banned from schools.

An example of this was the introduction of the monitorial system in the young republic of Grand Colombia in the 1820s. All Hispanic American republics, only with the exception of highly isolated Paraguay, introduced monitorial schools at some point after independence: this new type of schooling was perceived as a symbol of the political and cultural rupture with the former colonial power.[5] Colombia's governments consistently supported this model and tried to reshape elementary schooling following the organisational patterns of the English monitorial schools. A striking feature of the official model for Colombian monitorial schools was the payment of monitors, those advanced pupils in charge of teaching and supervising individual classes. In the official manual for monitorial schools from 1826, monitors received bonds for their work and—in the case of the general monitors at the top of the pyramid of these helpers—they exchanged these bonds for money at the end of the week.[6]

Closely following English proposals, the official version of Colombian monitorial schooling foresaw rewards for almost everyone, even for those who were not monitors: "In order to promote a more general emulation, all children who distinguished themselves for their knowledge of the lesson or for their ordered behavior in the school, have to be rewarded."[7] In this sense, pecuniary relations together with rewards in kind pervaded the system and were elevated to one of its more general techniques. There was even a cumulative system of rewards with bonds, which could be summed and saved.[8] The loss of accumulated bonds was defined—together

3 David Hamilton, *Towards a Theory of Schooling* (London, New York, Philadelphia: The Falmer Press, 1989); David Hogan, "The Market Revolution and Disciplinary Power: Joseph Lancaster and the Psychology of the Classroom System," *History of Education Quarterly* 29, no. 3 (1989).

4 Joseph Lancaster, *Outlines of a Plan for Educating Ten Thousand Poor Children, by Establishing Schools in Country Towns and Villages; And for Uniting Works of Industry with Useful Knowledge* (London: Printed and Sold at the Free School, Borough Road, 1806).

5 Marcelo Caruso and Eugenia Roldán Vera, "Pluralizing Meanings: The Monitorial System of Education in Latin America in the Early Nineteenth Century," *Paedagogica Historica* 41, no. 6 (2005).

6 *Manual de enseñanza mutua aplicado a las escuelas primarias de los niños* (Bogotá: Impreso por S. S. Fox, 1826), 86.

7 Ibid., 87.

8 Ibid.

with detention at school after regular school time—as the "principal punishment" of these schools.[9] Clever and obedient pupils received more bonds, while those whose behavior had deteriorated had to give back some bonds, depending on the number and type of their offenses. Moreover, monitors were also included in this system of rewards and punishments; false information on the conduct of their classmates was the worst offense. The higher the rank of a monitor, the higher the number of bonds reclaimed.[10] In addition, the national decree on education of 1826, a rather controversial proposal that intended to introduce utilitarian principles in schooling, mandated paying the general monitor of order 10 per cent of the salary of the schoolteacher.[11]

Although accounts of daily life in Colombian monitorial schools are scarce, evidence suggests that the monitorial schools in the big cities generally followed this method of monitorial education. Monitors reported any disturbances to the schoolteacher, who often used corporal punishments, although the methods manual recommended punishments that affected the senses of shame and honor. The problem with such a device was the availability of money and other forms of payment beyond regulations, namely bribery. In Ricardo Carrasquilla's report *Lo que va de ayer a hoy*, the picture of monitorial schooling was by no means positive:

> Every day at nine o'clock both monitors (*tomadores*) and pupils (*tomandos*) went out to the corridor. The pupils had to bring the monitors bread for breakfast or some kind of sweets in order to prevent them from telling the teacher that they did not know the lesson well—even though they had recited it without flaw.[12]

According to the educationist José María Zamora, children filled their pockets with sweets for the monitors in order to escape punishments. He concluded: "That practice fed a speculation hard to accept and gave way to injustice and bribery, the consequences of which would be felt in society."[13] Payment and reward, both in money and in kind, functioned as kind of invitation to classroom practices that counteracted virtually all of the moralising purposes of schooling.

The uneasiness with the presence of money in schools was not limited to the debate that followed the spread of monitorial schooling. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, when school fees were to be abolished in France (1881), Sweden (1883) and Prussia (1888), the arguments of liberal and reformist forces in the Kingdom of Bavaria showed the difficult integration of "money" in school settings.[14] When the Prime Minister Johann von Lutz presented arguments for the

9 Ibid., 87–88.

10 Ibid., 88. These criteria were also adopted in the revised manual of the system from 1845. See Olga Lucía Zuluaga, *Colombia: Dos modelos de su práctica pedagógica durante el siglo XIX* (Medellín: Universidad de Antioquia, 1979), 21.

