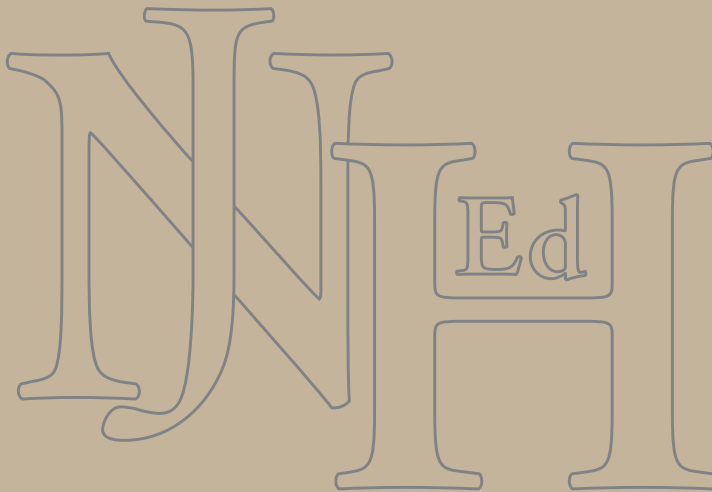


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Table of Contents

Editorial

- Notes from the Editors 1–2
David Sjögren & Henrik Åström Elmersjö

Articles

- Educating for Peace: The Role and Impact of International Organisations in Inter-war and Post-War Danish School Experiments, 1918–1975 3–25
Karen Egedal Andreasen & Christian Ydesen

- Skolämnen och moralisk fostran: En komparativ studie av samhällskunskap och livskunskap 27–47
Joakim Landahl

- The Rise of the Knowledge School and Its Relation to the Resurrection of *Bildung* 49–67
Tomas Wedin

Book Reviews

Dissertations

- Åsa Broberg, *Utbildning på gränsen mellan skola och arbete: Pedagogisk förändring i svensk yrkesutbildning 1918–1971* (Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, 2014) 69
Boel Berner

- Ingela Nilsson, *Nationalism i fredens tjänst: Svenska skolornas fredsförening, fredsfostran och historieundervisning 1919–1939* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2015) 73
Harry Haue

Edited collections and series

- Charlotte Appel & Morten Fink-Jensen, *Da læreren holdt skole: Tiden før 1780. Dansk skolehistorie 1: Hverdag, vilkår og visioner gennem 500 år*, ed. Charlotte Appel & Ning de Conninck-Smith (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2013) 77
Tone Skinningsrud

- Christian Larsen, Erik Nørr & Pernille Sonne, *Da skolen tog form: 1780–1850. Dansk skolehistorie 2: Hverdag, vilkår og visioner gennem 500 år*, ed. Charlotte Appel & Ning de Conninck-Smith (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2013) 79
Lars Petterson

- Anne Katrine Gjerløff & Anette Faye Jacobsen, *Da skolen blev sat i system: 1850–1920. Dansk skolehistorie 3: Hverdag, vilkår og visioner gennem 500 år*, ed. Charlotte Appel & Ning de Conninck-Smith (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2014) 81
Loftur Guttormsson

Monographs

- Johannes Westberg, *Att bygga ett skolväsende: Folkskolans förutsättningar och framväxt 1840–1900* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2014) 83
Ning de Coninck-Smith

- Karen Vallgård, *Imperial Childhoods and Christian Mission: Education and Emotions in South India and Denmark* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014) 84
Julia Nordblad



EDITORIAL

Notes from the Editors

David Sjögren
Henrik Åström Elmersjö

After the last issue was published in May of 2015, the *Nordic Journal of Educational History* helped to organise the well-attended Sixth Nordic Conference on the History of Education that was held in Uppsala in August. Even though there have been other important conferences and venues, this particular conference, together with this journal, constitutes an important hub for communication within the field of Nordic educational history. The conference is also an important place for marketing the journal.

Becoming the primary arena for scholarly discussions in the field of educational history in the Nordic countries will still take a lot of work. One of the things we have been working with since the last issue has been to expand the journal's review section. In order to truly become an important arena for interaction between scholars in the different Nordic countries, we consider a vivid review section to be a priority. We hope that this section will develop into a truly Nordic enterprise and that it will become the principal arena where research on the Nordic educational past is scrutinised and debated. We are trying to make sure that the books that are reviewed, as well as the reviewers, represent a diversity of departments and universities in the Nordic region. However, we are still very much dependent on authors and publishing houses sending books to us for review because we are not in a position where we can actively search for reviewable books. Therefore, we hope that dissertations, edited books, and monographs will be sent to us even more frequently than they have been so far.

The review section of this issue consists of reviews of two dissertations, two monographs, and the first three volumes of the very ambitious Danish multi-volume work *Dansk skolehistorie* (Danish School History). We have engaged educational historians from Iceland, Norway, and Sweden to review these first three volumes in an effort to make sure that the reviews reflect the importance of such an ambitious work in the Nordic region as a whole and not just in Denmark.

This issue of the journal is an open issue, and the articles presented in it were all sent to us on the initiative of the authors and selected on the grounds of their overall high quality after double-blind peer review. One of the problems for us, when it comes to open issues, is the sometimes long period between an article being accepted and its publication date due to the fact that only two issues are published each year – and there can even be a full year between open issues when we publish special issues. We are looking into the possibility of publishing accepted articles "ahead of print"

through a separate channel and then incorporating them into issues at a later date. This system will hopefully be fully operational in the spring of 2016.

The current issue is comprised of articles that all deal with the 20th century. Even so, the articles still showcase the diversity of the journal in that the articles deal with issues of peace education, morality, and political debates on education. The opening article, “Educating for Peace,” is written by Danish scholars Karen Egedal Andreasen and Christian Ydesen, and it is an investigation into the impact of international organisations on Danish school experiments between 1919 and 1975. Working with analytical concepts like “the transnational” and “trading spaces”, Andreasen and Ydesen shed new light on how peace education was spread and translated into a local context.

The second article, written in Swedish, is by Joakim Landahl of Stockholm University. Its English title is “School Subjects and Moral Education: A Comparative Study of Civics and Life-Skills,” and it covers the morality conveyed in two different school subjects that were introduced in Swedish schools during the 20th century – civics in the middle of the century and life-skills in the latter part of the century. Utilising the textbooks for these two subjects, Landahl is able to show how these subjects were embedded in their historical contexts, and he relates the meaning of moral education in schools to general social tendencies.

The third article, “The Rise of the Knowledge School and Its Relation to the Resurrection of *Bildung*,” is written by Tomas Wedin of the University of Gothenburg. It is a presentation of the historical background to the reactivation of the *Bildung*-concept in the Swedish school debate during the 1980s. Wedin ties the resurrection of the concept to the discourse of the so called “knowledge school” (*kunskapsskolan*) and to the economic-instrumentalist discourse of current school debates and the current Swedish curriculum.

We hope you will enjoy this issue, and we hope you will support us in the future by considering our journal as a venue for your work, by participating in the peer-review process, and by sending us your work for review or by reviewing others’ work. The *Nordic Journal of Educational History* belongs to you, the scholars of the Nordic educational past.



Educating for Peace: The Role and Impact of International Organisations in Interwar and Post-War Danish School Experiments, 1918–1975

Karen Egedal Andreassen
Christian Ydesen

Abstract

In the aftermath of the two world wars, strong international networks and organisations manifested themselves with promotion of peace through education on their agenda. Danish pedagogical experiments and experimental schools were strongly influenced by these trends and played a role in subsequent school practices and policies. Drawing on the notions of “the transnational” and “trading spaces” as well as the theoretical concepts of transfer, translation, and transformation, this article addresses the following research question: How were international ideas, knowledge and practice of promoting peace through education transferred, translated, and transformed in Danish school experiments in interwar and post-war scenarios? In exploring this question, the article uses transnational and Danish archival sources as well as journals and reports linked to the Danish progressive education movement. Thus, the article contributes to our understanding of the entanglements of educational ideas and to how trends of internationalisation and globalisation work.

Keywords

education for peace, school experiments, progressive education, international organisations, Danish education

Introduction

During the ten years the League of Nations has existed, it has in many ways endeavoured to secure peace between the states, but those who work for the idea of the League know that real security will be reached only when a moral disarmament, a mental disarmament, is achieved. The nature of the relations among the three Nordic countries is such that everybody takes it for granted that war between any of them is impossible. A similar feeling should be created among all peoples.¹

Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Peter Munch (1870–1948), in 1929

The years following the two world wars were characterised by reflections on how to prevent wars in general and the role of education in particular in securing such a political aim. Education was seen as a privileged field of intervention because of its

1 “Kronborg Magazine – Fifth International Conference on New Education,” August 1929, Elsinore, Denmark, World Education Fellowship, III/186, Institute of Education London Archives, 27. Our translation.

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potential to support social equity and stable economies, prevent social conflicts and promote international understanding.²

As has been argued recently, this view sparked an internationalisation of education as well as an extensive interest in progressive education initiatives.³ Thus, several theorists, practitioners, and politicians across the Western world shared this reformist agenda and its explicit ideas about securing peace in the future through education. The key idea was that education combined with social welfare for children would be a precursor for building peace and international reconciliation.⁴

After the two world wars, these ideas were introduced in school experiments in the Danish public school system (*Folkeskolen*) and implied reflections on both education policy and pedagogy in terms of using education to create social stability and peace at home and prevent wars between nations. Most of these school experiments aiming to implement and domesticate these internationally anchored ideas in terms of policy and educational practice were launched by educators and politicians associated with the international progressive education movement.⁵

Educational experiments took place in numerous countries in the interwar and post-war periods. The worldwide experiments and their dominant ideas and practices were highly inspired by cooperation in different international fora, especially The International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC) under the auspices of the League of Nations, the New Education Fellowship (NEF) and – after 1946 – the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).⁶ Further can be mentioned cooperation in organisations such as the Council of Europe established 1949 and from 1961 the OECD and two of its sub-organisations: The Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI), established in 1968, and International Movement Towards Educational Change (IMTEC), established 1972. Despite their importance in the evolvement of Danish public school experiments, these links and inspirations remain somewhat absent from the existing historio-

2 Ian Harris, "History of Peace Education," *Encyclopaedia of Peace Education* (Charlotte: Information Age Publishing, 2008), 15–24; Herbert Read, *Education for Peace* (New York: Charles Scribner's, 1949); Zoe Moody, "Transnational Treaties on Children's Rights: Norm Building and Circulation in the Twentieth Century," *Paedagogica Historica* 50, nos. 1–2 (2014), 151–64.

3 See e.g. Henrik Åström Elmersjö, "The Norden Associations and International Efforts to Change History Education, 1919–1970: International Organisations, Education, and Hegemonic Nationalism," *Paedagogica Historica* 51, no 6 (2015), 727–43.

4 Joelle Droux, "Children and Youth: A Central Cause in the Circulatory Mechanisms of the League of Nations (1919–1939)," *Prospects* 45, no. 1 (2015), 6376; Ingela Nilsson, *Nationalism i fredens tjänst: Svenska skolornas fredsförening, fredsföstran och historieundervisning 1919–1939* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2015).

5 Ellen Nørgaard, *Lille barn, hvis er du? En skolehistorisk undersøgelse over reformbestrebelsers inden for den danske folkeskole i mellemkrigstiden* [Little Child, Whose Are You? A History of Education Inquiry into Reform Movements Within the Danish Folkeskole in the Interwar Years] (Copenhagen: Gyldendals Pædagogiske Bibliotek, 1977); Christian Ydesen, *The Rise of High-Stakes Educational Testing in Denmark, 1920–1970* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang Verlag, 2011). In Denmark the international progressive education movement was manifested in the so-called "progressive education movement" (*den reformpædagogiske bevægelse*).

6 Emily Hermon, "Peace Education Between the World Wars: A Historical Overview Of The Organized Transnational Peace Education Movement," *Peace Research* 19, no. 2 (1987), 2–6, 75–78; Harry J. Krould and Helen F. Conover, *Textbooks Their Examination and Improvement: A Report on International and National Planning and Studies* (Washington: The Library of Congress, 1948); Jan Kolasa, *International Intellectual Cooperation: The League Experience and the Beginnings of UNESCO* (Wrocław: Polskij Akademii, 1962); Joseph A. Lauwerys, *History Textbooks and International Understanding: Towards World Understanding* (Paris: UNESCO, 1953).

graphy of Danish education. Some of the few exceptions are two PhD dissertations written by Karen Gram-Skjoldager and Poul Duedahl. Gram-Skjoldager treats the relations between Denmark and the League of Nations and the movement's focus on promoting peace through an intellectual, international fight against militarism via conferences, information and education.⁷ Duedahl traces the links with UNESCO's education for international understanding and Danish textbook revision initiatives and educational circulars.⁸ However, they do not discuss the links and connections between the Danish progressive education movement and the international ditto or the domestication of international education for peace initiatives as manifested in Danish school experiments.

This article focuses on "trading spaces" where ideas, knowledge and practices are exchanged, and on related travel routes into Danish school experiments where they might have influenced both policy and practice. Thus, the article sheds light on 1) the workings of "the transnational" in history of education research; 2) how ideas, knowledge and practices travel and influence local (national) educational contexts; and 3) what sort of international impact can be discerned in terms of Danish education for peace initiatives.

Methodology and research question

Methodologically the article draws on the notion of "the transnational" in history of education research⁹ and the theoretical concepts of transfer, translation, and transformation put forth by Robert Cowen, Professor Emeritus of Comparative Education.¹⁰ Subscribing to the transnational turn in history of education research is an attempt to transcend the trammels of methodological nationalism with its "one nation – one school" narrative. Such a framework allows us to trace transnational spaces in which ideas, knowledge, and even practices can move beyond the national frame of reference, and to understand the cross-border entanglements which function as precursors and/or facilitators and/or sources of influence of national and local developments. However, as pointed out by geographer David Livingstone, meaning is always constructed locally. New ideas, knowledge and practices simply have to make sense in the receiving context to become viable.¹¹ Therefore the perspectives of space and place must be understood as intimately connected.¹²

7 Karen Gram-Skjoldager, *Fred og folkeret: Dansk internationalistisk udenrigspolitik 1899–1939* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanums Forlag, 2012), 62–63.

8 Poul Duedahl, *Fra overmenneske til UNESCO-menneske: En begrebshistorisk analyse af overgangen fra et biologisk til et kulturelt forankret menneskesyn i det 20. århundrede* (PhD dissertation, Institut for Historie, Internationale Studier og Samfundsforhold Aalborg Universitet, 2007), 231 ff.

9 Thomas S. Popkewitz, ed., *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Eckhardt Fuchs, "History of Education beyond the Nation? Trends in Historical and Educational Scholarship," in *Connecting Histories of Education: Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges on (Post-)Colonial Education*, ed. Barnita Bagchi, Eckhardt Fuchs, and Kate Rousmaniere (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014), 11–26.

10 Robert Cowen, "Acting Comparatively upon the Educational World: Puzzles and Possibilities," *Oxford Review of Education* 32 (2006), 561–73.

11 David Livingstone, *Putting Science in its Place: Geographies of Scientific Knowledge* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 88.

12 Ivan Lind Christensen and Christian Ydesen, "Routes of Knowledge: Towards a Methodological Framework for Tracing the Historical Impact of International Organizations," *European Education* 47, no. 3 (2015), 274–88.

As analytical concepts for working with such transnational “trading spaces” and the routes leading from the transnational space to the local practice, the concepts of transfer, translation, and transformation are feasible because they provide the opportunity to discern and understand the movements and travels of ideas, knowledge and practices. Cowen defines the concepts as follows:¹³

- a) transfer is the movement of an educational idea or practice in supra-national or transnational or international space: the “space-gate” moment, with its politics of attraction and so on;
- b) translation is the shape-shifting of educational institutions or the re-interpretation of educational ideas which routinely occurs with the transfer in space: “the chameleon process”; and
- c) transformations are the metamorphoses which the compression of social and economic power into education in the new context imposes on the initial translation: that is, a range of transformations which cover both the indigenisation and the extinction of the translated form.

Following Noah Sobe’s critique of “transfer paradigms”, we do not suggest the existence of fixed points of departure and arrival when treating the travelling ideas, knowledge and practices.¹⁴ Rather, we introduce the concept of “trading spaces” meaning places of encounters where “dense webs of relationships”, entanglements, and negotiations happen. Identifying relevant trading spaces is an empirical question, and once they have been identified it is possible to empirically trace changes in terms of concepts, discourse and concrete practices in the local context; in this case school experiments. This is precisely where Cowen’s concepts can be put to good use.

However, according to Cowen’s definition, the key forces in the transformation process are the “social and economic power” of the context of reception; that is, social and economic power determines the fate of the moving idea, knowledge, or practice. This line of thought in combination with our proposed analytical focus on discourse, concept, and practice opens the analytical possibility that the transformation process may not have progressed equally within the three realms.

Thus, the analysis of discourse, concept and practice allows us to see the entanglements between supply-driven and demand-driven processes and construct the notion of relevant trading spaces in which the different processes take place. In this respect, the proposed methodology is conducive to pointing out the preconditions of different continuities and ruptures, and it helps discern recurrences, interrelatedness, and common denominators on the one hand, and contradictions, paradoxes, and antagonisms on the other.

However, theoretical reflections can easily turn into an idealistic endeavour with strong ideas about how and why to proceed methodologically, but will the empirical sources reveal what you as a researcher hope for or will they only render connections and inspiration probable? We have drawn on official documents as well as archives at the Danish institutions where the education for peace experiments took place:

¹³ Cowen (2006), 566.

¹⁴ Noah, W. Sobe, “Entanglement and Transnationalism in the History of American Education,” in *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge*, ed. Thomas S. Popkewitz (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 93–107.

Copenhagen City Archives, the Danish National Archive and the private archive of the former head of the National Centre for Pedagogical Experiments respectively. In order to be true to the transnational focus of the article, we have also consulted the archives of UNESCO and the Institute of Education London Archive containing the NEF archive. These archives have been studied with specific focus on international relations, connections, and idea development. The methodological strategy has been to track the movement of ideas and knowledge and follow their interpretations into the Danish sites of school experiments.

Armed with these methodological and empirical tools, the article addresses the following research question: How were international ideas, knowledge and practice of promoting peace through education transferred, translated, and transformed in Danish school experiments in interwar and post-war scenarios?

Article structure and case studies

We structure the article into one part treating the interwar period and one part treating the post-war period. The conclusion will weigh and discuss the findings in the two historical periods based on the methodological apparatus and the empirical reality.