11 Art. 16 in "Decreto de 3 de octubre sobre el plan de estudios," in *Obra Educativa de Santander Vol. III*, ed. Lorenzo López (Bogotá: Fundación para la Celebración del Bicentenario, 1990), 389–90.

12 Quoted in: Luis Antonio Bohórquez Casallas, *La evolución educativa en Colombia* (Bogotá: Publicaciones Cultural Colombiana, 1956), 274.

13 Quoted in: ibid., 269.

14 Peter Lindert, *Growing Public: Social Spending and Economic Growth since the Eighteenth Century*. Vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 112; Madeleine Michaëlsson, "From Tree Felling to Silver Lining: Diverse Ways of Funding Elementary Schools among Swedish Ironworking Communities, 1830–1930," in *History of Schooling: Politics and Local Practice*, ed. Carla Aubry and Johannes Westberg (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012), 53; Karl Schleunes, *Schooling and Society: The Politics of Education in Prussia and Bavaria 1750–1900* (Oxford: Berg, 1989), 204.

abolition of all elementary school fees in the Parliament in 1872, he repeated a tenet that many schoolteachers had advanced: School fees, as they were collected at the time, counteracted the authority of teachers. Since children brought and handed over the school fees to the teacher, no proper rapport of authority may exist between them because the circulation of money in classrooms displayed the dependence of teachers upon the money of local contributors.[15] Schoolteachers viewed explicit opposition to school fees as an indirect form of critique of schoolteachers: children heard parents' complaints about school fees and "this damages the reputation and the efficacy of the teacher".[16]

The position of money in education and educational history

As the examples from Colombia and Bavaria suggest, money evoked non-educative effects. Bribery, moral perils, the weakening of authority as the real foundation of educational rapports, and similar anxieties helped to ban money from classrooms. The establishment of modern comprehensive and compulsory school systems also helped make money "invisible". In the process of consolidating institutionalised systems of education with a varying degree of nationalisation, school fees largely disappeared—and, where they still existed, they were strongly viewed as anomalies condemned to vanish.[17]

Daily life in schools thus evolved without the presence of money, at least for the core activities of teaching and learning. Instead, money was primarily debated in terms of a lack of resources, as an issue of old toilets, poor teacher income, and outdated school furniture, for instance. Clearly, concomitant with the intended sacral character of schools as sites of moralisation, which was strongly advanced in the early modern period, was the banning of money from their daily operations. This adhered the popular imagery of Jesus cleansing the Temple by expelling the moneychangers; it was moreover consistent with the tendency to establishing pedagogical rapports that were somewhat secularised forms of religious and pastoral ones.[18] In continental European school cultures, the presence of money in pedagogical settings came to be perceived as the antithesis of a mass agency of moralisation and qualification.

This distinction between education and materialistic and worldly matters was also expressed in formulations that treated schools and education specific spaces with their own logic. Sacral connotations may have retreated in the context of a general secularisation of educational institutions during the last decades. Yet there persists an idea of schooling and education as spaces that are not completely determined by external conditions, but rather has their own intrinsic characteristic. Sociologically, this representation is expressed in such varying formulations as 'relative autonomy' (Pierre Bourdieu), 'grammar of schooling' (David Tyack and Larry Cuban), 'pedagogic discourse' (Basil Bernstein), or 'das eigentliche Pädagogische' (the truly

15 Johann Nepomuk Hollweck, *Die Schulgeldfrage: Ein Beitrag zu Ihrer Lösung* (Regensburg: Nationale Verlagsanstalt, 1899), 10.

16 A. F. Rohmeder, *Zur Frage der Schulgeldaufhebung* (Rothenburg o.d.T.: Commissonsverlag der F. J. Beck'schen Buchhandlung, 1872), 38.

17 The World Bank and UNICEF, *Abolishing School Fees in Africa. Lessons from Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, and Mozambique* (Washington D.C.: IBRD/The World Bank, 2009).