To analyse the interwar period, we briefly describe the background of and clarify the initiatives of education for peace and their relations with the international progressive education movement. We then focus on the transnational space covering the NEF and the Danish school experiments launched at Frederiksberg and Vanløse (two municipalities neighbouring Copenhagen) in 1924.

The post-war period is treated with focus on the transnational space between UNESCO and the Emdrupborg Experimental School, founded in 1948; the Bernadotte School, instituted in 1949; and the National Centre for Pedagogical Experiments (*Statens Pædagogiske Forsøgscenter*), established in 1964. These institutions constitute solid examples of concrete transformation of ideas deriving from the transnational education space on Danish soil.

Although the ICIC of the League of Nations served as the obvious building block for UNESCO, we choose to focus on the NEF instead in our analysis of the interwar years. The NEF had very clear and explicit connections with the Danish progressive education movement, which was a key agent in the development of Danish educational policies and practices in that period. These connections are in evidence since the very formation of the NEF in 1921; in 1926 a Danish branch of the NEF, "The Free School" (*Den frie skole*), was formed, and in 1929 the connections were further cemented with the NEF international congress at *Kronborg* castle in Elsinore.¹⁵ We will elaborate on the links between progressive education and education for peace below. However, it should be duly noted that the League of Nations remained an important reference point and, as argued by Eckhardt Fuchs, succeeded in making education a public international affair, although it "[...] failed as an international center for various educational networks".¹⁶

¹⁵ Ydesen (2011).

¹⁶ Eckhardt Fuchs, "The Creation of New International Networks in Education: The League of Nations and Educational Organizations in the 1920s," *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no. 2 (2007), 209.

Education for peace

The term “education for peace” refers to initiatives and activities at policy level as well as at a practice level. Thus, the concept includes politicians addressing ideas of basic education for all citizens, to raise educational levels and fight social inequalities to maintain stable and peaceful societies, and the development of specific social or academic competencies to support peace in the long term among pupils and students in educational institutions.¹⁷ These perspectives are intertwined in educational policy initiatives, pedagogic practices and experiments as shown in our analysis. The ideas of “education for all” and the comprehensive school demanded schools to develop and implement a new pedagogy, which embraced and included all children and social cultures and addressed social, cultural and international understanding directly in the content of subjects, for instance in textbooks. These ideas were introduced simultaneously in Danish public schools, and the close intertwinement stands out very clearly in our analysis.

Education for peace has been discussed since around 1800.¹⁸ However, a regular and well-established peace movement did not emerge until the late 19th century. In the Nordic countries, peace societies were established during the 1880s, in Denmark in 1882.¹⁹ In 1890, 1891, and 1892 three world peace congresses were held in London, Rome, and Paris, respectively. Subjects such as breaking down the concept of “the enemy” and the promotion of international understanding were discussed. These tendencies had an impact on pedagogy and organisations advocating a new pedagogy aiming for peace in and between nations and preventing wars and international conflicts were founded. For example, the Scandinavian Teachers’ Peace Association, founded in 1924, organised special courses on peace education for teachers every other year,²⁰ and the ICIC took initiatives to revise textbooks to support peace through education.²¹ Their initiatives influenced educational policies and even led to a Ministry of Education circular ordering Danish schools to teach peace on the first Monday in September, the day the League of Nations Assembly met. In continuation of the opening quote, Minister Peter Munch wrote the following about this initiative:

It is not sufficient to do away with hatred. Even if this means a lot it is only the negative side of the task. We must also take up the positive side by teaching young people who are growing up now that common interest links all nations together.²²

17 Mendhekar Dattatrya Parshuram, “Education for Peace,” *Indian Streams Research Journal* 3, no. II (2013).

18 Gram-Skjoldager (2012).

19 S. Shepard Jones, *The Scandinavian States and the League of Nations* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), 12.

20 Techniques on Education for International Understanding, Questionnaire, “Short report on the activities effected in schools and among youth organisations etc. in order to create better international understanding 1951,” sent from the Danish United Nations Association, March 14, 1952, 327.6 A 55 ‘51’, UNESCO Archive (UA).

21 Ellen Nørgaard, “Skolebogsbetænkningens historieafsnit: Dets tilblivelseshistorie og træk af dets modtagelse” [The Report on Textbook’s Paragraph on History: Its Genealogy and Outlines of Its Reception], *Årbog for dansk skolehistorie* (1970), 89–106.

22 “Kronborg Magazine – Fifth International Conference on New Education,” August 1929, Elsinore, Denmark, World Education Fellowship (WEF), III/186, Institute of Education London Archive (IELA), 27. Our translation.

These observations attest to a focus on education for peace in the higher echelons of Danish society, i.e. among the Danish political elite, which is very much in alignment with the League of Nations. However, we turn our focus to the lower echelons of society, i.e. the bottom-up processes as manifested in schools and teacher networks as well as the links between progressive education and education for peace.

The roots of progressive education and education for peace

Different kinds of experimental schools were established during the 19th and early 20th centuries across Europe, founded or inspired by educational theorists such as Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776–1841), Friedrich Fröbel (1782–1852), and Maria Montessori (1870–1952), who all pointed to the importance of pedagogy and its role in child development and reflected on the ideas of progressive pedagogy. In England, Cecil Reddie (1858–1932) founded the Abbotsholme experimental school. In the United States, philosopher and psychologist John Dewey (1859–1952) was inspired by and further developed ideas of education for peace and its corresponding pedagogic practice. He pointed to the important role of socialisation and thus of pedagogy.²³ Dewey also addressed the social perspectives of progressive education, for instance by pointing out that its aim is “to take part in correcting unfair privilege and unfair deprivation.”²⁴ Thoughts such as these became important cornerstones in the new pedagogy under development. Dewey had a position at University of Chicago and experimented with a new pedagogy in a so-called laboratory school, founded in 1896. This and other experimental schools became models for similar schools that experimented with new pedagogy during the 20th century. Among the more well-known projects were the Dalton Plan, devised and implemented in 1917 by Helen Parkhurst (1887–1973); the Winnetka Plan, initiated 1919 by Carleton W. Washburne (1889–1968), and the Decroly School, established in Belgium by Ovide Decroly (1871–1932). Dewey described the ideas of the new education in progressive schools as opposed to existing pedagogy, defined by emphasising “expression and cultivation of individuality”, free activity, learning through experience, the acquisition of skills “as means of attaining ends which make direct vital appeal”, “preparation for making the most of the opportunities of present life”, and “acquaintance with a changing world.”²⁵

As argued, the underlying variable behind the international progressive education movement was education for peace. At the progressive education meeting in Helsinki, Finland, in August 1938, the chair of the Finnish NEF section, headmaster Laurin Ziliacus (1895–1959), gave a closing lecture in which he characterised the international progressive education movement. One of the central traits emphasised was: “a strong and determined internationalism” in which child rearing was seen as “the best way of building a happier world; a world without war.”²⁶ With this link between progressive education and education for peace established, it is time to focus on the interwar years and the NEF, the key international progressive education organisation of that period.

23 John Dewey, “My Pedagogic Creed,” *School Journal* 54, no. 3 (1897), 77–80.

24 John Dewey, *Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education* (New York: Courier Dover Publications, 2004 [1916]), 115.

25 John Dewey, *Experience & Education* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2007 [1938]), 19ff.

26 Laurin Ziliacus, “Den nye opdragelse af idag” [The New Rearing of Today], *Den Frie Skole* 12, no. 1 (1939), 3–8.

The interwar years

The NEF

The NEF was founded in 1921 with a strong belief in a new international education for international understanding.²⁷ Since its formation at a conference in Calais, France, the NEF's reputation and prominence on the international pedagogical scene "as an international body facilitating the exchange of educational ideas and practices" snowballed.²⁸

The NEF was a motley and complex group consisting of lay enthusiasts and major figures on the international educational scene, including Maria Montessori, Adolphe Ferrière (1879–1960), Ovide Decroly, Carl Gustav Jung (1887–1961), Jean Piaget (1896–1980), and John Dewey.²⁹ The numerous points of view were not all compatible, rooted as they were in theosophy and spiritual elements, as well as psychology and positivistic science. However, the lodestar of the organisation was the individual potential of the human being and education for peace.³⁰ The key terms here are *international understanding*, *world consciousness*, and *world citizenship*.³¹

The international links between the Danish progressive education movement and the NEF can be described as a trading space: "The New Education Fellowship provided a learning community in which educators sought to define their role in the 'new' within the wider context of an international community of practice."³² But the NEF also functioned as an organisation that could generate authority in educational debates on national scenes.

Linking the NEF and the Danish progressive education movement

In the early 20th century, the Danish progressive education environment consisted of several factions, which can generally be categorised into two groups: the folk high school movement inspired by N. F. S. Grundtvig (1783–1872) and Christen Kold (1816–1870), and the progressive education movement.³³ Both groups made noteworthy contributions to education for peace in Denmark. The folk high school movement framed the International People's College, established by Peter Man-

27 Beatrice Haeggeli-Jenni, "Le rôle des femmes de la Ligue Internationale pour l'Education Nouvelle dans la circulation des savoirs pédagogiques (1920–1940)," in *Les savoirs dans le champ éducatif: circulations, transformations, implémentations – Pour une histoire sociale de la fabrique internationale des savoirs en éducation 19e–20e siècles*, ed. Joelle Droux and Rita Hofstetter (forthcoming); Kevin Brehony, "A New Education for a New Era: The Contribution of the Conferences of the New Education Fellowship to the Disciplinary Field of Education, 1921–1938," *Paedagogica Historica* 40, nos. 5–6 (2004), 733–55.

28 *Ibid.*, 745.

29 *Ibid.*, 734.

30 William Boyd and Muriel M. MacKenzie, eds., *Towards a New Education: A Record and Synthesis of the Discussions on the New Psychology and Curriculum at the Fifth World Conference of the New Education Fellowship at Elsinore, Denmark, in August 1929* (London: A.A. Knopf, 1930); Beatrice Ensor, "Outlook Tower," *The New Era* 10, no. 37 (1929): 3–8; Laurits Suhr, "Arbejdsskolen" [The Work School], *Vor Ungdom* [Our Youth] (1923), 158–65.

31 Brehony (2004), 740; Ensor (1929), 7.

32 Margaret White, "The New Education Fellowship: An International Community of Practice," *New Era in Education* 82, no. 3 (2001), 71–75.

33 J. Nielsen, "Denmark," *Educational Yearbook of the International Institute of Teachers College* (New York, 1936), 250–68; Nørgaard (1977), 45f.; Sofie Rifbjerg, *Træk af den moderne opdragelsehistorie* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1966); S. Simonsen, "A Dalton Plan Experiment in Denmark," *The New Era* 10, no. 37 (1929), 60.

niche (1889–1981) in Elsinore in 1921 to “bridge the gulf of estrangement that exists among the nations of the world by receiving students from different countries.”³⁴

The progressive education movement drew inspiration from international pedagogical currents³⁵ and continuously sought to influence the Danish educational field via journals, pedagogy in courses, presentations at conferences, and school experiments.³⁶

The connection between the Danish educational field and the NEF was formally institutionalised in May 1926 with the formation of *Den Frie Skole* (The Free School) as an official section of the NEF. The work programme of the Danish NEF section said: “We want the school to promote international understanding, because – more than ever – we are convinced that nations must settle their disputes peacefully.”³⁷ Thus, the Danish progressive education movement and the NEF keenly tried to promote a spirit of cooperation rather than competition among children. This implied the abolition of the existing examination system, which was seen as promoting competition and replicating social inequalities, stifling and hampering the potential of the individual child. Georg Julius Arvin (1880–1962), chairperson of the Danish NEF section, wrote in his description of the Danish education system to the NEF:

In the present examination system, we have the greatest hindrance to freedom in the school. It is therefore, quite natural that the New Education Fellowship has submitted this question to serious consideration and formed a committee aiming to work out suggestions for a new examination system. In this country, where Grundtvig has spoken so sharply against the lesson school which began “with letters and ended with books”, one would expect the people to take a special interest in the struggle against examinations; nevertheless we have a pronounced examination system.³⁸

In August 1929, the NEF held its all-time biggest conference at Kronborg Castle in Elsinore, with around 2,000 participants from 43 nations.³⁹ The conference was

34 “Kronborg Magazine – The Fifth International Conference in New Education,” August 1929, WEF III/186, IELA, 47.

35 Many Danish teachers travelled to England, Germany, Sweden, Norway, and the United States in the 1920s to learn about educational trends and experiments abroad. Between 1918 and 1959, 34 Danish teachers studied at Teachers College, Columbia University (student records, Teachers College, Columbia University). Of these, 21 went to Teachers College between 1923 and 1938 (Report on the International Institute of Teachers College to the Rockefeller Foundation, 1939, Table I, 94). Between 1915 and 1927, the distribution of Danish teachers travelling abroad with a Ministry of Education grant was: England 60, Germany 40, Sweden 40, Norway 20, France 32, Italy five, and Holland three. This is obviously not an accurate picture, since many teachers travelled without grants from the ministry, but it still says something about the regions and schools to which Danish teachers looked for inspiration. “Rejseindberetninger fra lærere med understøttelse til studierejser i udlandet” [Travel Accounts from Teachers with a Grant for Study Trips Abroad], 1917–1927, Ministry of Education, Danish National Archives (DN).

36 Our study of the journal of the Danish NEF section, *Den Frie Skole*, in the 1920s and 1930s testifies to a profound international outlook: It carries numerous articles from, *inter alia*, the rest of Scandinavia, England, Scotland, the United States, Germany, Italy, and Belgium.

37 “Den Frie Skoles Arbejdsprogram” [Work program of the Free School], *Den Frie Skole* 12, no. 3 (1938), 1.

38 “Kronborg Magazine – The Fifth International Conference in New Education,” August 1929, WEF III/186, IELA, 29f.

39 Eckhardt Fuchs, “Educational Sciences, Morality and Politics: International Educational Congresses in the Early Twentieth Century,” *Paedagogica Historica* 40, no. 5 (2004), 757–84.

of utmost importance in the international educational field, and according to the conference report book, “it is no exaggeration to say that this book contains the truest account available anywhere of the various currents of progressive educational thought in the world at this critical time.”⁴⁰

The conference convened under the auspices of the Scandinavian ministers of education, and the Danish Prime Minister Thorvald Stauning (1873–1942) gave the opening address. The organising committee consisted of members from the Scandinavian countries; among them leading members of the Danish progressive education movement, the prominent Swedish educator Nils Hänninger (1887–1968), and the Norwegian headmistress and chairperson of the Norwegian NEF section, Anna Sethne (1872–1961).

Because of its magnitude, the conference had a significant impact in Denmark and, from a theoretical perspective, is an exceptional example of a transnational trading space where ideas and even practices could travel.⁴¹

In this context, a noteworthy feature of the NEF conference was a study group entitled “Education for International Understanding”. The group presented a programme of papers by participants from several different countries, many of which addressed peace, international understanding, and cooperation. The Anglo-American participants presented:⁴² “Creating the International Mind in Youth through Education” by J. E. H. Fanshawe, Director General, Brooks-Bright Foundation; “International Understanding through Language” by J. J. Findlay, Honorary Professor of Education, University of Manchester, England; and “Racial Prejudice in Children of School Age” by G. H. Green, Lecturer at the Department of Education, Aberystwyth, Wales, and S. Herbert Lecturer at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, Wales.

This working group and its international contents testify to the central position of international understanding and education for peace within the progressive education movement. Moreover, it would have served as a source of inspiration for many of the participating and interested Danish teachers and educationalists, creating the opportunity for the transfer, translation, and transformation of ideas, knowledge and practice about education for peace.

With this link between international progressive education space and the Danish progressive education movement established, it is time to focus on the practices of education for peace in the school experiments at Frederiksberg and Vanløse.

School experiments at Frederiksberg and Vanløse

In the 1920s and 1930s, the Frederiksberg educational system was a progressive hub for educational experiments and new educational practices. As early as 1924, the first official experimental class was established at *Howitsvejens skole*. A couple of unofficial experimental classes at *Lollandsvejens skole* were closed in 1928, only to be resurrected in 1930 at *La Cours Vejens skole*.⁴³

40 Michael Sadler, “Introduction,” in *Towards a New Education: A Record and Synthesis of the Discussions on the New Psychology and Curriculum at the Fifth World Conference of the New Education Fellowship at Elsinore, Denmark, in August 1929*, ed. William Boyd and Muriel M. MacKenzie (London: A.A. Knopf, 1930), xi.

41 Ydesen (2011).

42 Programme for the Elsinore conference, WEF III/186/1929, IELA.

43 Olaf de Hemmer Egeberg, ”Forsøgsarbejdets kaar i Danmark” [The conditions of experimental work in Denmark], *Den Frie Skole* 4, no. 9 (1931), 139–41.

In 1918, the aforementioned Arvin was appointed headmaster of the *Skolen på la Cours Vej* (The School at la Cours Vej), a position he held until 1939. As an educator, Arvin saw himself as inheriting the work of German reform educator Georg Kerschensteiner (1854–1932) and his concept of *Arbeitsschule* (work school).⁴⁴ The *Skolen på la Cours Vej* was thus an interesting trading space for transfers and translations of international educational ideas and practices, not least because Arvin was given the freedom by the school directorate to realise many of his reformist ideas.⁴⁵ One example was the establishment of the very first Montessori kindergarten as an attachment to the school in 1920.

Arvin made tremendous efforts to establish contact with the international pedagogical field, making several visits abroad. Furthermore, a steady stream of international visitors came to see the *Skolen på la Cours Vej*, including from Japan, Thailand, and the United States.⁴⁶ Arvin also made the school a place where Danish progressive educationalists could find like-minded people; i.e. a sanctuary from the lifted eyebrows of the educational establishment and its grudge against the progressive education movement. One example is the well-known progressive educationalist Torben Gregersen (1911–1994) and secretary of the Danish NEF section, who worked as a teacher at the *Skolen på la Cours Vej* between 1935 and 1943. Many others were invited to give talks for teachers and parents, numbering among their ranks the educational psychologist Sofie Ribbjerg (1886–1981), who had studied the works of Maria Montessori, Cyril Burt, the leading educational psychologist at the time, and Olaf de Hemmer Egeberg (1887–1959), a teacher in the Vanløse experimental classes. In his description of the Vanløse classes, Egeberg emphasised the following:

In our age, human beings of a different mould are needed, human beings with cleaner and higher ideals. We need brave and energetic human beings who can make sound judgements and have the will and ability to enter into the right relation with other human beings so that the building and entire structure of societies may be shaped according to better and more just lines than has so far been the case.⁴⁷

Gertrud Lundholm (1890–1981) describes her work in the Vanløse experimental classes to the NEF as follows:

Now [the pupils] demanded to know the real history of Denmark, and we brought forward the times of the Vikings, not from the standpoint of Denmark's time of power, but from the causes to the great movement in Europe, and from the thought that man, of course, could not then think as we.⁴⁸

Another teacher's diary from the Vanløse experimental classes reflects the ideas of the new progressive pedagogy put into practice. Very similar to the Frederiksberg practices, the pedagogy adapted challenges to pupil development and competencies

44 "Kronborg Magazine – The Fifth International Conference in New Education," August 1929, WEF III/186, IELA, 30.

45 Georg Julius Arvin, Tryksager, Avisudklip [press clippings], 1856–1956, DN.

46 Helge Jensen, "Arvin og skolen på La Coursvej," *Pædagogisk-psykologisk tidsskrift* (1950), 139–46.

47 Speech by Egeberg in August 1927, reproduced in Spæt Henriksen and Ellen Nørgaard, *Vanløsedagbogen: En reformpædagogisk praksis* [The Vanløse Diary: A reform pedagogical practice] (Copenhagen: Gyldendals pædagogiske bibliotek, 1983). Our translation.

48 "Kronborg Magazine – The Fifth International Conference in New Education," August 1929, WEF III/186, IELA, 34f.

and gave pupils freedom to choose the activities in which they wanted to engage, prevented competition and supported cooperation and social understanding.⁴⁹

Thus, the *Skolen på la Cours Vej* and Vanløse classes can be characterised as important beachheads for progressive education in general and for education for peace in particular in Denmark.

However, the educational climate in Denmark in the interwar years was highly antagonistic.⁵⁰ The 10 Vanløse experimental classes were suddenly and without warning terminated in 1928 by the Copenhagen School Directorate a few days before the evaluative test agreed on in 1924 was scheduled to take place.⁵¹ The decision was made by the conservative Mayor of Education Ernst Kaper (1874–1940), who wanted an “efficient and uniform” school system in Copenhagen, one in which children could be easily moved from one school to another.⁵² He had endorsed the experiment in 1924 because he saw it as a valve that would relieve some of the pressure in the educational system generated by the progressive education movement and its criticism of the existing educational system.⁵³ However, with widespread attention and parental support to the experimental classes, what had started as a stream was turning into a dangerous current. Another constrainer of possibilities, the Social Democratic member of the Copenhagen City Council also supported the decision, fearing that acquisition of useful subject knowledge had suffered in the experimental classes.⁵⁴ The whole affair testifies to the intense struggles in Danish education in the interwar years and shows that the progressive education movement and its ideas were often unwelcome among both conservative and Social Democratic politicians.

Using the Frederiksberg and Vanløse school experiments as analytical objects on the backdrop of the trading space between the international progressive education movement, epitomized by the NEF, and the Danish progressive education movement has revealed a high level of transfer and translation of education for peace ideas. The quotes are very much in alignment with international ideas about education for peace. For instance, when Gregersen talks about “a new mould of human beings” it is in alignment with the international discourse found in the ranks of the NEF. At the same time, it has become clear that the Danish progressive education movement was in opposition to the educational establishment. Fierce criticism from influential agents like Ernst Kaper further unified progressive educationalists and they drew on the international space of like-mindedness to find rejuvenation and new arguments for their struggle. In terms of transformation it meant that significant social and economic power was imposed on the translated practices. But, gradually, some progressive educationalists like Arvin became more influential and provided sanctuaries for the idea of progressive education. However, it is important to note that education for peace was but one component – although an overarching one – in the educational struggles of the interwar years. Other battle scenes were the evaluation system, the question of differentiation, the level of standardization in the organisation, and the didactical guidelines of the education system.

49 Henriksen and Nørgaard (1983).

50 Ydesen (2011).

51 Nørgaard (1977), 88.

52 Henriksen and Nørgaard (1983), 14.

53 Ibid., 25.

54 Ibid., 30.

The post-war years

The NEF and UNESCO

There were some clear lines of continuation between the interwar and post-war periods concerning education for peace. First and foremost, the NEF international office in London was closely associated with the newly established UNESCO and even received a subvention from UNESCO to promote the work of international understanding through surveys and projects.⁵⁵

According to Gregersen, the NEF had consultative status in UNESCO and was one of six organisations invited to contribute a memorandum to UNESCO's enquiry into Tensions Affecting International Understanding. Furthermore, the NEF published for UNESCO a special issue of *The New Era* devoted to "Children's Communities" and Professor Henri Wallon, president of the NEF section in France, was chairperson of the Education Committee of UNESCO's National Commission for France, while Dr Rupert Best, of the executive board, represented the NEF on UNESCO's National Commission for Australia.⁵⁶

In November 1949, Gregersen presented at Emdrupborg his impressions from the NEF summer conference held in August 1949 in the English town of Cirencester. The theme of the conference was the development of attitudes favourable to international understanding.⁵⁷ Among other things, Gregersen emphasised UNESCO's project Tensions Affecting International Understanding. The project was headed by Professor Klineberg from Columbia University, and it involved sociologists from 16 nations, focused on textbook improvement, empirical investigations into stereotypes, and experiments on how attitudes can be changed.

UNESCO came into existence in 1946 and, as a newly emerging international player, played its role in decolonisation and post-war reconstruction by initiating and promoting major international projects aimed at improvements in general education, school teaching, and mutual understanding among nations. One of the first goals proclaimed by UNESCO was to cultivate "unity in diversity" to achieve a better cross-cultural relationship and cooperation between diverse human communities. The important agenda that UNESCO set within this goal was to find "new ways of living peacefully together". Among its key initiatives in this regard were education for international understanding and improvement of textbooks as an aid to international understanding. In 1947, UNESCO held a major seminar in Sèvres, France, on education for international understanding, with several Danish representatives.⁵⁸ The working group on Social Studies Teaching and International Understanding drew conclusions and guidelines on how to implement national programmes for

55 Letter from Torben Gregersen to Miss Clare Soper, 13 May, 1950, WEF II/80–81, IELA; Joseph Watras, "The New Education Fellowship and UNESCO's Programme of Fundamental Education," *Paedagogica Historica* 47, no. 1–2 (2011), 191–205.

56 New Education Fellowship pamphlet, Torben Gregersen, 1940–1993, "Diverse sager" [Miscellaneous], DN. The pamphlet is undated but probably from 1949, since it mentions a "forthcoming conference" to be held in Cirencester in August 1949.

57 New Education Fellowship, "Can we do something for peace and freedom through rearing?," talk held at Emdrupborg Experimental School, 16 November, 1949, Torben Gregersen, 1940–1993, "Diverse sager" [Miscellaneous], DN.

58 "Education for International Understanding," Sèvres, 1947, 327.6–37 A 074 (44) '47', UA.

international understanding in schools, for instance by producing better informational materials for teaching, such as pamphlets and textbooks.⁵⁹

Further, the UNESCO programme resolution formulated in 1950 (no. 2.513) addressed the role of schools and school experiments:

The Director-General is instructed to take steps towards the drafting of a convention under which the Member States may agree, with the limits of their legal powers, to ensure their educational programmes are directed at all levels towards international peace and security.⁶⁰

Denmark, among other countries, set up a committee to supervise and coordinate the experimental activities in schools associated with the UNESCO programme in International Understanding and Co-operation at the national level.⁶¹ Several experiments were implemented, and the Emdrupborg Experimental School's experiments were among the most prominent and influential.

The Emdrupborg Experimental School and the Bernadotte School

On November 26, 1947, the Copenhagen School Directorate decided to establish an experimental school in the Emdrup neighbourhood, northwest of central Copenhagen.⁶² The school was inaugurated on August 13, 1948, under the leadership of former Vanløse teacher, NEF member, and now educational psychologist Anne Marie Nørvig (1893–1959).⁶³

The pedagogical ideas and practices at Emdrupborg found inspiration in the international progressive education movement in general, as well as Abbotsholme and Dewey's Laboratory School in particular testifying to a transfer, translation and transformation process.⁶⁴ An example from Danish language lessons, described in a report by Jørgen Egedal Poulsen (b. 1921), a teacher at the school, illustrates the ideas of such practice. Poulsen describes pedagogy as having:

[...] its greatest value in the rearing for cooperation and thus a democratic attitude. The pupils are taught to listen to other people's opinions, learn something about themselves in the social interaction, and get an opportunity to advance opinions and ideas, giving everybody the possibility to contribute to the common cause.⁶⁵

59 "Education for International Understanding," Sèvres, 1947, part IV, reports, foreword, working papers etc., "Social Studies Teaching and International Understanding," 27 August, 1947, 327.6–37 A 074 (44) '47', UA, 42f.

60 See <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0016/001617/161776eb.pdf> and <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001443/144371eb.pdf>.

61 "Seminar on Education for Living in a World Community – Netherlands 1952 follow up," newsletter to former seminar participants, 30 January, 1955, 327.6 A 074 (492), UA, 4.

62 "Beretning om Københavns Skolevæsen" [Account about the Copenhagen Educational System], 1947–1948, Copenhagen City Archives (CA), 8.

63 Anne Marie Nørvig, "Vor skoles struktur er ikke tidssvarende" [Our School Structure Is Not Up-to-Date], *Land og folk*, 14 August, 1948, 5ff.

64 Jørgen Egedal Poulsen, "Kontinuitet i forsøgsarbejdet i sidste halvdel af det 20. århundrede – Den selvudviklende skole" [Continuity in the Experimental Work in the Latter Half of the 20th Century – The Self-Developing School] (1998), Statens Pædagogiske Forsøgscenter (SPF), DN, Chapter 4.

65 Jørgen Egedal Poulsen, "Danskundervisning på Emdrupborg Skole" [Teaching in Danish at Emdrupborg School] (1963), SPF, DN. Our translation.

The quote clearly relates to the shared concepts and discourse of UNESCO and the Council of Europe with their emphasis on cooperation and democratic attitude, but it also relates to the Danish public post-war debates about democracy.⁶⁶ Theologian Hal Koch (1904–1963) had argued that democracy is a lifestyle and not something reserved for the higher echelons of the political system. In this light the quote also indicates a transformation of international ideas about democracy in education.

Another example is the visit by a delegation from the Council for Education in World Citizenship, headed by Margaret Quass, to Emdrupborg in August 1954.⁶⁷ The council was founded in 1939 as an independent organisation dedicated to education for international understanding, for young people of all ages. The organisation had very close and cordial ties with UNESCO.⁶⁸

Moreover, the majority of the experimental school staff, including Nørvig and the three other educational psychologists employed, were members of the Danish NEF section.⁶⁹ After its establishment, the Danish NEF section found Emdrupborg a suitable place for presentations, talks, and other events. One speaker was Alexander Sutherland Neill (1883–1973), founder and headmaster of the Summerhill progressive school. In August 1953, the NEF held a significant two-week international conference at Askov High School with 270 participants, and many foreign NEF section representatives visited Emdrupborg, as well as several prominent international NEF members, including Laurin Zilliacus (October 1953), Ruth Frøyland Nielsen (July 1953), and Professor Joseph Albert Lauwerys (1902–1981), deputy chairperson of the NEF and a frequent expert in UNESCO work (March 1950 and summer 1959). Speaking about the Emdrupborg complex of educational institutions at the Royal Danish School of Education on June 16, 1948, Arvin said, “As chairman of the Danish NEF section, I dare add my wish that Emdrupborg may be a link between Nordic and international pedagogy.”⁷⁰

Another important post-war institution was the autonomous *Bernadotteskolen* – also known as the International School – founded by Arvin in August 1949 and run according to UNESCO’s educational ideas.⁷¹ Bernadotte worked as a comprehensive school, which was ground-breaking at the time. A staunch supporter of the school was Minister of Education Hartvig Frisch (1893–1950), who, in a teacher’s union speech, said, “If we enter into a peaceful era, Denmark will enjoy a prosperous pedagogical age” and “it is natural if Denmark enters cultural collaboration with UNESCO right from the start.”⁷²

66 Thomas Nygren, “UNESCO and Council of Europe Guidelines, and History Education in Sweden, c. 1960–2002,” *Education Inquiry* 2, no. 1, (2011), 37–60.

67 Emdrupborg school archive, guestbook 1948–1965, CA.

68 Derek Heater, *Peace Through Education: The Contribution of the Council for Education in World Citizenship* (London: Falmer Press, 1984).

69 Forms submitted from Sofie Ribbjerg to Miss Clare Soper, Membership Secretary of the NEF, dated February 1, 1933, WEF II/80, IELA; Niels Rosendal Jensen, “Kampen for enhedsskolen – forsøget på Emdrupborg,” *Arbejderhistorie* 2 (1998), 45–59.

70 Georg Julius Arvin, Tryksager, Avisudklip [Press Clippings], 1856–1956, DN.

71 Pamphlet entitled “The International School, Denmark,” WEF II/81, IELA.

72 “Allerede i børnehaven lærer de små engelsk – Rektor Arvin om den internationale Bernadotteskole i Hellerup” [The little ones learn English already in pre-school – Headmaster Arvin about the international Bernadotte school in Hellerup], *Aftenbladet København*, 15 August 1949; “Får enhedsskolen nu sin chance” [Will the comprehensive school get its chance], *Aftenbladet København*, 26 November, 1948.

Arvin's initiative immediately enjoyed wide national and international support. Mads R. Hartling (1885–1960), minister of education November 7, 1945–November 13, 1947, and the Danish UNESCO representative supported the formation of a committee in 1947 with the purpose of establishing the Bernadotte school, a committee whose supporters also counted the British and American ambassadors.⁷³

These observations testify to the presence of strong international routes from the international space of peace education where Emdrupborg and the Bernadotte School served as hubs of progressive educational ideas as expressed by the NEF and UNESCO. In line with our theoretical framework the movements can be expressed as translations of transnational ideas while the subsequent practices of the institutions constitute transformation processes.

The National Centre for Pedagogical Experiments

In 1963, the Danish Minister of Education Kristen Helveg Petersen (1909–1997) initiated the preparatory work for a Danish National Centre for Pedagogical Experiments. The overall purpose of the centre was to conduct experiments on how to implement the ideas expressed in the recent Education Act of 1958. The executive order following the act in 1960 – called the Blue Report because of its blue cover – emphasised a pedagogy that reflected the ideas of the progressive education movement and the agreements of the UNESCO constitution. In this respect the education act of 1958 and the ensuing Blue Report – i.e. the ideas expressed in these documents – are evidence of transformation resulting in changes in the Danish education system. About the pedagogy of the *Folkeskole*, the Blue Report states that “promoting children’s sense of international understanding and cooperation among the peoples must be prioritized.”⁷⁴ Concerning the purpose and visions for a centre for pedagogical experiments, the report states that it should “give young people the opportunity to familiarise themselves with the conditions under which the democratic institutions work.”⁷⁵ The concept of lifelong education introduced and developed by UNESCO during the 1960s also became influential for the activities of the centre.⁷⁶

After years of preparation, the Danish National Centre for Pedagogical Experiments was established in May 1964. Poulsen was the leader of the working group, which formed the basic principles for the school, and was appointed the first head of the school. Poulsen had worked at the Emdrupborg Experimental School from 1949 until 1963 as a psychologist and a teacher in the experimental classes, and the general ideas for the purpose and pedagogy of the National Centre were highly inspired by the practice of Emdrupborg⁷⁷ and by the Bernadotte school.

73 Pamphlet entitled “The International School, Denmark,” WEF II/81, IELA; Georg Julius Arvin, Presseklip [press clippings], 1856–1956, DN.

74 Undervisningsministeriet (1960), “Undervisningsvejledning for Folkeskolen,” Betænkning no. 253, 6.

75 Jørgen Egedal Poulsen, “Ungdomsbyen, 1958–1963” [The Youth City, 1958–1963] (1994), SPF, DN, 11.

76 UNESCO (1966), International Committee for the Advancement of Adult Education, Unesco House, December 9–17, 1965, Report of the third session, Paris 1966; K. Andersen et al., “Det innovative arbejde 1975–76” [The Innovative work 1975–76], *Årbog* [Yearbook] (Copenhagen: Statens Pædagogiske Forsøgscener, 1976).

77 Jørgen Egedal Poulsen, “Forsøgscenrets første år” [The first years of the experimental centre], in *Beskrivelse og indføring i lokalarkivet* [Description and introduction to the local archive] (Copenhagen: Statens Pædagogiske Forsøgscener, 1993).

The committee's recommendation to the Ministry of Education describes the centre's pedagogical ideas:

It should be emphasized that the task of the centre is to not only gather experiences about educational practices, but also to test a number of the pedagogical views expressed in "The Blue Report", including interdisciplinary collaboration and free forms of teaching. [...] The centre must pay close attention to the preparation of youth for the responsibilities of a democratic society and the centre must support all possibilities to appeal to the pupils' commitment to this important area.⁷⁸

International understanding and international cooperation were focal points in the pedagogy emphasising the trends, recommendations and conventions from international organisations such as the Council of Europe, OECD, CERI and IMTEC.⁷⁹ Reports reveal extended international cooperation, for instance participation in international conferences, study tours to experimental schools, or innovative educational projects. In addition, the centre was a very active participant in conferences held by CERI.⁸⁰

The centre had an obligation to disseminate experiences from experiments and thus had an extensive production of publications and reports and established cooperation with schools and teachers all over the country. Such activities spread the ideas of a modernized pedagogy as outlined above, bringing it into practice at schools and translated into specific school contexts. Over time, education legislation, especially the Education Act of 1975, adopted several ideas from the pedagogy of the centre's school experiments.

Conclusion

Based on the research question "how were international ideas of promoting peace through education transferred, translated, and transformed in Danish school experiments in interwar and post-war scenarios?", the article demonstrates a strong and recurring international outlook in the Danish educational field in the two periods treated, testifying to the existence of strong links and routes to the international education space. The article has used a transnational approach and examined the travel routes for ideas, knowledge and practices concerning education for peace from the trading spaces associated with the progressive international education movement into the most significant school experiments. The ideas exchanged in these forums had significant influence on Danish educational policy and pedagogic practice. Our analysis has shown that an unequivocal transnational dimension was present in Danish school experiments pertaining to education for peace. Via this transnational dimension, Danish agents participated in fora where ideas, knowledge, and descriptions of practices were exchanged. When we were unable to follow the transfer, tran-

78 Cited from a letter to Hr. kontorchef, Cand.jur E. Tøttrup, Dansk Arbejdsgiverforening, Vester Voldgade 113, 10 June, 1963, v. Private Archive of Jørgen Egedal Poulsen, Our translation.