18 For the German context, see Fritz Osterwalder, "Die Geburt der deutschsprachigen Pädagogik aus dem Geist des evangelischen Dogmas," *Vierteljahrsschrift für wissenschaftliche Pädagogik* 68 (1992).

pedagogical element, in a radicalised philosophical form within the German tradition, among others in Franz Fischer's work). Educational historiographies written by educationalists tend to emphasise aspects deemed closely related to this core of educational practices and institutions. These historiographies, not even taking into consideration main findings about the relationships between literacy and economic modernisation, industrial development and schooling, the expanding realm of local and national educational funding, are still reproducing the gap between the concrete foundations of educational activities and institutions and their associated ideologies.

If this diagnosis of the distant relationship of educational historians to the realm of the economy of education in general and to the topic of educational finance in particular holds true, some may seek redemption in the growing body of scholarship being proffered by scholars working in the field of the history of economics. It is indeed a tempting alternative. Economic historians and their modeling approach to historical problems are particularly well suited to the specific type of evidence—numerical—being produced in these studies. Books like *The Race between Education and Technology* and *The Chosen Few* have innovatively proposed interesting explanations for issues like the emergence of a human capital perspective or the strong bond between religious obligations and institutionalised education in Jewish communities.[19]

Yet I cannot help but think that many of the investigations into the links between economy and education are not interested in history as a rather open process that involves agency, expectations and (among other, economic) conditions, but instead in the sense of an additional field for validating rather quasi-mechanical economic laws in the tradition of econometrics. As is widely known, this approach, which has been highly legitimised through the ascendancy of economists and the type of empirical data that suggests exactness and prognostic value, has been vociferously criticised after the last financial crisis. Even if insights coming from a highly abstract and model-based history of economics and finance may be considered to be beyond fundamental criticism, a reversal of the shortcomings of those educational historians who ignore 'money' is evident. The reduction of educational phenomena to a mere additional field in which anthropological assumptions and already-formulated laws of economic development are 'applied' mirrors the one-sided approach of the educationalists. How should education historians approach the field of the historiography of economy and finance while avoiding the internalist approach focusing only on the genuinely 'educational' and the externalist approach of economy? Do the contributions collected in this journal issue advance analytical alternatives to these historiographical dilemmas?

Between externalist and internalist approaches to educational finance

The articles of this special issue deal with the dilemmas of externalist and internalist approaches in different ways. Johannes Westberg's analysis of schoolteachers' allotted farms in nineteenth century Sweden focuses on the complementarity of monetary and non-monetary entanglements. We have become so accustomed to the

19 Claudia Goldin and Lawrence F. Katz, *The Race between Education and Technology* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008); Maristella Botticini and Zvi Eckstein, *The Chosen Few: How Education Shaped Jewish History, 70–1492* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012). Regarding the relationship between economic history and educational history, see Michael Sanderson, "Educational and Economic History: The Good Neighbours." *History of Education* 36, no. 4–5 (2007): 429–45.

notion of equating finance with 'money' that non-monetary resources for financing educational structures and institutions have been largely neglected. Although the variety of income sources of early modern and nineteenth century schoolteachers is a well-known feature of teachers' precarious economic and social status, the broad range of possible combinations of occupations, certainly with strong variations between urban and rural contexts as well as between different national contexts, is still a largely neglected field of research. Westberg's case study shows that as much as one fourth of the rural teachers' income could come from the various activities related to the allotted farms. In this sense, these farms facilitated the expansion of mass schooling, particularly in rather poor areas, by avoiding "unpleasant taxation" and, correspondingly, weakening possible resistance to the institutionalisation and the expansion of compulsory schooling.

For a perspective that goes beyond Sweden, at least two further entanglements are of interest here. The first is the possibility of placing the allotted farms within a wider context of agrarian or environmental history. What was the impact of these farms? Did this kind of financing expand arable lands and encroach upon forests and wetlands? One might also investigate further the kinds of non-financial resources that teachers had in contexts where demographic pressure or scarce free lands rendered allotted farms impossible.

From a more internal perspective, the question of the symbolic impact of a schoolteacher performing the work of the local population—corporal work in agriculture—is a central one. Did this result in a better integration of schoolteachers in local communities with strong egalitarian ethos? Or did the allotted farms undermine the teachers' reputation? In this sense, the links between modes of financing and the legitimacy of teachers and schools could be interrogated in further scholarship.