79 Ibid., 2, Jørgen Egedal Poulsen, "International forskning, skoleforsøg og erfaringer inddrages i dansk forsøgsvirksomhed" [International research, school experiments and experiences are integrated in Danish experimental activities] (1998), SPF, DN, chapter 9.

80 Jan Bengtsson, "Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (2008), OECD's Centre for Educational Research and Innovation—1968 to 2008," OECD, <http://www.oecd.org/site/educeri21st/40601796.pdf>.

slation and transformation practices minutely, we have argued for the probability of such travels and domestication of the transnational.

Education for peace has been defined and understood as intertwined ideas of offering basic education to all citizens, raising the educational level in nations, and fighting social inequalities to maintain stable and peaceful societies, and supporting the development of specific competencies among pupils and students to support peace in society in the long term.

The historical analysis identified significant trading spaces for the transfer, translation, and transformation of education for peace. In the interwar years, the NEF with its Danish section in general and the NEF conference in Elsinore in particular, the *Skolen på la Cours Vej* and the Vanløse experimental classes proved to be such significant spaces. They also indicate, however, that the practices containing education for peace ideas were met with opposition which influenced the way such practices could be transformed in a Danish context. In other words, education for peace initiatives had to merge and confluence with existing practices demanding significant adjustments.

In the post-war period, the NEF still played an important role, but was joined by UNESCO and among others the Council of Europe at the international level. In the Danish educational field, the Emdrupborg Experimental School, the Bernadotte School, and the National Centre for Pedagogical Experiments proved to be important sites for the translation and transformation of ideas on education for peace.

It is, however, important to note a difference between the two periods. During the interwar years the local educational contexts were mostly influenced by grassroots, bottom-up processes, and even personal contacts – although there were some references to the League of Nations. The post-war period was characterised by more institutionalised international collaboration – both internationally in relation to UNESCO and in the Danish educational field as such – with more formal institutions being founded.

When we assess the impact of ideas, knowledge and practices of international education for peace, it is noteworthy that the interwar years demonstrate a rather close transfer of ideas, knowledge and practices being translated into concrete educational initiatives at Frederiksberg and Vanløse. Undoubtedly, this “unpolluted” travel route was paved by close personal relations with foreign peers, via, for example, the NEF and a strong sense of opposition to the existing educational system which was shared by many progressive educators of the interwar years. These conditions account for the strong cross-border fellowship of like-mindedness. As a consequence of the complex nature of these processes and the qualitative character of the influences in focus, it is of course not possible to “measure” the “magnitude” of these impacts and influences. This basic condition is reflected in our analytical approach which makes it possible for us to focus on the processes in order to find the traces pointing to the influences where they did unfold, and how the processes seems to have been initiated. Our documentation include the international communities to which educators themselves refer when they describe their primary inspirations and the fora in which they shared and developed ideas and made agreements, to be implemented in the local contexts.

In keeping with the gradual institutionalisation of the post-war years, the ideas on education for peace were mixed to a higher degree with national policies, testify-

ing to stronger translation and transformation processes compared to the interwar years, where at least the travel routes of transfer seem to have been less “polluted”. The transformation processes of the post-war years are in evidence in the institutions created, the practices they instituted and in legislations and political initiatives as described in the examples. At the same time, the antagonisms in the Danish educational field of the interwar years were strongly reduced, probably because the German occupation had sparked a sense of reconciliation, community, and national fellowship around the values of democracy in education, making it meaningful to interpret the post-war differences in the Danish educational field as differences of degree rather than differences of nature.

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Skolämnen och moralisk fostran: En komparativ studie av samhällskunskap och livskunskap

Joakim Landahl

Abstract

School subjects and moral education: A comparative study of civics and life-skills
This article is concerned with two school subjects that were introduced in Swedish schools during the 20th century: civics and life-skills. Drawing on textbooks in civics from the 1950s to the 1960s and textbooks in life-skills from the 2000s, the aim is to analyse and compare the morality conveyed in the respective school subjects during its introductory years. It is argued that civics and life-skills can be used to get a grip of differences between different historical contexts, since the two school subjects emerged in two different time periods. Civics emerged as a school subject for the comprehensive schools during the middle of the 20th century, and might therefore be labeled as a typically “modern” school subject, whereas life skills emerged in the late 1990s, and might therefore be labeled a “late modern” school subject. Given that these two school subjects emerge as novelties in two different time periods, they can be used to discuss how the meaning of moral education in schools is related to general social tendencies.

Keywords

moral education, modernity, school subjects, civics, life-skills
moralisk fostran, modernitet, skolämnen, samhällskunskap, livskunskap

Moralisk fostran förstås ofta i termer av socialt återskapande. Enligt en vanlig föreställning innebär fostran att normer överförs från en äldre generation till en yngre. Men moralisk fostran har också en omvänd riktning. Särskilt i vissa historiska skeden har strävan efter förnyelse varit påtaglig. Nya moraliska ideal har förfäktats samtidigt som nya tekniker utvecklats för att forma en delvis ny typ av människa. Ett sätt att förverkliga en sådan förnyelse är att inrätta ett nytt skolämne. Genom en sådan introduktion ges skolan på ett relativt påtagligt sätt ett nytt uppdrag, och inom ramen för detta nya uppdrag kan nya idéer om elevers fostran utvecklas.

I denna artikel studeras två moraliskt fostrande skolämnen som infördes i Sverige under 1900-talet: samhällskunskap och livskunskap. Syftet med undersökningen är att analysera och jämföra den moral som förmedlats inom ramen för dessa två skolämnen. Vilken typ av elev var det som man ville forma och vilken typ av samhälle avsåg undervisningen därmed vara med om att skapa? Utgångspunkten är att de båda ämnena uppvisar både likheter och skillnader som gör dem intressanta att jämföra. En första likhet är att ämnena har introducerats under andra hälften av 1900-talet: samhällskunskap introducerades vid mitten av 1900-talet, livskunskap i slutet av 1900-talet. Den andra likheten består i att de båda innehållit en tydlig

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moralisk komponent. Det är skolämnen som har tillskrivits en viktig betydelse för att etablera social ordning. Men samhällskunskap och livskunskap uppvisar också skillnader, och ambitionen med denna artikel är att diskutera dessa skillnader, i syfte att precisera hur idéer om moralisk fostran har förändrats över tid. Samhällskunskap och livskunskap kan i detta avseende användas för att belysa skillnader mellan två faser i det moderna. Detta hänger samman med att ämnenas tillblivelse äger rum i olika historiska kontexter. Samhällskunskap utvecklas som ett ämne för enhetsskolan och grundskolan i mitten av 1950-talet, och kan således beskrivas som ett typiskt ”modernt” ämne. Livskunskap introduceras i Sverige under 1990-talet och kan beskrivas som ett ”senmodernt” ämne. Genom att dessa ämnen är så starkt knutna till olika tidsperioder kan de därför användas för att diskutera hur skolämnen utvecklas i samspel med den allmänna samhällsutvecklingen. Nya skolämnen kan belysa hur skolan både speglar och formar vissa ideal och förhållningssätt i ett visst samhälle under en viss tidsperiod. Sådana tendenser som på en generell nivå diskuteras inom samhällsteori – exempelvis senmodernitetens tendenser till individualisering, terapeutisering och förlorad tilltro till framtiden – kan illustreras och kvalificeras utifrån analyser av skolböcker.¹

För att förtydliga studiens fokus kan det vara en poäng att analytiskt skilja mellan två former av fostran i skolan: den som utgår från skolans *arbetsformer* och den som utgår från dess *innehåll*. Fostran via arbetsformer består av krav på anpassning till vissa institutionella villkor: punktlighet, förmåga att sitta still, lämna in uppgifter, planera skolarbetet etc.² Fostran via innehåll handlar om de dispositioner och värderingar som förmedlas via skolans kunskapsinnehåll, exempelvis genom dess skolämnen och dess läromedel.³ Traditionellt har kristendom innehaft den centrala rollen i denna innehållsbaserade fostran, även om man inte ska underskatta den roll som andra ämnen spelat, exempelvis historia och gymnastik.⁴ Under 1900-talets gång förlorade emellertid religionen successivt sin roll som självklar moralförmedlare.⁵

1 Ulrich Beck och Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim, *Individualization: Institutionalized Individualism and its Social and Political Consequences* (London: SAGE, 2002); Frank Furedi, *Therapy Culture: Cultivating Vulnerability in an Uncertain Age* (London: Routledge, 2004); Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity* (London: Polity Press, 1991); Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Modernity* (London: Polity Press, 2000).

2 Se Philip W. Jackson, *Life in Classrooms* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968). De krav som ställs på eleverna är emellertid inte statiska, utan förändras i takt med exempelvis undervisningens metodik. Övergången från växelundervisning till lärarledd undervisning innebar exempelvis en förändrad syn på skolans fostran, och de senaste decenniernas ökade inslag av eget arbete innebär också att skolans disciplinering ändrar karaktär. Se Joakim Landahl, ”The Eye of Power(-lessness): On the Emergence of the Panoptical and Synoptical Classroom,” *History of Education* 42, no. 6 (2013), 803–21; Eva Österlind, *Disciplinering via frihet. Elevers planering av sitt eget arbete* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1998).

3 Det mest klassiska bidraget till denna typ av analys torde vara Herbert Tingsten, *Gud och fosterlandet: Studier i hundra års skolpropaganda* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1969).

4 Om gymnastik respektive historia, se t.ex. Jens Ljunggren, *Kroppens bildning: Linggymnastikens manlighetsprojekt 1790–1914* (Eslöv: Symposion, 1999) och Janne Holmén, *Den politiska läroboken: Bilden av USA och Sovjetunionen i norska, svenska och finländska läroböcker under kalla kriget* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2006).

5 Kring skolans sekularisering, se exempelvis Bengt Thelin, *Exit eforus: Läroverkens sekularisering och striden om kristendomsundervisningen* (Stockholm: LiberLäromedel/Utbildningsförlaget, 1981); Lennart Tegborg, *Folkskolans sekularisering 1895–1909: Upplösning av det administrativa sambandet mellan folkskola och kyrka i Sverige* (Uppsala: Studia historico-ecclesiastica Upsaliensia, 1969).

Därmed växte också utrymmet för nya aktörer och för nya skolämnen att förmedla en delvis ny moral. ”Moralens entreprenörer”, för att låna sociologen Howard Beckers uttryck, kunde kliva in på skolans område och formulera delvis nya bud riktade mot landets elever.⁶ De två skolämnen som jämförs i denna artikel är en del av denna mer sekulariserade tid, där moralen inte huvudsakligen byggs på religiösa uppfattningar, utan grundas i något annat.

Såväl samhällskunskap som livskunskap är tämligen välstuderade ämnen. När det gäller samhällskunskapsämnet är det framförallt Tomas Englund som i Sverige bedrivit forskning kring ämnets historia.⁷ Även livskunskapsämnet har på senare år blivit föremål för ett flertal studier.⁸ Ämnet är inte ett isolerat svenskt fenomen, utan speglar en internationell rörelse mot vad som kallats terapeutisk utbildning eller rentav en generell terapeutisk kultur.⁹ I relation till den existerande forskningen bidrar föreliggande artikel framförallt med ett komparativt perspektiv. Genom att ställa två likartade ämnen mot varandra blir det möjligt att se vari deras särart som moraliskt fostrande ämnen består.

Undersökningens centrala källor är läromedel och handledningar i samhällskunskap och livskunskap, vilka har analyserats med avseende på vilken moral de förmedlar till eleven. Läromedel är en tacksam källa om man vill undersöka vilken moral ett skolämne förmedlar i praktiken, så som den ser ut när den presenteras för eleven. Den moralen kan delvis knytas till ideal som uttrycks i olika typer av styrdokument men kan inte reduceras till att vara effekter av dem, utan förvaltar dem med vidareutvecklingar, preciseringar och tillägg. Som läromedelsforskningen visat har dessutom läromedel ofta en mycket styrande roll i undervisningen. Läroböcker når ett stort antal elever och kan ha en stor påverkan på hur lärare lägger upp undervisningen och vilket urval som presenteras för eleverna.¹⁰

Att föreliggande undersökning använder sig av läromedel som källa motiveras dessutom av att de erbjuder en möjlighet till jämförelse mellan två skolämnen i olika tider som annars skulle ha varit svår att genomföra. Ett samtida ämne som livskun-

6 Howard S. Becker, *Utanför: Avvikandets sociologi* (Lund: Arkiv, 2006).

7 Se även Birger Bromsjo, *Samhällskunskap som skolämne: Målsättningar, kursinnehåll och arbetssätt på den grundläggande skolans högstadium* (Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, 1965); Ronald W. Evans, *The Social Studies Wars: What Should We Teach the Children?* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2004).

8 Se t.ex. Camilla Löf, *Med livet på schemat: Om skolämnet livskunskap och den riskfyllda barndomen* (Lund: Lunds universitet, 2011); Åsa Bartholdsson och Eva Hultin, red., *Sociala relationer, värdegrund och lärarprofessionalitet* (Malmö: Gleerups, 2015); Sara Irisdotter Aldenmyr, ”Lärarprofessionen och arbetet med livskunskap i grundskolan,” *Utbildning & Demokrati* 19 (2010), 39–57; Magnus Dahlstedt, Andreas Fejes och Elin Schönning, ”The Will to (De)liberate: Shaping Governable Citizens Through Cognitive Behavioural Programmes in School,” *Journal of Education Policy* 26, no. 3 (2011), 399–414.

9 Furedi (2004); Kathryn Ecclestone och Dennis Hayes, *The Dangerous Rise of Therapeutic Education* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2009).

10 För en översikt över aktuell läromedelsforskning, se Niklas Ammert red., *Att spegla världen: Läromedelsstudier i teori och praktik* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2011). Mot bakgrund av lärobokens inflytande över undervisningen kan man förstå olika sätt att styra tillgången till läromedel, exempelvis genom statlig förhandsgranskning av läromedel, eller via föreningarna Nordens läroboksrevision. Se Anna Johnsson Harrie, *Staten och läromedlen: En studie av den svenska statliga förhandsgranskningen av läromedel 1938–1991* (Linköping: Linköpings universitet, 2009); Henrik Åström Elmersjö, *Norden, nationen och historien: Perspektiv på föreningarna Nordens historieläroboksrevision 1919–1972* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2013).

skap har tidigare studeras med metoder som deltagande observation, intervjuer och enkäter, men motsvarande undersökningar kan inte göras på samhällskunskapsämnetns äldre förlagor. En jämförelse kan heller inte ta utgångspunkt i läroplaner, eftersom livskunskap aldrig haft status som skolämne i läroplanen och inte heller haft någon nationell kursplan.

Urvalet av läromedel har styrts av studiens komparativa ansats. Ambitionen har varit att jämföra två *nya* skolämnena med moraliskt fostrande ambitioner och därför har urvalet av samhällskunskapsböcker koncentrerats till 1950- och 1960-talen, medan läromedlen i livskunskap är från 2000-talet. På så sätt består studien av två relativt distinkta undersökningsperioder. I urvalet har använts 16 läromedel i samhällskunskap, varav 12 är läroböcker och fyra är böcker med arbetsuppgifter åt eleverna. Läromedlen är huvudsakligen avsedda för folkskolan eller enhetsskolan, och riktar sig till låg-, mellan- och högstadium; några användes även i realskola och flickskola. Därtill har även använts två läromedel i medborgarkunskap, det skolämne som inrättades i fortsättningsskolan 1919, och som är en föregångare till samhällskunskapsämnet.¹¹ I livskunskap är utbudet av läromedel annorlunda. Här har en författare, Birgitta Kimber, spelat en dominerande roll, genom att hon skrivit läromedel som sträcker sig från förskoleklass till gymnasiet. Det är endast dessa läromedel, samt tillhörande handledningar, som använts för undersökningen av livskunskapsämnet.

Samhällskunskap

Precis som att sociologin upptäckte samhället på 1800-talet kan man säga att pedagogiken kom att upptäcka samhället under 1900-talet. I takt med att den religiö-

11 Följande böcker ingår i urvalet: Stellan Arvidson och Karl Lindblom, *Samhällskunskap för skolans avslutningsklasser* (Stockholm: Svenska bokförlaget/Bonniers, 1953); Sven-Eric Barck, *Arbetsbok i samhällskunskap. D. 1, Skolan, hemmet, fritiden: För årskurs 7 i enhetsskolan* (Gävle: Skolförlaget, 1961); Sven-Eric Barck, *Arbetsbok i samhällskunskap. D. 2, Arbetslivet, kommunerna, världsproblemen: För årskurs 8 i grundskolan* (Gävle: Skolförlaget, 1956); Sixten Björkblom och Arnold Helgesson, *Samhällsundervisningen: Studieplan i samhällskunskap för sjunde–nionde skolåren vid pedagogisk försöksverksamhet i enlighet med beslut av 1950 års riksdag* (Stockholm: Sv. Bokförlaget, 1952); Sixten Björkblom, *Vårt svenska samhälle: Lärobok i samhällskunskap* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1953); Sixten Björkblom, *Samhällskunskap för grundskolan: Årskurs 7, Elevhäfte*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1964); Sixten Blomquist, Henry Pederby, Algot Teng, *Samhällskunskap för enhetsskolan och folkskolan: Årskurs 4–6*. 2. uppl. (Stockholm: Bergvall, 1960); Martin Bäcklin och Axel Runestam, *Samhällskunskap: Arbetsuppgifter. För årskurs 7*. Stockholm: Skrivrit, 1961); Martin Bäcklin och Axel Runestam, *Samhällskunskap: Arbetsuppgifter. För årskurs 8* (Stockholm: Skrivrit, 1963); Valter Elgeskog, Olof Skarhed och Karl Lindblom, *Barnen möter samhället:Handledning vid undervisning i samhällskunskap på folkskolans och enhetsskolans mellanstadium: [klasserna 4–6]* (Stockholm: Svenska bokförlaget/Bonnier, 1955); Evald Fransson, *Demokratis samhälle: Lärobok i samhällskunskap för folkskolans och enhetsskolans högstadium samt för real- och flickskolor* (Stockholm: Natur & Kultur, 1956); Nils Helger, *Medborgarbok för ungdomsskolor*, under medverkan av Bengt Helger och Torsten Helger, 39. uppl. (Uppsala: Lindblad, 1955); Gösta Johannesson, *Vårt samhälle: Lärobok i samhällskunskap för realskolan och enhetsskolans högstadium* (Lund: Gleerups, 1953); Rune Näslund, *Vi och vårt samhälle: Samhällskunskap för klasserna 4–6*, 4. uppl. (Stockholm: Carlson, 1955); Henry Pettersson-Pederby, *Folkskolans samhällslära: Klass 7–8 jämte fortsättningsskolan*, 2. uppl. (Stockholm: Svenska bokförlaget, Norstedts, 1954); Värner Rydén, *Medborgarkunskap för fortsättnings- och andra ungdomsskolor*, 8. uppl. (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1937); Arvid Rosén och Oscar Jonsson, *Samtal om samhället: Samhällskunskap för klass 4–6*, 2. uppl. (Stockholm: Svenska bokförlaget/Norstedt, 1957); Roland Severin och Thorbjörn Rippe, *Samhällsboken: Samhällskunskap för grundskolan. Årskurs 4–6* (Stockholm: Svenska bokförlaget/Bonniers, 1963); Erik Thurén och Lars Lindholm, *Den unge medborgaren: Lärobok i samhällskunskap för folkskolans och enhetsskolans högstadium*, 15. omarb. uppl. (Stockholm: Bergvalls, 1956).

sa undervisningen successivt blev mindre framträdande skapades ett utrymme för andra ämnen att göra anspråk på den moraliska fostran av eleverna. Tendenser till en stärkning av de samhällsorienterande inslagen i undervisningen märktes redan 1919 då ämnet medborgarkunskap infördes i den påbyggnad på folkskolan som fick namnet fortsättningsskolan. Även i de lägre åldrarna förekom samhällsorienterande undervisning, inom ramen för ämnet hembygdskunskap.¹² I mitten av 1900-talet höjdes emellertid röster för att ytterligare markera behovet av kunskaper om samhället. Ämnet samhällskunskap tillmättes stor betydelse av 1946 års skolkommision, som ville inrätta det som ett nytt ämne i den nya enhetsskolan. I sin argumentation för det nya ämnet pekade kommissionen på att det tillkommit så många nya inslag i folkskolans undervisning som saknade självklar tillhörighet i något av de dåvarande skolämnena: nykterhetsundervisning, sexualundervisning, trafikundervisning, sparsamhetsuppfostran och yrkesorientering. Skolkommisionen menade att utvecklingen i denna riktning behövde fortsätta, så att eleverna kunde bli bättre anpassade till det man kallade "livets svårigheter."

Uppgiften är så pass betydelsefull för elevernas fostran till samhällsmedborgare, att ett särskilt skolämne här för bör inrättas, samhällskunskap, som bör avlösa hembygdsundervisningen i fjärde klassen och sedan kvarstå på schemat till och med den obligatoriska skolans avslutningsklass.¹³

Genom att samhällskunskapsämnet var nytt så fanns det möjligheter att fylla det med ett nytt innehåll. Ambitionerna från skolkommisionen vittnar om att det fanns mängder av inslag som ansågs passa in i det nya ämnet. I de läromedel som här har gått igenom ser vi också ett vittomfattande skolämne som innehåller teman som hemmet, fritiden, föreningskunskap, yrkesval, trafikfrågor, kommunen, staten, rättsväsendet, internationell samverkan, pengar, sparsamhet, försäkringar samt vett och etikett.

Moralens centrum: samhället

Samhällskunskapsämnets moralinnehåll handlade om individens relation till samhället. Fostran var liktydig med att eleven skulle lära sig om samhället och på så sätt bli en god samhällsmedborgare. Denna syn på fostran byggde i sin tur på åtminstone två föreställningar om samhället. För det första beskrevs samhället i termer av en gemenskap, och för det andra beskrevs samhället som bestående av ett antal koncentriska cirklar.

Att samhället var en gemenskap beskrevs inte sällan redan i inledningen till läroböckerna.¹⁴ Det påpekades gärna att ordet samhälle betydde gemenskap, och böckerna i stort förmedlade samma budskap. Denna positiva värdering av ämnets studieobjekt gjorde ämnet speciellt. Samhället var inte ett neutralt objekt att utveckla kunskaper om, utan ett objekt som eleverna skulle utveckla positiva känslor till. Denna emotionella ambition var än tydligare i det tidigare medborgarskapsämnet,

12 Anna Larsson, "Samhällskunskap," i *Utbildningshistoria: En introduktion*, red. Esbjörn Larsson och Johannes Westberg, 249–58. (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2011).

13 SOU 1948:27, *1946 års Skolkommisions betänkande med förslag till riktlinjer för det svenska skolväsendets utveckling* (Stockholm: Ecklesiastikdepartementet, 1948), 6–7.

14 T.ex. Severin och Rippe (1963), 3.

som präglades av en påtaglig patriotism. I förordet till Nils Helgers *Medborgarbok för ungdomsskolor* beskrevs samhället så här: ”Vi är alla medborgare i ett samhälle, och samhället lever, arbetar och växer för medborgarnas trevnad och allas bästa.”¹⁵ Men även i lite senare samhällskunskapsböcker kom den positiva bilden av samhälle att dominera, om än med en mer nedtonad entusiasm inför samhället. Fostran till att uppskatta denna sammanhållning skedde bland annat genom att skildra samhällets ljusa sidor. Rubriken ”vad samhället ger” kunde exempelvis följas av beskrivningar av sjukvård, utbildning och kyrkans arbete.¹⁶ Implicit fanns därmed bilden av samhället som en generös givare av välfärdsförmåner som medborgaren förväntades känna tacksamhet inför. Denna fostran till tacksamhet gällde även själva rollen som elev. Vissa böcker tog upp frågan om vad elever kostar samhället.¹⁷ Därmed förmedlades en bild av barnet som satt i skuld till samhället, men en skuld som i långa loppet kunde återbetalas: ”Genom att sköta ett arbete bra när man blir vuxen, kan man på sätt och vis betala igen vad man får gratis under sin skoltid.”¹⁸ Detta intryck av ett välfungerande samhälle förmedlades också visuellt. Läroböckernas illustrationer kunde på olika sätt exemplifiera hur samhället successivt gick mot en ljusare framtid. Det kunde vara ett fotografi på ett nyuppfört lasarett, en graf över hur mycket tuberkolosen minskat över tid eller en bild på brandkåren i färd med att släcka en eld med den nya moderna motorsprutan.

De samhällskritiska inslagen var betydligt mer ovanliga. Samhällskunskap var endast i begränsad utsträckning ett ämne som ägnade sig åt samhällets problem. När sociala problem behandlades var det ofta i termer av problem som kunde bemästras, och som i historiskt perspektiv varit större. Ett undantag är Evald Franssons *Demokratins samhälle*. I sitt förord påpekar Fransson, i ett eko av tidigare medborgarkunskapsböcker, att samhällets positiva strävanden ”självklart” skulle ”starkt framhåvas och belysas”. Men samtidigt menar han att samhällets många problem skulle lyftas fram, något som exemplifierades med ”medborgarbildningens och livsföringens brister samt riskerna av statens oavbrutet växande makt i vår tid [...]”¹⁹ En sådan programförklaring var ovanlig i läroböcker i samhällskunskap, även om det de facto fanns en hel del inslag av socialt problematiserande i böckerna. Ofta var detta problematiserande åtföljt av ett moraliserande riktat mot individen, där de sociala problemen beskrevs i termer av dålig karaktär och dåliga vanor. Detta innebar att de sociala problemen, paradoxalt nog, inte framstod som sociala produkter, utan snarare som produkter av asocialitet. Bilden av samhället som en relativt välfungerande gemenskap utmanades inte.

Denna positiva bild av samhället kompletterades med en specifik idé om vad ett samhälle var. Idén var att samhället kunde liknas vid en uppsättning koncentriska cirklar. Samhället kunde delas in i olika sfärer, från hemmet, via exempelvis församlingen, kommunen och staten till världssamfundet. Ett flertal läromedel i samhällskunskap inleddes med ett kapitel om hemmet.²⁰ Den koncentriska samhällsmodellen

15 Helger (1955), 5.

16 Elgeskog, Skarhed och Lindblom (1955), 27; Severin och Rippe (1963), 158–73.

17 Elgeskog, Skarhed och Lindblom (1955), 28; Severin och Rippe (1963), 40; Barck (1961), 14.

18 Severin och Rippe (1963), 40.

19 Fransson (1956), 10.

20 Björkblom och Helgesson (1952), Rydén (1937); Pettersson-Pederby (1954); Näslund (1955); Fransson (1956); Severin och Rippe (1963); Thurén och Lindholm (1956).

byggde på idén om att samhälle är något som existerar i olika skalor. Samhället existerar inte i singularis, utan återfinns i såväl stor som miniatyrartad skala. Även de små enheterna är således samhällen. I ett läromedel står det exempelvis: ”Familjen består vanligen av far, mor och barn. När far och mor gifter sig, bildar de ett samhälle – två människor, fler behövs det inte för att ett samhälle ska uppstå.”²¹

Konsekvensen av samhällskunskapsämnets breda bild av samhället var att gränsen mellan privat och offentligt blev oskarp. I motsats till föreställningen om hemmet som en privat sfär kom hemmet att beskrivas som ett av många samhällen. En konsekvens av detta var att utrymmet för moraliserande perspektiv blev större. Grundtanken var att hemmet var en plats där man lärde sig att ta hänsyn till varandra, vilket samhällslivet i stort vilade på. I familjen var man tvungen att samarbeta, och den individuella viljan behövde böja sig för kollektivets bästa. En lärobok beskrev det så här: ”Familjerna är alltså de minsta byggstenarna, varav vårt samhälle är uppbyggt. Genom att familjelivet på många sätt liknar livet i samhället, är familjen väl lämpad att fostra barnen till goda samhällsmedlemmar.”²² I ett läromedel beskrevs familjen som samhällets grundval. Här nyttjades en biologisk liknelse: liksom att kroppen är uppbyggd av celler är samhället uppbyggt av familjer. När cellerna är friska är kroppen frisk, och på samma sätt förhåller det sig med samhället. ”I hemmen läggs grunden till kroppslig och andlig hälsa, till arbetsamhet och rättrådighet, till plikt-känsla och goda seder.”²³ Exempelen på hur hemmet fostrade kunde mångfaldigas. Läroböckerna tog bland annat upp värdet av sparsamhet, gott bordskick, ordningssamhet och respekt för föräldrarna.

Ett centralt värde i flera samhällskunskapsböcker var att ta hänsyn till andra människor. Detta kunde beskrivas som själva kärnan i människans socialitet. Genom att kontrastera livet på en öde ö med livet i ett samhälle hävdade exempelvis ett läromedel att hänsyn är det som krävs i ett samhälle.²⁴ Att visa hänsyn handlade ofta om vett och etikettsfrågor, exempelvis att inte störa eller vara i vägen för andra människor. Den som sträckte sig över andra efter maten, spelade musik, dansade sent i en lägenhet eller pratade högt i en spårvagn visade inte hänsyn. Det kunde också formuleras på följande sätt:

Brukar du vara slarvigt klädd, okammad och smutsig, ha dålig hållning, köra ned händerna i byxfickorna, vara tvär och tjurig, titta under lugg, uppträda nonchalant?

Då tar du ingen hänsyn till din omgivning och är otrevlig att vara tillsammans med.²⁵

En sentida läsare kan reagera över ämnesinnehållet. Vad hade egentligen detta att göra med samhällskunskap? Ett möjligt svar kan ta fasta på den koncentrisk samhällsmodellen. Denna vilade, som vi såg, på föreställningen om att samhället har olika skalor och uppenbarelsformer, där beteendet inom en sfär kunde ses som en träning inför en annan sfär.

21 Rosén och Jonsson (1957), 2.

22 Johannesson (1953), 8.

23 Thurén och Lindholm (1956), 2.

24 Björkblom (1953), 9. Om värdet av hänsyn, se även Rosén och Jonsson (1957), 33f, 55; Thurén och Lindholm (1956), 3, 22f.

25 Blomquist, Pederby och Teng (1960), 57.

Moralisk kompetens: lagar och regler

När moraliska normer förmedlades i samhällskunskapsböcker var det i form av ideal som hade självklarhetens prägel. Ett uttryck för detta är ett stort intresse för lagar, brott och straff. Samhällskunskapsböcker tilldelade ofta rättsväsendet en central position. Det var en tradition som fördes vidare från äldre böcker i medborgarkunskap. I Värner Rydén's bok i medborgarkunskap drogs slutsatsen att tilltron till lagen var något av ett svenskt kännetecken. "Lagbunden ordning har varit det svenska samhällets styrka. När laglösheten hotat, har fördärvet varit nära."²⁶ När Rydén sammanfattade sin bok i medborgarkunskap var det således *lagen* som stod i centrum. Det var här samhällets kärna låg. Laglydnad beskrevs därför följdligt som den främsta av medborgerliga plikter. Även senare läroböcker i samhällskunskap skulle komma att lägga stor vikt vid rättssamhället. Ett läromedel beskrev respekten för lagar som kärnan i den mänskliga socialiteten: "Bodde vi ensamma på en ö, skulle lag och förordning vara överflödiga. Nu bor vi i ett samhälle och måste ta hänsyn till varandra – eller tvingas till det. Alla kan inte få följa sin egen vilja. Det skulle sluta med fullständig oreda. Vi måste underordna oss – lyda, även om det är en uppoffring för oss."²⁷

Den moraliska tonen var inte alltid så explicit, men ett implicit budskap om laglydnadens betydelse förmedlades genom att läromedlen relativt grundligt gick igenom hur det rättsliga systemet var uppbyggt. Eleverna fick lära sig vilka de olika rättsliga instanserna var, vilka lagar som fanns, vilken typ av brott som fanns samt vilka typer av påföljder som fanns. Rättssamhället kunde också visualiseras, exempelvis genom en illustration på en domstolssal eller ett fotografi på poliser som gripit en brottsling. Här formulerades således en idé om normalitet och avvikelse, samtidigt som lagen användes för att skapa en föreställning om att man var del av samma sociala sammanhang: "Lagens majestät står över oss alla; den är vår högsta myndighet. För den måste alla böja sig, konungen såväl som den enkle medborgaren."²⁸

Besläktat med detta fokus på lagar var talet om *regler*. I ett läromedel fick eleven själv visa sina kunskaper om regler i det sociala livet genom att fylla i en tipskupong (1, X eller 2). Uppgiften var att ange rätt beteende för olika situationer. Skulle man exempelvis hälsa med händerna i byxfickorna, genom att nicka eller genom att bocka/niga? Och hur skulle man bete sig när man kom in på en rektorsexpedition respektive när man besökte en biograf?²⁹

Denna regeldominerade moraluppfattning blev även visuellt demonstrerad i teckningar som föreställde exempel på föredömligt respektive klandervärdigt beteende. Teckningar av barn som höll upp dörrar, var prydligt klädda, hälsade genom att ta av mössan och hjälpte tanter över gatan kontrasterades mot bilder på barn som trängde sig före i en kö, läste läxan samtidigt som radion stod på, hade oordning i sin skolbänk och var slarvigt klädda.³⁰ Att samhället präglades av en mångfald av regler var något som var påtagligt. Efter att ha gått igenom föreningslivets regler konstaterade en lärobok: "Det är inte bara i föreningar man har regler att följa. Tvärtom finns det

26 Rydén (1937), 162.

27 Rosén och Jonsson (1957), 54.

28 Thurén och Lindblom (1956), 28.

29 Barck (1961), 5.

30 Näslund (1955).

på nästan alla områden bestämda regler, som vi inte får bryta mot, om det ska gå bra att vara tillsammans med andra människor.”³¹

Lagen och regeln var således central i samhällskunskapens moralförmedling. Genom att uppmärksamma brott, straff och regler förmedlades också en moralsyn där den absoluta moralen stod i centrum. Rätt och fel kunde skiljas åt med lagens/regelns hjälp, och individens ansvar var följaktligen att lära sig lagarna och att följa dem.

Tidsuppfattning: framtidsämnet

De samhällsorienterande ämnena vilar på en upptäckt av det samtida samhället som studieobjekt. I kontrast till den samhällslära som i läroverken lästes i samband med historia skulle man här studera samtiden. Det gamla tillbakablickandet lämnades till förmån för en skola som försökte bevaka det samtida samhället, exempelvis genom en särskild timme då man skulle diskutera aktuella frågor. Denna upptäckt av samtiden byggde också på ett intresse för framtiden.

Poängen med ämnet var att individen skulle utveckla kunskaper som skulle komma till användning i framtiden. Nils Helgers lärobok i medborgarkunskap motiverade ämnet utifrån det faktum att eleverna i framtiden skulle komma att bli deltagare i samhällslivet.

När vi kommer till mogen ålder, får vi ta del i samhällets styrelse. Somliga blir valda till att besluta om samhällets bästa. På våra skolbänkar sitter nu framtidens fullmäktige, landstingsmän och riksdagsmän. De som inte blir valda till så ansvarsfulla uppdrag får i alla fall vara med om att välja sådana förtroendemän.³²

Här är det tydligt att det finns en koppling till 1900-talets demokratisering. Samhällskunskapen blev ett viktigt framtidsämne för att det erbjöd en förberedelse inför deltagandet i ett demokratiskt samhälle. Ett annat uttryck för denna framtidsinriktning återfinns i *Den unge medborgaren*, som i ett avsnitt om föreningskunskap beskriver en förmodad beundran som skolelever kan känna inför hur de äldre förmår hantera föreningsliv:

Kanske har du beundrat vuxna och äldre kamrater, som känt väl till hur man ska uppträda, när och hur man bör yttra sig osv. Många gånger har du tyckt, att det skulle vara roligt att äga samma säkerhet som de. Föreningsvana får man genom mycken övning.³³

Författarna föreslog därför att eleverna skulle bilda en klassförening. I början skulle läraren vara ordförande, tills eleverna lärt sig formerna för ett sammanträde. Framtidsinriktningen var också märkbar i form av yrkesvägledning. Samhällskunskapsböcker från 1950-talet vittnar om att steget från skola till yrkesliv inte var långt. Framtiden i form av arbete och yrkesutbildning gjorde sig påmint genom att stort utrymme gavs åt frågan om vidare utbildning, yrke och yrkesval.