Samuel Edquist's piece focuses on the changing boundaries of popular education in Sweden, which he links to varying policies of the subsidisation of learning circles and initiatives in the field of popular education. His argument points at conceptual transformations of the field financed, namely, popular education. The entanglements that the author unveils affect the very core of the field. Edquist's article examines various forms of regulation (financial, organisational, practical and ideological) and convincingly discusses how state subsides and their terms shaped the field that they purportedly only had to support. A formative function of subsides draws borders and defines legitimate and non-legitimate practices. In analysing such processes, this article fully deploys the potentials of historically treating education finance as a formative element of educational fields of action and knowledge.

Anne Berg's work on the "popular educational sphere" in Sweden points in another direction. It contends that the notable continuity of popular education was largely an outcome of the active regulating policies promulgated by the central state. Berg's article shows how political entanglements were related to the growing interest in regulating this field (tellingly, with some developments closely associated with the crucial expansion of political franchise). The growing share of public funding for the folk high schools in general, and the closer focus on two institutions in particular, empirically informs the central thesis about stability and continuity. Yet what does this continuity mean? It is a continuity aimed at stabilisation and conformity? Did the certainty of a continuous flow of money change the inner dynamics and the programmes of those being supported? The analysis remains here only at the door of an educational historiography with an 'internalist' accent.

Focusing on the field of international academic exchange, the last two articles of this special issue consider the specific consequences of changing trends in the finance of academic initiatives. Christin Mays and Andreas Åkerlund's contribution on the American-Scandinavian Foundation advances a sound analysis of the foundation's changing financial basis—from small to bigger donors—with a chronological divide at the end of World War II. The broad documentary basis allows the meticulous reconstruction of changing trends in finance and support; yet—from a rather internalist point of view—the shift from small to bigger donors does not seem to have fundamentally affected the function of the American-Scandinavian Foundation. In this sense, money here remains only one context, one that did not have particular consequences on organisational operations.

The last detailed reconstruction of financial flows—Andreas Åkerlund's piece on the Swedish Institute (SI) since 1945—concludes quite inconclusively: "[I]t is almost impossible to reduce exchange through the SI at any given time to a single rationale". This, in turn, complicates the article's main question, which is related to the ways money and financial matters affect educational and scholarly exchange. Beyond the basic premise that academic exchange and travelling without money is quite improbable, this question may have demanded further analyses into the inner dynamics of the institution, including decision-making and feedback, which are surely associated with but never reduced to the flow of money reconstructed in the piece.

Apart from examining the forces that shaped education during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the articles in this special issue raise questions of wider historiographical relevance. It might be the case that the format of journal articles limits the author's ability to delve deeper into the many facets of the development of education in their own specific terms and logic: perhaps articles do not present the researcher with enough space to further analyse differentiations and entanglements. One historiographical lesson, presented by the articles of this special issue, is perhaps that financial matters are a particularly salient topic for understanding the processes and structures that shape and change education. Finance is a dimension of educational reality that is not pervaded by specific or pedagogical logics, as we have seen; but it is a dimension that enables—if not everything—at least substantial elements and components of educational institutions and practices.

These articles also raise questions about the concepts and objects of the educational historian's research. We have grown accustomed to investigating—and accepting—the pervading effects of such things like the bourgeoisie, the state, the church, the working class, and so on, in the development of education. However, as numerous historical and theoretical analyses show, these entities are not as evident and clear-cut as has been held to believe. What these articles suggest, like many other contemporary studies, is that we should probably analyse more modest, but certainly more material aspects—like money, but also buildings, routines, paperwork etc.—in order to re-assess in practical terms the efficacy of the entities we suppose have shaped modern educational institutions. In doing this, and in taking money as an object of practices whose changing flow shows the effects of decisions, legitimacies and calculations, we may gain a stronger view of the entanglements constitutive of education.

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Book Reviews

Carla Aubry Kradolfer
Billig und (ge)recht? Winterthurs Schulen zwischen Politik und Ökonomie (1789-1869)
Universität Zürich (PhD diss)
2014, 312 pp.

In November 1789, the people of Winterthur in the canton of Zürich gathered in the town church to celebrate the recent changes in the town's schools. The town council had decided on a number of reforms, amounting to a veritable revolution in local schooling. Among these changes were a broadening of the curriculum, increases in teacher salaries and the abolition of school fees in both grammar schools and girls' schools. Reforms such as these depended on local political leaders having both the will and ability to allocate the resources necessary.

These local reforms in the late eighteenth century constitute the starting point for Carla Aubry Kradolfer's study, ending in 1869, with the state's abolition of school fees in elementary schools throughout the canton. With the aim of reconstructing the road to free public schooling, Aubry Kradolfer examines the local evolution of schooling in Winterthur and its political, economic and social conditions.

The first part "Changing old order" covers the period from 1789 to 1830. In Winterthur, local political power belonged to an elite among the town burghers. The primary economic basis was the yields from public lands, woods, etc., owned jointly by the limited group of burghers. In comparison to other towns and parishes, Winterthur was quite well endowed, which allowed the town leaders to make the significant investments in schooling around 1790.

The early nineteenth century brought increasing challenges to this inherited social and political system. Centralising tendencies during the Helvetic Republic (1798-1803) and occasional famines had significant, but rather temporary, impact on the schools of Winterthur. A more lasting pressure arose from the growing influx of settlers who, in an attempt to limit competition and the access to public property, were denied the rights of burghers. To cater for this group, a separate "settler school" comparable to rural schools was established, where pupils, unlike the burghers' children, were required to pay a tuition fee. Towards the end of the period, growing expenses and decreasing incomes from public lands spurred the search for supplementary funding, notably a school fund that provided a source of income secured from the competition of other public needs.

The second part, "Liberal beginning brings changes", describes the school system's shifting political and economic conditions. At the cantonal level, suffrage was extended through a new constitution, followed by increasing state initiatives to promote cheap, public schooling. Winterthur and its burghers fought to protect their schooling from state intervention by, for example, not accepting state grants. Although democratic participation also increased at local level among burghers, settlers were still denied political participation and the free schooling enjoyed by burgher children. Given that burgher lands paid for schooling, the principle that "he who pays, decides" served both to discriminate settlers and to resist state interference.

However, in the long run, the potential for keeping local schooling free from state intervention diminished. When central economic stimulus failed, the state turned to politics. New state legislation meant that resources for elementary schooling were to be separated from the general public funds, which were previously controlled by the burghers. Instead, in 1859, the school funds were placed under the control of newly founded local school districts including all (male) residents, regardless of status. In 1865, secondary schooling underwent similar changes, its funds and political control being transferred from burghers to a new municipality. Extending political participation on canton, town and school district levels altered the conditions for school funding. While this change increased the political will to invest in schooling, it also paved the way for new modes of funding. On both canton (1830s) and school district level (1860s), new taxes on income and/or property were introduced to meet the growing expenditure.

During the studied period, schooling seems to have occupied a unique position in local politics and economy. Though there were exceptions and backlashes, the leading elite/burghers/town dwellers generally displayed a remarkable readiness to invest in schooling by, for example, founding new types of schools or raising teachers' salaries. Even in times of cutbacks, schooling was usually spared. Aubry Kradolfer's study reveals variations in local priorities assigned to different needs, as well as different schools. Resources were primarily directed towards the burghers' grammar school, while spending on girls' and settler schools was more modest and usually made later than the corresponding investment in grammar schools.

The motives for this continuous and generous spending on schooling are fascinating. Schools were, already during this period of time, understood as a form of investment that would result in future economic gains. It was also expected that educated men would be better equipped to represent the interests of the town against or within the state. Upon reading this work, additional motives also emerges: schooling as a symbol of that already achieved, rather than a question of potential future gains. The element of manifestation seems especially apparent in the early reforms, celebrated by public ceremonies and completed by the renovation of the facade of the schoolhouse.

Aubry Kradolfer traces the evolution of local schooling through a web of political, economic and social conditions that dictates what is necessary, desirable or possible in educational matters. Needless to say, the study and presentation contain far greater detail and complexity than can be conveyed here. Her study belongs to a tradition in historical research that focuses on the local histories of schooling that preceded the establishment of national systems. In this context, the works of Peter Lindert and Nancy Beadie are also very important, as they serve as inspiration. Moreover, their findings, as noted in the concluding chapter, have parallels in those of the present study. Aubry Kradolfer's study aims at, and succeeds in, delivering a contribution to our understanding of the complex local beginnings of public schooling that is well worth reading.

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Nancy Beadie
Education and the Creation of Capital in the Early American Republic

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
2010, 368 pp.