31 Blomquist, Pederby och Teng (1960), 38

32 Helger (1955), 5.

33 Thurén och Lindblom (1956), 52.

Samhällskunskap var en logisk produkt av ett modernt samhälle, präglad av demokratins genombrott och välfärdssamhällets framväxt. Samhällskunskap tillfredsställde det moderna samhällets behov av att bejaka framsteget och framtiden på ett sätt som samtidigt gav utrymme för en moralisk reglering av individen. Livskunskap framträder på ett motsvarande sätt som typiskt för det senmoderna samhällets sätt att utöva makt.

Livskunskap

Livskunskap är ett ämne som började växa fram i Sverige under 1990-talet, ett decennium då skolpolitiken präglades av decentraliseringsidéer. I Lpo 94 öppnades det upp för ökad valfrihet att skapa egna ämnesprofiler, och livskunskap – som inte återfinns som skolämne i den nationella läroplanen – kan ses som en del av valfriheten. Samtidigt är det ett ämne som relaterar till skolans bredare uppdrag. Pedagoggen Camilla Löf konstaterar att livskunskap, enkelt uttryckt, är ett svar på skolans behov av att organisera såväl värdegrundsarbete som undervisning i sex och samlevnad, tobak, alkohol och droger.³⁴ Framväxten av ämnet kan också ses som en del av en trend av olika manualbaserade program för att arbeta med psykisk hälsa och värdegrundsfrågor.³⁵ I början av 2000-talet utvecklade Birgitta Kimber ett mycket omfattande material för detta ämne, bestående av läromedel och lärarhandledningar omfattande förskoleklass, grundskola och gymnasium. Det är detta material som i det följande analyseras. Idag är intresset för ämnet, av allt att döma, avtagande. Förutsättningarna för ämnet har förändrats sedan dess storhetsdagar. Ämnet har blivit ifrågasatt i granskningar i både TV och radio för att vara integritetskränkande. Förutsättningarna för denna typ av lokalt baserade värdegrundsämnen har också försämrats i takt med att mätbara kunskaper har hamnat mer i fokus för den allmänna debatten, och i takt med att den nationella styrningen av skolan allt mer betonas. Mycket talar därför för att livskunskap i stigande grad bör räknas till det förflutna. Emellertid finns inga studier som undersökt ämnets förekomst på svenska skolor.

Det som utmärker ämnet livskunskap är att det har lanserats som en lösning på en rad olika problem. I likhet med samhällskunskapsämnet är det ett ämne som anses bemöta flera behov. Enligt Birgitta Kimber handlar ämnet livskunskap om att utveckla social och emotionell kompetens, att förebygga mobbning, arbeta med värdegrund, verka för jämlikhet, motverka psykisk hälsa och skapa förutsättningar för inläring.³⁶ Detta ger ämnet en tämligen vag profil, inte minst i jämförelse med andra mer specifika program såsom Lion's Quest och Skol-Komet.

Livskunskap skiljer sig från andra ämnen genom att det saknar stoff i traditionell bemärkelse. Istället genereras ämnets innehåll huvudsakligen av eleverna själva. Det är deras erfarenheter, tankar, värderingar, åsikter och känslor som ämnet kretsar kring. Eleverna får uttrycka sig i olika former: genom personlig skriftlig reflektion, i samtal i mindre och i större grupper, genom rollspel och värderingsövningar etc. I den mån ämnet innehåller stoff är det således något som ryms inom individerna

34 Löf (2011), 14–20.

35 Andreas Bergh et al., *Värdeprenisser i främjande och förebyggande program i skolan: Rapport från forskningsprojektet En värdefull skola* (Örebro: Örebro universitet, 2013).

36 Birgitta Kimber, *Att främja barns och ungdomars utveckling av social och emotionell kompetens*. 2. uppl. (Malmö: Epago, 2009), 102–5.

och ämnets kärna kan sägas handla om att locka fram detta. I livskunskap förs samtal som ibland blir personliga, och i vissa övningar är gränsen mot det privata mycket diffus. I ett läromedel för gymnasiet återfinns exempelvis följande fråga: ”Skulle du kunna tänka dig att ha sex med en kompis? Motivera ditt svar!”³⁷

I relation till de samtal som förs har ämnet ett antal regler, som enligt Kimber är centrala.

- Man har rätt att säga ”pass”, det vill säga man behöver inte säga något om man inte vill. Man måste vara med på lektionen men man behöver inte diskutera eller samtala med de andra i gruppen förrän man själv känner sig beredd att göra det.
- En i taget talar. Man stör inte eller pratar i munnen på någon annan. Detta för att visa respekt för den som har ordet. Man skrattar eller viskar inte heller då någon annan pratar.
- Det som sägs i rummet stannar i rummet, det vill säga man talar inte om för andra vad någon sagt under livskunskapslektionerna.³⁸

Dessa regler, som uppenbarligen är tillkomna för att motverka den risk för integritetskränkning och skvaller som ämnet kan föra med sig, vittnar om ämnets särart. Den första och den tredje av dessa regler bryter markant mot praxis i traditionell skolundervisning.

Moralisk kompetens: känslor

Det centrala målet i ämnet livskunskap är att eleverna ska utveckla så kallad emotionell intelligens. Med hjälp av ett strukturerat, manualbaserat program, som sträcker sig från 6 till 18 års ålder, ska eleven genomgå så kallad Social och emotionell träning (SET). Emotionell intelligens förstås här som en egenskap som kan tränas upp. Till skillnad från hur intelligensbegreppet traditionellt beskrivits är det alltså inte fråga om en statisk begåvning hos en individ. Men i likhet med det traditionella intelligensbegreppet är inte den emotionella intelligensen jämnt fördelad över befolkningen. Exakt hur fördelningen ser ut beskrivs inte. Istället för en normalfördelningskurva antyds en mer dualistisk modell bestående av de som är, och de som inte är, emotionellt intelligenta. ”Emotionellt intelligenta människor söker sällan yttlig njutning utan uppmärksammar sina känslor så att de kan vara till hjälp på vägen mot mognad och växt.” Den andra kategorin beskrivs i termer av att de har ”brist” på intelligens, vilket kan leda till en oförmåga att planera sitt liv, att man blir nedstämd och lätt blir styrd av sina känslor.³⁹ Här ser vi att ämnet bygger på en idé om vinnare och förlorare, och att ämnet antas kunna jämna ut skillnader mellan dessa. ”Människor med social och emotionell kompetens klarar sig mycket bättre i livet än andra.”⁴⁰

Den röda tråden i ämnet handlar om känslor. Det antas att känslor behöver *identifieras* så att individen blir bättre på att *styra* dem. Icke-identifierade känslor antas kunna leda i fel riktning. Tanken är med andra ord att känslor ska ta form som något separat inom individen. Först då kan individen ta kontroll över dem.

37 Birgitta Kimber, *Livskunskap* (Solna: Ekelund, 2002), 81.

38 Kimber (2009), 108.

39 T.ex. Birgitta Kimber, *Livsviktigt 10* (Solna: Ekelund, 2001), 10.

40 Kimber (2009), 102.

Ett viktigt inslag i denna känslodisciplinering rör aggressioner. En övning vid namn ”stoppljuset” används för att lära eleverna hur man kontrollerar sina aggressioner, och hur man på så sätt kan kanalisera en ursprunglig aggression till en mer konstruktiv lösning.⁴¹ Men alla känslor ska inte tryckas ned. Livskunskap bygger också på idén om att känslor ska komma till uttryck. Övningar bygger på att individer lär sig att offentliggöra och verbalisera sina känslor. Känslorna förläggs på så sätt inte bara till en separat del av det egna jaget, de tar också konkret, materiell form utanför individen i form av de texter och bilder som frambringas i den egna elevboken. Detta innebär en form av dokumentation av känslolivets som många kan följa. Enligt Birgitta Kimber: ”Därmed dokumenteras deras emotionella och sociala utveckling och den kan följas av såväl föräldrar som lärare och inte minst eleverna själva.”⁴² Elevens känslor är med andra ord inte bara en privat angelägenhet, utan något som föräldrar och lärare via läroboken kan få inblick i. I vissa övningar ingår också att muntligt samtala om sina känslor. Hur obligatoriskt detta är varierar – en grundregel är att man alltid har rätt att säga pass – men det finns också bitvis en mer befällande ton där individen förväntas att på beställning berätta om sina känslor. I en övning ska läraren lista en stor mängd känslor på tavlan. Tillsammans väljs fyra känslor ut. I sin bok ska sedan eleverna rita känslouttrycken och skriva exempel på vad som ger respektive känsla. Parvis ska de därefter jämföra vad de skrivit och ritat. Slutligen samlas eleverna i stor grupp, och de som vill får berätta.⁴³ Indirekt är detta en övning som tränar eleverna i att se känslor som en offentlig, lika mycket som en privat, del av jaget. Känslor ska identifieras, uttryckas, offentliggöras. Efter offentliggörandet kan de också utvärderas. Visserligen ska inte läraren moralisera, men eleverna uppmuntras att själva utvärdera känslorna.

Manualerna i livskunskap förmedlar också idéer om hur läraren ska agera. Övningarna inleds i regel med att läraren gör en inledning. Här uppmuntras läraren att berätta om sina egna erfarenheter och att vara personlig. ”Berätta med inlevelse någon gång då du blivit riktigt arg (ta helst ett exempel då du inte handlade så klokt. Tala om vad du sa och vad du gjorde. Låt barnen hjälpa dig att komma på alternativa handlingsätt och att tänka ut konsekvenserna av dem.)”⁴⁴ Tanken tycks vara att läraren ska bryta isen; genom att inleda på ett personligt sätt, uppmuntras även eleverna att vara personliga. Den personliga introduktionen ger läraren en roll som förebild av ett nytt slag. Läraren träder fram som förebild i egenskap av att visa sig svag. Genom att göra en sådan annorlunda introduktion signalerar läraren att livskunskap är ett annorlunda ämne där såväl elever som lärare förväntas att bete sig annorlunda än under vanliga lektioner.

Moralens centrum: individer och socialt samspel

Livskunskap saknar ambitioner att konstruera stora föreställda gemenskaper. Det är inte ett ämne som syftar till att, sten för sten, bygga en nationskänsla. Snarare kretsar ämnesinnehållet kring individen – dess känslor, värderingar och erfarenheter. I den meningen kan ämnet sägas avspegla och driva på den nedmontering av själva

41 Se t.ex. Birgitta Kimber, *Livsviktigt 3*, lärarhandledning (Solna: Ekelund, 2001), 13.

42 Birgitta Kimber, *Livsviktigt 5*, lärarhandledning (Solna: Ekelund, 2001), 13.

43 Ibid., övning 16.

44 Birgitta Kimber, *Livsviktigt 4* (Solna: Ekelund, 2001), 23.

idén om samhället och den individualism som det senmoderna samhället ofta sägs präglas av.⁴⁵

Detta fokus på individen tar sig flera uttryck. Man får genom värderingsövningar lära sig säga ifrån och att stå för sin åsikt, man tränas i att sätta individuella mål, att berömma sig själv, och att inte falla för gruppptryck. Det senare kan exempelvis formuleras på följande sätt i en lärarhandledning: ”Samtala med eleverna om hur viktigt det är att kunna säga ifrån när man tycker att något är ’dumt’ – exempelvis att snatta i en affär, röka på toaletten eller reta en kamrat i korridoren.”⁴⁶

Men det vore förenklat att enbart beskriva livskunskap som ett individualistiskt skolämne. Det rymmer också en stor portion social träning. Man kan se det som ett ämne som behandlar den sociala samlevnadens problem i ett individualiserat samhälle. I detta avseende är det ett ämne som relaterar till skolans institutionella kännetecken: att det är en plats där det är närmast omöjligt att vara en individ; där man aldrig är ensam. I detta täta sociala sammanhang uppstår det oundvikligen sociala slitningar, vilket skapar ett material som livskunskapsämnet kan relatera till. Intresset för sociala relationer speglar också ett generellt ökat intresse för sociala relationer mellan skolelever som skett under senare decennier.⁴⁷ I en tid som betraktar mobbning, annan form av social aggression och uteslutning som oacceptabel är det inte förvånande att livskunskap hanterar sådan problematik.

Men ämnet bygger samtidigt på en dubbel bild av skolklassen. Denna är inte bara en social enhet där kränkningar förekommer. Skolklassen förutsätts också kunna vara ett sammanhang präglad av tillit och öppenhet – en plats där man fritt kan tala om sina innersta känslor. Som nämnts är en regel att vad som sägs inom klassrummet ska stanna där – eleverna åläggs alltså en form av sekretess. Genom den regeln antyds att ämnet förväntas vara av privat karaktär. Det som sägs inom detta sammanhang förväntas vara problematiskt om det får spridning. Det förutsätter i sin tur att skolklassen antas kunna fungera som ett förtroendefullt forum där man under avslappnade former kan berätta om mer privata sidor av sig själv.

Det finns således både en individualistisk och en social moral inom livskunskapen. Gemensamt för dem båda är ett visst mått av moralisk relativism. För den individualistiska moralen förmedlas ett motsägelsefullt budskap. Ett absolut krav – att vara en individ – samsas med en relativ moral om att alla åsikter ska respekteras. Detta framkommer också i en kommentar i Kimbers handledning, där hon slår fast att tanken med en värderingsövning inte är att komma fram till rätt värdering, utan att ”tränas i att stå för sin åsikt och att vända och vrida på sina värderingar och attityder.”⁴⁸ Även den socialt inriktade delen av livskunskap opererar med en flexibel moraluppfattning. Snarare än absoluta bud handlar det om att respektera olikheter. Det är ett ämne som söker lära individen att säga ja och nej, och respektera andras ja och nej. Man kan se det som att det inte är några fasta moraliska normer som förmedlas – utan snarare handlar det om att träna upp de dispositioner som gör det möjligt att i ett samspel respektera varandras respektive gränser.

45 Zygmunt Bauman, *The Individualized Society* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001); Zygmunt Bauman, *Society Under Siege* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002); Beck och Beck-Gernsheim (2002).

46 Birgitta Kimber, *Livsviktigt 6*, lärarhandledning (Solna: Ekelund, 2001), 217.

47 Anna Larsson, “The Discovery of the Social Life of Swedish Schoolchildren,” *Paedagogica Historica* 48, no. 1 (2012), 121–35.

48 Kimber (2009), 131.

Tidsuppfattning: nutidsämnet

Livskunskap är ett ämne där nutiden ges större vikt än framtiden. Ämnet hämtar sitt stoff i elevernas aktuella erfarenheter, och målsättningarna relateras sällan explicit till en framtida utveckling. I förordet till ett läromedel i livskunskap för skolår 4 beskrivs ämnets karaktär som starkt skolanpassat. ”När du arbetar i den här boken får du träna dig på sådant som är viktigt att kunna både när du ska lära dig något och när du är tillsammans med dina kamrater.” Kort exemplifieras det med att eleven får lära känna sig själv, förstå hur andra människor kan känna och tänka, liksom att lösa problem och konflikter människor emellan. Detta knyts inte till framtida behov, utan till de samtida problemen: ”Genom att träna på allt detta lär du dig hur du kan göra för att trivas bättre, både med dig själv och med dina kamrater och de vuxna i din omgivning. När du mår bra och trivs med människorna omkring dig går skolarbetet lättare och det blir roligare för dig att vara tillsammans med dina kompisar.”⁴⁹ I ett läromedel för gymnasiet motiveras på liknande sätt ämnet i inledningstexten utifrån elevens samtida situation: ”Det här ämnet handlar om saker som är viktiga i ditt liv: kärlek, sexualitet, vänskap, att må bra, att kunna kommunicera, hantera relationer och mycket, mycket mer.”⁵⁰

Från samhälle till liv: en jämförelse

Samhällskunskap och livskunskap är två moraliskt fostrande skolämnen som införts i två olika skeden av 1900-talet. Gemensamt för dem båda är att de, i egenskap av nya ämnen, kunnat fungera som behållare för olika typer av fostrande ämnesinnehåll. Ändå är skillnaderna mellan dessa ämnen som vi sett påtagliga. I det följande gör jag en mer systematisk jämförelse mellan ämnena.

Kollektivism och individualism

Samhällskunskap och livskunskap är båda socialt fostrande skolämnen, men har olika syn på relationen mellan individ och kollektiv. Något tillspetsat kan det formuleras som att samhällskunskap syftade till att stärka kollektivet medan livskunskap syftar till att stärka individen. I samhällskunskap betonades att samhälle betyder sammanhållning – detta var ofta utgångspunkten – och ämnet förmedlade moralen att samhället är starkt, och att individens uppdrag är att bidra till att stärka samhället och gemenskapen. Detta görs genom att underordna sig de skrivna och oskrivna regler som finns i samhället – att följa såväl lagen som far och mor och att utföra olika samhälleliga plikter. Man ska visa samhället vördnad, och detta tränas eleven i genom att samhällets ljusa sidor uppmärksammas. Ämnet var inte explicit ägnat åt emotionell träning, men det fanns alltså här en emotionell komponent som bestod i att individen skulle förmås att känna sympati för samhället. Styrkan i denna emotionella fostran var visserligen inte alls lika stark som den tidigare mer patriotiska fostran som äldre tiders läroböcker förmedlat.⁵¹ Men likafullt präglades samhällskunskapen av en emotionell komponent. Livskunskapen är mer individorienterad, och det märks inte minst i dess inställning till känslor. Här tränas eleven inte i att älska sitt samhälle, utan snarast att älska sig själv. Inriktningen på det egna självförtroendet är påtaglig. Att berömma sig själv, att språkligt formulera vad man är bra på

49 Birgitta Kimber, *Livsviktigt 5* (Solna: Ekelund, 2001), 5.

50 Kimber (2002), 5.

51 Tingsten (1969).

exemplifierar denna tendens. I livskunskapen tränas också individen i att sätta mål, men till skillnad från samhällskunskapsämnet mål är det inte gemensamma mål som omtalas, utan personliga. Frånvaron av ett kollektivt perspektiv märks också när det handlar om kränkningar. I ämnet finns ett stort fokus på att motarbeta kränkningar, men det är inte den kollektiva kränkningen som står i centrum. Det är således inte angreppet på flaggan eller på lagen som uppmärksammas, utan det är det rent konkreta angreppet på en individ.