Beadie's work is a valuable and, in many ways, a unique case study of schooling from the late eighteenth century until about 1840 in Lima, a small rural town in the Genesee River region of Upstate New York. The author offers a detailed description of the foundation of the Genesee Wesleyan Seminary in which she integrates educational history with political, religious, local, institutional and social history. Through this approach, Beadie succeeds in highlighting general questions about the role of education in society, while revealing problems associated with the established image of so-called state (public) schools.

Beadie demonstrates that, in Lima—a town with around 1,500 inhabitants—major joint efforts were made to provide children with educational opportunities. This was done, for example, by fund raising, student fees and through subscriptions. Beadie also shows that such voluntary efforts increased the demand for education in rural areas throughout this period. Beadie attributes special significance to religious networks that, according to her, contributed to economic development through the construction of new schools and improving educational opportunities at the local level.

Beadie works her way through this comprehensive and detailed history of schooling, placing it in the context of the early years of the republic and the transition to capitalism. Her analysis shows how the voluntary contributions to schools and education in Lima interacted with the expanding market economy. Building and maintaining schools attracted capital that, in turn, promoted economic development. Beadie, however, emphasises the importance of social capital in this context. The people in Lima dared venture into capital-intensive projects—such as the building of a schoolhouse—owing to shared efforts and a sense of trust. According to Beadie, this activity produced a mobilisation of political capital, which interacted with other forms of capital, allowing them to mutually reinforce each other. In this way, economic development was promoted.

The strong emphasis of the relationship between the development of education and social and economic capital permeates the entire book. As a result, the traditional perspective focusing on relationship between education and politics is replaced by an inquiry into how the state acquired local school resources that were a result of voluntary efforts. Instead of analysing how education produced human capital, she focuses on how social capital was created, mobilised and transformed into political capital through schooling. This change of perspective is perhaps also Beadie's primary contribution to this field of research.

The study is burdened by the fact that the capital forms that are being discussed are not limited or properly demarcated. Beadie accounts for a large number of capital forms that are not defined. Consequently, capital may be identified in almost every relationship between individuals or organisations. The risk associated with this approach is that it makes it possible to discover capital even where the acknowledgement of the type of capital was low. This may in turn lead to the interpretation that capital was more evenly distributed than it actually was. Beadie writes explicitly that she chose a starting point where people are not categorised according to the social class. Instead of highlighting social, economic and political changes, she is trying to find the roots of school financing in social networks.

However, by failing to analyse social class, she leaves the question of whether the networks were shaped with the help of the societal positions of those people who formed the network. And if access to the social networks was determined by the social class that these people belonged to, this would have impact on the analysis. In such a case, economic capital preceded both the building of the schools and the expansion of education. Since Beadie does not carry out a systematic analysis of the social structure of Lima, this issue remains a moot point.

Beadie's book is, without a doubt, a considerable contribution to the existent research. In stating this, I primarily refer to the extensive source material that she has based her study on, and her ability to move gracefully between various levels of analysis. Despite being a local case study, it addresses several issues that have bearing on a number of broader contexts. Thus, Beadie clearly demonstrates that she is an eminent scholar that is comfortable dealing not only with matters of educational history, but also with issues within the disciplines of history, economics and sociology.

Apart from this multidisciplinary approach, combining theoretical discussions with narratives of individual life stories is a hallmark of her study. For example, when Beadie presents insights into the market revolution of the late 1830s, she also describes the life of the teacher Clarissa Pengra. This is done seamlessly, as she never loses focus on the general level of her analysis. Yet, in doing so, she allows the reader to appreciate the humility of the individual experiences, which are not easily reduced to a part of the whole. In this way, *Education and the Creation of Capital in the Early American Republic* also becomes available to a much wider audience and will find interest beyond readers with a special interest in the history of education. It is thus very positive that the book was recently published as a paperback at a significantly lower price than the hardback.

In writing this book, Beadie's objectives were to explore the importance of education for economic development, as well as to highlight the human dimension in this process. The outcome is an excellent reinterpretation of how early American education can be understood.

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Robert B. Archibald
David H. Feldman
Why Does College Cost So Much?
New York: Oxford University Press
2011, 298 pp.

Robert Archibald and David Feldman's book deals with a complex topic of great significance: the cost and price of education. Its first part begins with a classic enigma with no obvious explanation: why has the cost of college education in the United States increased so rapidly? The authors quickly distance themselves from the political view that the increased cost is a simple matter of waste and maladministration, and an internal university perspective from which rising costs seem unavoidable. Instead, they apply the viewpoint of the discipline of economics, with the intention of providing the reader with a detailed explanation of the rising costs of college education. As a result of this approach, higher education is perceived as one industry among others. Yet, the authors are careful to point out that they do not aim to reduce higher education to something it is not. For example, they do not claim that students are only customers. Still, they do show that it is possible to compare the costs of higher education with those of other types of services.