Men kontrasten ska inte överdrivas och förenklas. En likhet består i att även samhällskunskapsämnet uppvisade vissa inslag som kan tolkas som individualistiska. Samhällskunskapen gav således även individens rättigheter mycket utrymme. Men framför allt är det påtagligt att livskunskapen rymmer socialt fostrande inslag som går bortom att bara vara en individ. Även om livskunskap är en del av en terapeutisk kultur är det att gå för långt att ensidigt karakterisera ämnet som individualistiskt.⁵² Ämnet är också ett försök att bilda social gemenskap, om än på ett nytt sätt. Övningarna syftar också till att öva hänsyn och förståelse för andra. Att kunna lyssna på andra och att leva sig in i hur andra känner är två återkommande övningar. Individualismen är inte helt asocial. Snarare handlar det om hur individer kan förmås att interagera socialt. Man skulle kunna säga att livskunskapsövningarna syftar till att förmå individer att vara individer inom ramen för ett sammanhang som är allt annat än individualistiskt. Givet att skolan är en plats där individer ständigt är omgivna av andra människor, är livskunskapens en sorts kompromissämne. Det är en form av social uppfostran som uppstår i ett samhälle präglad av individualiseringsprocesser.

Från moralförmedling till personlig moral, gränssättning och patologisering

En aspekt av denna individualiseringsprocess är hur moral förmedlas. Samhällskunskap byggde på idén om moralförmedling, där moral uttolkades som en fråga om rätt och fel. Denna dualistiska tolkning av moral kunde exempelvis synas i arbetsuppgifter där elever skulle svara på frågor om vett och etikett eller i talet om lag och lagbrott. I livskunskap talas det inte på ett lika övertydligt sätt om moral som en fråga om förmedling av det rätta/felaktiga. Istället riktas uppmärksamheten mot individen som förväntas träna sig i att göra egna val och att kunna stå för de egna uppfattningarna. Med hjälp av värderingsövningar tränas individen att stå för sin egen mening snarare än att lära sig den allmänna meningen. En viktig aspekt av moralen handlar om det sociala samspelet där individer tränas i att uttrycka och acceptera uttrycken ”ja” och ”nej.” Samtidigt finns det också tydliga inslag av en dualistisk rätt/fel-moral även inom livskunskap. Även om normerna inte hamras fast på ett övertydligt sätt är det ofta uppenbart vad individen förväntas tycka. En uppgift kan här ofta anta formen av ett individuellt val, men genom att frågan ställs förmedlas ett värde, exempelvis om rökning och alkohol, där förmågan att stå emot gruppptryck är ett värde medan avhållsamhet från droger är ett annat. Ämnet opererar dessutom med en ny typ av dualism, den mellan friskt/sjukt (emotionella störningar) som inskräper att det finns sätt att tänka, handla och känna som är mer riktiga än andra.

Man kunde möjligen beskriva detta som att skillnaden mellan ämnena är som störst på en retorisk nivå. Samhällskunskap befalldes, det talade med utropstecken. Livskunskap talar med frågetecken, och ber individen att utforska sitt inre, men frågans formuleringar antyder vilka svar som är lämpliga.

⁵² Jfr. Furedi (2004), 91.

Det närliggande och det avlägsna

Gemensamt för livskunskap och samhällskunskap är att läromedlen tar utgångspunkt i elevens egna erfarenheter. För samhällskunskapen är detta dock just utgångspunkten. Många böcker börjar med ett kapitel om hemmet, vilket beskrivs som ett samhälle i miniatyr, följt av kapitel om de större samhällsbildningar som man sedan rör sig ut mot: kommunen, staten, och avslutningsvis: internationell, fredlig samverkan. Ämnet i stort får sin prägel av denna resa från det närliggande till det fjärran. Anknytningen till individens erfarenheter används således som språngbräda för att göra nya erfarenheter utanför individens värld, såväl i tid som i rum. I livskunskap är det närliggande viktigt på ett annat sätt. Individernas erfarenheter, känslor och tankar är inte en språngbräda mot andra världar, utan utgör istället det material som hela ämnet bygger på. Idén är inte att börja i det närliggande för att kunna lämna det. Snarare börjar man och slutar på en och samma punkt, med skillnaden att man borrar sig djupare ned i det egna jaget.

I livskunskap är klassrummet dessutom en avgränsad plats. Undervisningen omgärdas med krav på sekretess för eleverna: vad som sägs i klassrummet ska stanna i klassrummet. I kontrast mot samhällskunskapens koncentrisk samhällsbild, har livskunskapen en ”klassrums-centrisk” världsbild. Det är en cirkel som sluter sig snarare än att ge ringar på vattnet. I en egenartad kombination av hemligheter och offentligheter upprättas inom klassrummet ett rum som både är privat och offentligt. Lektionerna går ut på att locka fram – offentliggöra – det innersta i eleverna, och när det väl offentliggjorts ska det göras om till en hemlighet som stannar i klassrummet.

Man kunde beskriva det som att livskunskapen gör jaget till kunskapsobjekt, medan samhällskunskapen gör världen till kunskapsobjekt. Att känna sig själv, sina känslor och värderingar, och att stå för dem, är centralt inom livskunskapen, medan samhällskunskapen arbetade med att känna världen. Att samhällskunskapen verkligen var annorlunda kan illustreras genom ett läromedel som vid ytligt påseende kunde uppfattas som terapeutiskt.

I ett elevhäfte med arbetsuppgifter i samhällskunskap från 1964 återfinns rubriken ”Känn dig själv!” Formuleringen låter nästan som om den skulle kunna finnas i en bok i livskunskap. Men vid närmare granskning framträder särarten. Uppgiften har ingenting med en mer sentida terapeutisk pedagogik att göra. Rubriken återfinns, typiskt nog, i kapitlet ”Yrkesvalet.”⁵³ Att välja yrke var en viktig del av samhällskunskapen, och eleverna tränades inte minst i att göra självständiga val som var i samklang med både det egna intresset och den egna förmågan. Valet skulle med andra ord inte bestämmas av föräldrars preferenser eller av kamraters inflytande. Eleven behövde hitta sig själv: sin vilja och sin förmåga. Att samhällskunskapens idé om att hitta sig själv var kopplad till yrkesvalet innebar ett framtidsfokus. Det egna jaget var framförallt intressant inom ramen för en förändringsprocess. Man behövde lära känna sig själv för att veta vem – eller snarare vad – man skulle bli. Att lära känna sig själv handlade om att lära sig sina fysiska och mentala begränsningar.

Frågan om det närliggande och det avlägsna var också kopplad till *mognadens* problematik. Ett ofta uttalat antagande i diskursen om de samhällsorienterade ämnen var barndoms- och ungdomstidens isolering från (det vuxna) samhället. Själva syftet med undervisningen var att skapa kunskap och en positiv inställning till en

53 Björkblom (1963), 16.

social kontext som eleverna inte ansågs fullt ut vara del av. Elevernas isolering från samhället skapade en risk för att de på ett problematiskt sätt tydde sig till ”gänget.” I en artikel om samhällsorientering i den högre skolan beskrevs detta förhållande uttryckligen som ett problem, och undervisningen skulle därför försöka bryta isoleringen. ”Man bör sträva efter att låta eleverna leka vuxna, d.v.s. acceptera deras innersta önskan att vara vuxna. Leken måste vara allvarsbetonad för att fiktionen inte skall bryta igenom alltför lätt.”⁵⁴ Klassen kunde exempelvis få bilda en klubb och utse ordförande eller starta sin egen tidning. Inom ämnet livskunskap finns också ett tal om mognad, men som vi sett är framtidsinriktningen inte alls lika påtaglig, och ämnet förefaller framför allt ägnat åt att få situationer i nuet att fungera, och snarare än att försöka bryta klassens isolering, är övningarna av den karaktären att de stannar i klassrummet. I kontrast till klassens tidning – ett försök att kommunicera med omvärlden – har livskunskapen regeln att vad som sägs i klassrummet stannar i klassrummet.

Diskussion: modernisering, vakuum och moralisk fostran

I den här artikeln har två moraliskt fostrande skolämnen beskrivits och jämförts. Genom att studera två ämnen som kan knytas till två olika tidsperioder har jag velat belysa hur skolans moraliska fostran via dess skolämnen kan förmedla normer som är i samklang med den tidsanda i vilken de växer fram. Genom den komparativa ansatsen har ambitionen varit att synliggöra vissa dimensioner av respektive ämne som annars tenderar att bli mindre synliga. Avslutningsvis vill jag på ett mer övergripande plan reflektera över hur förskjutningen från samhällskunskap till livskunskap kan förstås. Jag vill föreslå att båda dessa ämnen delvis kan förstås som resultat av de kunskapsmässiga vakuumpunkter som uppstår i samband med omfattande samhällsändringar.

Samhällskunskap som ett moraliskt fostrande ämne växte fram parallellt med att kristendomen började spela en mer undanskymd roll i skola och samhälle. Dess moral var inte helt överspelad, men den hade upphört att vara heltäckande. I dess ställe inträdde bland annat Samhället, som blev en viktig referenspunkt som moralisk fostran kunde orientera sig mot. Medan traditionell fostran kretsat kring att respektera Gud kom den moderna, sekulariserade varianten att förespråka en respekt mot samhället. Detta fokus på individen som samhällsvara byggde på att själva idén om ett samhälle konkretiserades och utmålades som någonting allestädes närvarande. Genom samhällskunskapens koncentrisk bild av samhället förmedlades bilden av att samhället var något som fanns överallt – från hemmet till världssamfundet. Att man på så sätt ersatte Gud med Samhället som moraliskt rättesnöre innebar också att skolämnet på ett tydligare sätt kunde inordnas i en framstegsberättelse. Att visa respekt för samhället blev liktydigt med att medverka i det stora framstegsprojekt som det moderna samhället stod för. Samhällskunskap blev ett ämne som präglades av den moderna tanken om sociala framsteg. Denna framstegstanke byggde delvis på att sekulariseringen lösgjorde kristendomens grepp om den moraliska fantasin. Filosofen Émile Cioran har pekat på relationen mellan utopism och sekulärt tänkande: ”Så länge sinnena var uppfyllda av kristendomen kunde utopien inte fresta människ-

54 Olof Thörn, ”Några former av samhällsorientering i den högre skolan,” i *Social fostran*, red. E. Hermansson (Stockholm: Svenska bokförlaget Bonniers, 1952), 255.

orna, men så snart de började bli besvikna på den försökte utopin vinna inflytande över dem och nästla sig in hos dem. [...] Sålunda föddes Framtiden, en vision om den oåterkalleliga lyckan, om ett reglerat paradiset där slumpen inte har någon plats, där minsta tecken på fantasi betraktades som kätteri eller provokation.”⁵⁵

Om samhällskunskap kan relateras till det vakuum som sekulariseringen frambringat, hur kan då framväxten av livskunskap förstås? En möjlig tolkning är att livskunskap växer fram i en tidsperiod när *samhället* förlorat en stor del av sitt forna grepp om människor, när själva idén om samhället börjar framstå som diffus och fjärran från dess medborgare.⁵⁶ Som vi har sett är livskunskap ett ämne som opererar utan hänsyftning till någon social enhet som är större än de mer socialpsykologiska situationer i vilken individen själv ingår i. Ämnet är fokuserat på den närmaste omgivningen och de relationer som denna består av, och riktar i övrigt sitt fokus mot individen och dess känsloliv.

Det kan tyckas vara en relativt snäv form av moralisk fostran, men trots detta bär den ett mycket anspråksfullt namn: livskunskap. Hur kan vi då förstå villkoren för ämnets framväxt? Vad säger det om samtiden att ett moraliskt fostrande ämne sprid sig som en löpeld under 2000-talets första år, trots att det saknar explicita hänvisningar till det som tidigare var kärnan i uppfostran: idén om ett samhälle? En möjlig förklaring kan sökas i breda sociala och kulturella förändringar i samhället generellt, där samhället framstår som svårgripbart och omöjligt att påverka, vilket bereder mark för en terapeutisk kultur.⁵⁷ En relaterad förklaring kan ta fasta på det som är specifikt för skolans förändrade position i dagens kunskapssamhälle. Barn och ungdomar går allt längre i skola. Därmed har skol- och ungdomstiden förlängts och inträdet i vuxenvärlden har skjutits framåt. Att ett ämne som livskunskap ägnar så stor energi åt livet i skolan blir delvis begripligt mot bakgrund av denna utsträckning av skoltiden. I ett samhälle där en stor del av livet levs i skolan, är det kanske inte helt slumpmässigt eller missvisande att ett ämne som framförallt handlar om att lära sig att bli en skötsam elev, heter livskunskap.

55 Émile Cioran, *Historia och utopi* (Stockholm: Brutus Östlings bokförlag Symposion, 1992), 130f.

56 Jfr. Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity, 2000).

57 Ecclestone och Hayes (2009).

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The Rise of the Knowledge School and Its Relation to the Resurrection of *Bildung*

Tomas Wedin

Abstract

In this article the historical background to the reactivation of the concept of *Bildung* in the Swedish school debate during 1980s is presented. The article argues that the resurrection of this concept is intimately related to the foundation of the discourse of the Knowledge School (*Kunskapsskolan*), and shows how these two terms were central in school political program developed by the Knowledge Movement (*Kunskapsrörelsen*) in the early 1980s. The article shows how the concept of *Bildung* since it was resurrected not only has been highly contested, but that it was actually reactivated within the same movement that helped pave the way for the manifest economic-instrumentalist school discourse that dominates the current curriculum.

Keywords

Bildung, *Kunskapsskolan*, curriculum, *Kunskapsrörelsen*, entrepreneurship

During the past ten years, a number of books and articles have been published in Sweden that have discussed the concept *Bildung*.¹ Many authors have suggested that the concept could serve as a counterweight to the labour market adjustments adopted by the centre-right coalition over the past eight years. The overall purpose of this article is to further nuance this debate by fulfilling three underlying aims.

First, I will show how the discourse of the Knowledge School (*Kunskapsskolan*) that The Liberal Party (*Folkpartiet*) seeks to restore emerged from a critique of the school political tendencies of the 1970s. One concrete example of this is the bill 1979/80:182 with the purpose of increasing the influence of children and their parents over the school, which culminated in a new curriculum for compulsory and secondary schools in 1980.² In the articulation of this discourse, the Knowledge

- 1 The Swedish term is *bildning*, but in line with English writing research, I shall refer to it as *Bildung*. See, for example, Anders Burman and Per Sundgren, *Bildning: Texter från Esaias Tegnér till Sven-Eric Liedman* (Göteborg: Daidalos, 2010); Anders Burman and Per Sundgren, *Svenska bildningstraditioner* (Göteborg: Daidalos, 2012); Bernt Gustavsson, *Bildningens väg: Tre bildningsideal i svensk arbetarrörelse 1880-1930* (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1993); Bernt Gustavsson, *Bildning i vår tid: Om bildningens möjligheter och villkor i det moderna samhället* (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1996); Gunnar Sundgren, *Bildning och utbildning: En akademi för bildning?* (Stockholm: Högskoleverket, 2008); Hans Ruin and Maria Så Cavalcante Schuback, *Bildning och filosofi* (Stockholm: Högskoleverket, 2006).
- 2 The Knowledge School¹⁷ has been used as a political slogan by the Liberal Party in its critique of the school policy of the Social Democrats since the first few years of the new millennium.

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Movement (*Kunskapsrörelsen*), within which the idea of the Knowledge School was articulated, played a prominent role. In analysing all issues of the primary means of communication of this movement, the journal *Äpplet* (The Apple), published between 1980 and 1991, I will show how the discourse of the Knowledge School took shape during the first half of the 1980s. When reading the journal I have searched for articles relating both to *Bildung* and to how the discourse of the Knowledge School surged. Contrary to what is usually claimed, I argue that it was the result of a process by which a relatively heterogeneous movement gradually narrowed and how the voices of the journal became more and more homogeneous.³ The Knowledge Movement has been given some attention in earlier studies, and *Äpplet* has been mentioned in that connection, but the political shift and how it may be related to *Bildung* has not been examined before.⁴

Second, I will argue that the resurrection of the concept of *Bildung* can be linked to the critique articulated by the Knowledge Movement. The concept was reintroduced to school administrative contexts after some decades relegated to oblivion after the Second World War in connection with the official report SOU 1992:94, which was called *Skola för bildning* (Schooling for *Bildung*).⁵ It was integrated into the subsequent new curriculum for upper secondary schools in the curriculum GY 2011 as well.⁶ Thus, the third aim of this article is to reflect on the limits of the critical potential of singular concepts in general and *Bildung* in particular, arguing that the concept has had a fundamentally ambiguous meaning ever since it returned in the school administrative context.

I do not disagree with the commonly held view that the increased interest in the concept of *Bildung* is related to the economic-instrumentalist views, in terms of which the education system has been discussed over the past few decades.⁷ However, in relating *Bildung* to the context in which it was resurrected, I believe that the concept can also be seamlessly integrated into the explicitly labour market-oriented school policy reforms (of which the new curriculum and the reformed course system are the most noteworthy examples) adopted by the centre/right coalition, The Alliance (*Alliansen*), since it came to power in 2006.⁸ One of the clearest examples of economic instrumentalism in their educational policies is the introduction of entrepreneurship as a key concept in GY 2011. I argue that the historically opposed

3 See, for example, Johanna Ringarp, "From *Bildung* to Entrepreneurship: Trends in Educational Policy in Sweden," *Policy Futures in Education* 11, no. 2 (2013), 456–64.

4 See, among others: Göran Bergström, *Jämlikhet och kunskap: Debatter och reformstrategier i socialdemokratisk skolpolitik* (Stockholm/Stehag: Symposium Graduale, 1993); Sven-Eric Liedman "Folkpartiets skolpolitik" published 24 August 2014 in the online journal skolaochsamhälle.se; Ringarp (2013).

5 Johan Östling, *Nazismens sensmoral: Svenska erfarenheter i andra världskrigets efterdyning* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2008), 165–169. SOU [Swedish Government Official Reports] is the official series of reports of committees appointed by the Swedish Government to analyse proposed fields of legislation.

6 "It is essential that schools create the best overall conditions for students' formation, thinking and development of knowledge," my translation, GY 2011, *Läroplan, examensmål och gymnasiegemensamma ämnen för gymnasieskola 2011* [Curriculum for the upper secondary school], 8.

7 See Burman and Sundgren (2012), 7–8; Ringarp (2013), 456–64.

8 The Alliance is a political coalition of four liberal and right-wing parties in the Swedish parliament: The Christian Democrats, Liberal Party, New Moderate Party, and Centre Party.

concepts of entrepreneurship and *Bildung* can both be related to the Knowledge Movement during its early formative years, particularly its emphasis on measurability.