This insight results in a clear perception of the societal context of higher education. Instead of trying to find the explanation for increased costs within the field of higher education, Archibald and Feldman claim that the main causes behind this phenomenon can be identified in the development of the U.S. economy, and primarily in the production of goods and services. In this way, they succeed in transforming an otherwise excessively abstract issue into a manageable problem. In doing so, they raise two questions: Why are college costs rising faster than other costs? or inversely, Why did the cost of other goods and services rise more slowly than the costs of higher education?

In the second part of the book, Archibald and Feldman describe how technological developments in the U.S. affected the production of goods and services, and hence the cost of higher education. Studying the developments in these areas, it is evident that the cost of higher education has risen significantly faster than, for example, the cost of furniture, new cars, china and glassware. Still, it is striking that the cost of higher education has followed a similar pattern to the costs of the services of dentists, physicians and lawyers. In this respect, Archibald and Feldman conclude that the rising costs of higher education are not all that remarkable. Instead, they are portrayed as a consequence of the technological developments that in general keep costs down for companies that manufacture goods, often through making it possible to produce more goods with lower labour input. However, this does not apply to the services of dentists, physicians and higher education, where technical developments affect the quality of the service rather than the need for labour input. Consequently, the cost of higher education will increase more quickly than the cost of a car, for example.

In addition, technological progress has created a demand for highly educated workers that the colleges have not been able to meet during the last thirty years. This raised demand has affected the salaries of educated workers, and has increased the costs for hiring not only college professors but also physicians and dentists. Technological developments have also affected the service sector, albeit in a different way. As the authors note, technological development can either imply that the same product can be manufactured at a lower price, or with a higher quality. In the context of higher education, which aims to provide students with an up-to-date service, the onus is on higher quality, which requires greater costs.

In the third part of the book, Archibald and Feldman consider the price that parents pay for their children's college education. Here, they make an important distinction between the cost and the price of higher education. They find that, despite the rapid increase in the cost of producing higher education, this has not necessarily implied an increase in the price that the consumer—students and their parents—has to pay through college tuition and fees. Instead of dealing with the conditions that affect the production of higher education, as in part two, this part of the book consequently deals with the affordability of college education. As in previous chapters, the authors claim that this is not a question that can be answered in reference to higher education only. Instead, its affordability can only be estimated by relating the price of college education with household income, and the prices of the goods and services that households consume.

In reference to this argument, the authors conclude that the price of college education has come to take up an increasingly large part of families' budgets. However, since the development of the U.S. economy has increased the household income, and made many goods more affordable, even after children's education has been paid, a larger proportion of household income is left for other expenditures. College has thus become more affordable for a large part of the middle class. The only exception is the segment of the U.S. population that is stuck in the bottom of the widening income distribution gap.

In summary, this book tackles a very complex subject in a way that should be appealing to a broad audience. The authors' analysis is sufficiently simple to be powerful, and complex enough to be convincing. In addition, the book deals with an important topic that also touches on the subject of the increasing cost of the public sector, which is a crucial political issue in many European countries. Demonstrating that the costs of service production are affected by technological development, and not primarily by developments within the public sector, Archibald and Feldman's analysis of higher education offers a refreshing perspective on this discussion, where a lack of efficiency and incentive are often presented as an explanation for the rising costs of health care, elementary education, and so on.

This is a shortened and slightly revised version of a review that appeared in H-Soz-u-Kult, 29.02.2012, <http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/rezensionen/2012-1-140>.

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Gabriele Cappelli
The Uneven Development of Italy's Regions, 1861–1936: a New Analysis Based on Human Capital, Institutional and Social Indicators

European University Institute, Florence (PhD diss.) 2014

In his dissertation, Gabriele Cappelli deals with education from the perspective of an economic historian. Far away from traditional studies in educational history, and its focus on individual educators, school policy and the content and form of education, Cappelli's work sheds light on the relationship between human capital—i.e. such resources as knowledge, skills and training possessed by individuals and populations—economic growth, and the rise of mass schooling during the nineteenth and twentieth century. In other words, it is a dissertation that connects GDP estimates and analyses of the regional variations of industrialisation to extant studies into the history of primary schooling in Italy.

Cappelli's dissertation consists of three papers. The first paper, "The Italian regional divide in the Liberal Age (1861–1914): New measures of social capital", deals, as the title suggests, with the issue of social capital, which have been used to explain the apparent economic differences between the North and the South of Italy. Among other issues, Cappelli discusses Robert Putnam's widely known hypothesis that the economic inequalities among Italy's regions may be explained in terms of social capital, i.e. trust, norms and networks that, for a variety of reasons, are in deficit in some Italian regions.

Contributing to the line of research that has acknowledged the different types and dimensions of social capital, highlighted by e.g. Pierre Bourdieu and James S. Coleman, Cappelli presents new estimates of social capital for Italy's 20 regions, based on data regarding donations to charity institutions (*opere pie*), members of mutual aid societies and crime reports. Thereafter, using an econometric model of conditional convergence, he assesses the significance of these varying levels of social capital. Thus, Cappelli is able to show that social capital does not appear as a major determinant of economic growth. Instead, he argues that his results confirm the findings of those studies that have identified human capital as the prime mover behind economic growth in Italy.

Consequently, Cappelli's second paper, "Escaping from a human capital trap? Italy's regions and the move to centralized primary schooling, 1861–1936", investigates further into the determinants of human capital development in Italy. More specifically it deals with the development of primary schooling following the Casati Law of 1859, which demanded that the Italian municipalities should offer schooling free of charge for children from the age of six, according to the needs of the inhabitants and in proportion to the municipalities spending capacity. The paper focuses on Peter Lindert's influential hypothesis that decentralised education systems favoured the development of school enrolments in the early phases of mass schooling. According to Lindert, a decentralised organisation made it possible for local authorities to cater to local demands of education to an extent that would not have been possible on a national level.

In a critical development of Lindert's hypothesis, Cappelli argues that the decentralised organisation of primary schooling in Italy placed its regions in a human capital trap up until World War I. Since the municipalities had to carry the main financial burden of the school system, poor regions were not able to fund schooling to a desirable extent. This hindered the development of literacy and consequently economic growth, which created a vicious circle, further limiting the ability of poor regions to develop their school system. As a result of the centralisation of primary schooling, owing to the Daneo-Credaro reform in 1911, this situation changed. The disparities in municipalities' expenditure on schooling were reduced, and the significance of local fiscal capacity for investments in schooling decreased. According to Cappelli, the case of Italy thus illustrates the fact that decentralisation, under certain circumstances, may hinder the growth of schooling.

After tending to matters of social capital and the organisation of primary schooling, Cappelli's third paper titled "One size that didn't fit all? Electoral franchise, fiscal capacity and the rise of mass schooling across Italy's provinces, 1870–1911" addresses the issue of electoral franchise. This topic has been brought forward by a number of economic history researchers, not the least by the American economic historians Stanley Engerman and Kenneth Sokoloff. By analysing the relationship between schooling and land inequalities, the distribution of political voice and the nature of democratic mechanisms, these studies have shown how the rise of mass schooling was hampered by inequality and the political influence of local elite.

According to the econometric evidence presented by Cappelli, however, local electoral franchise did not have any direct impact on the expansion of primary schooling in Italy. In addition, the indirect effects were also insignificant: at best, the links between enfranchisement, fiscal policy and fiscal capacity was weak. Rather than local political mechanisms, Cappelli argues that it was socioeconomic conditions that determined the fiscal capacities of the municipalities and in extension the level of expenditure on schooling.

In sum, Cappelli's dissertation offers a genuine contribution to our knowledge of the rise of mass schooling. Of particular significance is the author's ability to identify major theoretical issues in the historiography of schooling and his aptitude for addressing them in specific historical investigations. Cappelli's dissertation is thus of great interest for economic historians with a keen eye for econometric evidence, human capital and economic growth. Yet, it is also a valuable study for scholars dealing with the history of primary schooling and issues such as the significance of school acts, state subsidies and regional variations.

As a historian, I am not suited to assess the econometric craftsmanship of Cappelli's studies. However, my background leaves me longing for more qualitative evidence. Cappelli's dissertation would, I believe, have benefited from further studies into the local realities of Italian municipalities, and the actual workings of social capital, a decentralised organisation and electoral franchise.

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