Bildung

A great deal has been written about the historical transformations of the concept of *Bildung*.⁹ The many nuances that this concept contains is not, however, the focus of this article. I will leave the discussion aside and instead highlight a tension that has been the object of intense debate in Sweden in recent years. At one end of the spectrum is an ideal that posits that the education system (including both compulsory and secondary school) should focus on individual development of qualities that have not been determined in advance. There are no *a priori* goals. The education system is individually oriented. I refer to this approach as the open-ended educational ideal. This definition has an obvious affinity with the New Humanistic reading of *Bildung*, particularly the way it was defined by Wilhelm von Humboldt.¹⁰ However, since this reading of the concept is clearly related to its *raison d'état*, I want to avoid such a definition.¹¹ In order to avoid misunderstanding, I will refer to the open-ended educational reading of *Bildung*.

The second reading of the concept emphasises reproduction (*avbildning*). The Swedish word *avbildning* consists of the prefix *av* ('of' or 'by') and the root *bildning* (*Bildung*), which indicates that there are predetermined ideals according to which an individual will be *bildad* (formed). Imagine, for example, a position whereby open-ended *Bildung* is the aim but the learning subject is drilled in a given canon as a means to achieve the aim. If we rely heavily on a specific canon that the student needs to pass through, *avbildning* may be difficult to distinguish from *Bildung* in practice. Theoretically it would nevertheless seem possible to distinguish between *avbildning*, whose aim is to transmit facts that "people ought to know" – a form of capital, something that is exchanged in a marketplace in order to gain something else – and *Bildung*, whose ultimate aim is to initiate – or give birth – to something that was *not*. Thus, it is justified to sort out the direction in which the concept of *Bildung* tends when it shows up in the educational policy debate. There is good reason to ask, for example, a curriculum enthusiast why (s)he believes that there should be a canon. I argue that this tension within the concept is built into "Schooling for *Bildung*".

The charged concept of *Bildung* should, as sociologist Lennart Svensson suggests in his dissertation *Från bildning till utbildning* (From *Bildung* to Education), be con-

9 See, for example, Walter Sparr, "Religiöse und theologische Aspekte der Bildungsgeschichte im Zeitalter der Aufklärung," in *Handbuch der Deutschen Bildungsgeschichte. Band II. Vom späten 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Neuordnung Deutschlands um 1800*, ed. Notker Hammerstein and Ulrich Herrmann (München: Beck, 2005); Joachim Heydorn, *Bildungstheoretische und Pädagogische Schriften Band 1–3* (Frankfurt am Main: Syndikat, 1980). For a good overview in Swedish with many useful notes for further reading, see Gustavsson (1996); Thomas Karlsohn, *Originalitetens former* (Göteborg: Daidalos, 2012).

10 See, for example, Sven Erik Nordenbo "Bildung and the Thinking of Bildung," *Journal of Philosophy of Education* 36, no. 3 (2002), 341–52.

11 Humboldt imagined that the ideal of *Bildung* was not in conflict with the state's need for a competent corps of officials; the individual's free *Bildung* and the state's needs are seen through the ideal of *Bildung* as being in harmony. Furthermore, Humboldt had primarily university students and not primary and secondary students in mind when he suggested that the ideal should be *Bildung*. Nordenbo (2002), 348.

trusted with the concept of education – the two Swedish words have the same root.¹² The prefix *ut* means 'out', indicating that this process involves interest-oriented goals that are shaped in advance by an institution that has a specific purpose in mind. Students are to be moulded in a way that serves society and the labour market.¹³ Thus, the term *utbildning* suggests that schools aim to prepare students to perform specific social functions. In contrast to the open-end educational ideal, according to which the education system is designed to take the individual into account, education aims primarily to meet the needs of society and the labour market.

Why the Knowledge Movement?

The situation for Swedish school policy changed significantly during the 1970s. Bringing clarity to the resurrection of the concept of *Bildung* in the school administrative field requires a focus on these changes. There were many reasons for such developments. One contributing factor was the growing critique by the political Left, which identified schools as an accomplice in the ongoing reproduction of class society. The Swedish schools were criticised for being a filter to satisfy the needs of the market.¹⁴

But criticism also came from another direction. There was increasing concern that students were learning less and lacked respect for their teachers. In response to this critique, the government ordered an inquiry entitled Internal Work of the Schools (*Skolans inre arbete*, SIA), which resulted in a bill in the year of 1975.¹⁵ The bill emphasised the importance of avoiding discrimination and stated that the extra resources appropriated by the government should favour students who were experiencing learning difficulties.

Thus, there was a shift from a "simple" concept of equality towards a more thorough, needs-based one. If post-war policy was to provide all students with *formally* equal opportunities, requirements have become more demanding such that schools must now proceed from a needs-based interpretation. Decentralisation was described as a useful tool to realise this aim. But it was also stressed that "compulsory education should use approaches and methods that are more closely linked to early childhood education,"¹⁶ that particular emphasis should "be placed on the student's proficiency," and that the school "should strive for an approach that is linked to the reality in which students find themselves."¹⁷

These three quotes highlight some of the key issues to which a highly diverse –

12 Lennart Svensson, *Från bildning till utbildning: del 1* (Göteborg: Sociologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet, 1978).

13 Tomas Wedin, "Ideological Continuity and Discursive Changes in the Swedish Educational System," *LIR. Journal*, ed. Anders Pedersen, Anton Jansson, and Hjalmar Falk, no. 3 (2013), 49–65.

14 LOVUX IV: LO:s arbetsgrupp för vuxenutbildningsfrågor, "Utbildning för arbete och demokrati: rapport till LO-kongressen 1976" (Stockholm: Prisma/Landsorganisationen i Sverige, 1976); Tomas Englund, *Läroplanens och skolkunskapens politiska dimension* (Göteborg: Daidalos, 2005), 268–72; Gunnar Richardson, *Svensk utbildningshistoria* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2010), 14, 138–40.

15 SOU 1974:53: *Skolans arbetsmiljö: Betänkande* (Stockholm: Allmänna förlaget, 1974), SOU 1974:58: *Skolans arbetsmiljö: Bilagor* (Stockholm: Allmänna förlaget, 1974), *Skolans inre arbete*: Bill 1975/76:39.

16 My original translation: "grundskolan i högre grad än för närvarande ska tillämpa arbetssätt och arbetsformer som mer knyter an till förskolepedagogiken".

17 My original translation: "läggas vid elevens färdighetsträning... i högre grad än för närvarande [bör] sträva efter ett arbetssätt som knyter an till elevernas verklighet", Bill 1975/76, 39, 1.

and growing – group of critics turned in the late 1970s. Despite their differences, they shared a conviction that the schools were not good enough at equipping students with knowledge and that the proposals that had been launched in SIA were not the right way to go.¹⁸ But there was no agreement on what schools should devote themselves to instead. Some people accused them of engaging in a kind of ideological positivism that prevented students from developing critical faculties.¹⁹ Among their ranks was a group (including several teachers) at *KRUT*, *Kritisk utbildningsvetenskaplig tidskrift* (Critical Educational Scientific Journal) in 1975. Donald Broady, one of the magazine's key players, belonged to this group. *KRUT* writers sought to identify and deconstruct the tendencies that were being reproduced in schools and elsewhere. They wanted schools to foster critical awareness and encourage practices that would neutralise the reproduction of hierarchical structures throughout society. The needs of society and the labour market must be subordinated to the free development of the individual from a progressive point of view. They argued that the goal of the education system should be to highlight structures that limited social mobility, especially by understanding how the class system was reproduced.²⁰

Other critics argued that the role of the schools as a transmitter of knowledge was on the retreat and that this was a serious threat to both social cohesion in general and the education system in particular. One of the voices in this ever-growing group was Gunnar Fredriksson, who neatly encapsulated a central idea of this movement: "I am for schools that make you work hard."²¹ Scattered critical voices had been heard before, but it wasn't until 31 May 1979 that they published a proclamation initiated by Nils Elvander, a professor of political science. The following September, a number of people behind the movement started Association for Knowledge in the Schools (*Föreningen för kunskap i skolan*, FKS), chaired by Elvander.²² Arne Helldén and Jan Peterson, two of the leading activists, were Social Democrats, as were several of the other leaders. But there were others as well. There was constant tension between Helldén, Peterson, et al. and a number of people linked to the Communist Party.²³ The movement splintered after just a few months and a faction broke off under the name of Campaign for Knowledge in the Schools (*Aktion för kunskap i skolan*, AKS). Helldén was a key member of this faction.

Campaign for Knowledge in the Schools

Whereas the initial FKS movement imploded for various reasons in 1982, AKS became an influential shaper of public opinion through the 1980s. Immediately breaking

18 Donald Broady, "Flera kunskaper: Det var bättre förr – tankar om kunskapsdebatten," *KRUT* no. 12 (1979); Bergström (1993), 134–35. Several of the people who fall into this group consciously write "transmit," but it is not true of everyone, and assuming that the concept can be interpreted in both a larger and a more narrow perspective, I chose to write "equip" instead.

19 Sven-Eric Liedman, "Kunskaper är viktigare än moral," in *Skolan som kunskapsförmedlare*, ed. Jan Peterson (Stockholm: Prisma, 1979), 137–51.

20 Richardsson (2010), 156.

21 My original translation: "Jag är för pluggskolan," Gunnar Fredriksson, "Jag är för pluggskolan," in *Skolan som kunskapsförmedlare*, ed. Jan Peterson (Stockholm: Prisma, 1979), 91–96.

22 Bergström (1993), 135.

23 Including the ever-polemical Gunnar Ohrlander, better known as Doctor Gormander, as one of the more well known, Bergström (1993), 136–37.

away from FKS, AKS took over distribution of the journal *Äpplet*.²⁴ What were the people behind *Äpplet* so upset about? And what did they think should be changed in the schools? Before addressing this question, it should be noted that the issues AKS concerned itself with were not simply a Swedish phenomenon; they had much in common with *Mut zur Erziehung* in Germany, the *Back-to-Basics* movement, the Commission for Excellence in Education in the United States, and *les restaurateurs* in France.²⁵

Unlike FKS, which had drawn much of its membership from the Social Democrats and a sprinkling of Communists, AKS soon recruited several key people from the right side of the political spectrum. This change throughout the 1980s led to a more general shift in the nature of the issues that fuelled the movement. As the description below suggests, there is good reason to regard this change as a political shift to the right.

The initial issues of *Äpplet* promoted the idea that schools should transmit more knowledge. Humanistic *Bildung* was a core concept. Helldén emphasised the value of “classical” education in one of the very first issues. An article entitled “Fear of *Bildung*” (*Bildningsskräck*) argued:

The remarkable thing about these miscellaneous thoughts (“warm and fuzzy educational precepts”) is that they are characterised by fear of *Bildung*. They are detached from “traditional *Bildung*” or “ordinary” knowledge.²⁶

Mats Gellerfeldt, a literary critic at *Svenska Dagbladet*, one of the leading Swedish newspapers, wrote that “we are Social Democrats who want to restore the worker

24 The Campaign for Knowledge in the Schools (AKS) published an appeal on the crisis in Swedish schools to break the “code of silence conformism” regarding the state of the “world’s most expensive schools” (*Äpplet*, no. 1, 1980, 3). The first issue of *Äpplet* was published by FKS, but the magazine was the taken over by AKS. The journal’s first issue had a print run of 30,000 copies.

25 Donald Broady, “Bildningstankens krumbukter,” in *Svenska bildningstraditioner*, ed. Anders Burman and Per Sundgren (Göteborg: Daidalos, 2012), 290. In the United States, this was nothing new; the main ideas of this criticism go much further back. In opposition to progressivism advocated by Dewey and others, a counter-movement grew. A prominent proponent of this movement, historian Arthur Bestor argued as far back as the mid-1950s for a resumption of schools that strove to impart core values instead of the anti-intellectualism that he believed characterised the schools of the time, Arthur Bestor, *The Restoration of Learning: A Program for Redeeming the Unfulfilled Promise of American Education* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, Inc., 1955). For a detailed discussion of how Bestor’s position relates to Dewey’s and other educational policy concepts, see Englund (2005); Emmamalin Larsson and Tomas Wedin, “What Knowledge is of Most Worth?” Unpublished paper (Göteborg: University of Gothenburg, 2009). The nuances of the school debate in France warrant examination. Here it is first in connection with the election of the Socialist government in 1981 (with the controversial Alain Savary, Minister of Education) and Mitterrand as president that implementation of reforms to “democratise” the school system began. Unlike what turned out to be the case in Sweden, the criticism would become more nuanced. Both the school system’s former function and the reforms that were made have continued to be criticised from several different perspectives in academic debate and by the public. For a good overview of the educational criticism in France over the last 30 years, see Franck Giol, *Lectures contemporaines de la crise de l’éducation* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2009).

26 My original translation: “De utmärkande för dessa strötankar [’flumskoleidéer’] är att de präglas av bildningsskräck. De är frikopplade från traditionell bildning eller ordinär kunskap.” Arne Helldén, “Bildningsskräck,” *Äpplet* no. 1 (1980), 24–25. The idea of “warm and fuzzy education” (*flumskolan*) has been used ever since as an invective directed against the progressivist ideas, such as child-centred teaching, cooperation etc., that have influenced Swedish schools since the 1970s.

movement's ideals of *Bildung*: We are moderates who espouse conservative traditions of *Bildung*.²⁷ An article by Associate Professor Bo Magnusson entitled "Lena Hjelm-Wallén – Utilitarian Philosopher and Educational Priestess", stated that against "a flat utilitarian concept of knowledge [...] AKS suggests the classical idea of *Bildung*: only those who have a solid platform to build on can erect the structures that social renewal requires."²⁸

However, *Bildung* is not characterised in as clear-cut a manner as indicated above. Helldén discusses two different educational ideals: "classical *Bildung*" from the Renaissance, and *Bildung* from the Enlightenment.²⁹ In accordance with the Enlightenment ideal, human beings did not "come to earth to become a work of art (the classical ideal), but to *improve* the world."³⁰

Helldén's distinction demonstrates that two different ideals of *Bildung* are involved. Their many differences notwithstanding, they both strive to realise a predetermined goal. In this fundamental respect, they may both be regarded as variations of the targeted *Bildung*, which focuses on *avbildning*: The nation's level of *Bildung* is low because its cultural heritage has not been preserved.

Another central goal for schools as suggested by many authors is to instil order and discipline. As Helldén writes in a subsequent book on the same theme, students should be subject to "explicit expectations" and schools should have a specified social organisation – an ethos, standard and style – and "an unquestioned cultural ambition."³¹ The particular beliefs encompassed by the ethos are undefined. In contrast, *Äpplet's* first issue featured Gellerfeldt's description of his own schooling, the tone suggesting that others would do well to follow suit.

Discipline was fairly strict. Tardiness, carelessness with homework and classroom disturbances were not tolerated. Teachers followed established standards and adhered to the labour movement's ideals of *Bildung*. Knowledge is power. Morale was fundamental. Morale was imprinted in us: You shall do your duty. You shall do your homework. You shall be considerate of others. You shall respect your teacher.³²

27 My original translation: "vi är socialdemokrater som vill återställa arbetarrörelsens bildningsideal; vi är moderater som hyllar konservativa bildningstraditioner..." Mats Gellerfeldt, *Äpplet* no. 1 (1980), 12.

28 My original translation: "mot det platta utilitistiska kunskapsbegrepp[et]... ställer AKS en återuppväckt klassisk bildningssyn: bara den som har en stadig plattform att bygga på kan göra de tillbyggnader som samhällsförnyelsen kräver." Bo Magnusson, *Äpplet*, no. 1 (1980), 31–32. Lena Hjelm-Wallen was at the time Member of Parliament for the Social Democrats with particular responsibility for educational issues.

29 However, he wasn't the first person to make this distinction. A utilitarian citizen upbringing ideal and a classic elite upbringing ideal were pitted against each other in the context of the protracted upbringing debate connected to government reform in 1809, see Åke Isling, *Samhällsutveckling och bildningsideal* (Trelleborg: Pedagogiska skrifter, 1973), 30.

30 My original translation: "kommen till jorden för att göra sig till konstverk" [vilket skulle vara idealet enligt den "klassiska bildningstanken"] – utan för att *förbättra* världen... Arne Helldén, *Äpplet*, no. 1 (1980), 5–8.

31 My original translation: "uttryckliga förväntningar ställs på dem [eleverna]", "etos", "standard", "stil", "tveklös kulturell ambition" Arne Helldén, *Skola på villövägar* (Linköping: Futurum, 2002), 47.

32 My original translation: "Disciplinen var ganska sträng. Det tolererades inte att vi kom för sent, slarvade med läxor eller störde undervisningen. Lärarna var noga med fasta normer... Arbetarrörelsens bildningsideal var deras. Kunskap är makt. Moral var ett nyckelord. Moral gick i arv till oss barn: Du skall göra din plikt. Du skall läsa dina läxor. Du skall visa hänsyn. Du skall visa din lärare respekt." Mats Gellerfeldt, *Äpplet*, no. 1 (1980), 12.

While the ideal is fairly strict, Gellerfeldt does not argue that it should be embraced as is. Nevertheless, he presents it in a manner that is intended to appeal to the reader. The criticism of the lack of discipline and respect for teachers should be seen in light of the “softer” methods advocated by SIA. The demands for cracking down and grading conduct reappeared in various issues of the magazine, and the rhetoric grew more insistent towards the end of the decade. An article in 1987 praised Alf Svensson, leader of the Christian Democratic Party, for his demands that conduct be graded.³³

The kind of society that the schools should help shape was not discussed. But issue no. 3 in 1985 offered a point-by-point programme that had been adopted by the 1984 annual meeting of AKS. The programme reflects the main concerns that the movement emphasised:

- Boldness with respect for knowledge and culture
- Schools shall provide education in the humanities and preserve the Western cultural heritage, particularly when it comes to Swedish, history, and literary history.
- Specific social norms
- Conduct grades
- Tracking in upper grades
- Freedom of choice through the voucher system³⁴

Thus, the movement shifted in the 1980s. There was a change of direction in terms of the questions to be discussed. The voucher system and classroom discipline took priority. Nobody boasted that they represented ideological pluralism any longer. Furthermore, matters unrelated to the schools appeared in a number of issues towards the end of the decade.

One article in particular helps trace the trajectory of the movement. The article is written by Krister Pettersson, “a graduate engineer and father of three,” who contemplates what has become of Sweden after having spent many years abroad. High taxes, lax schools without homework or conduct grades, and gender equality committees that tell his wife and him how to organise their lives are among the problems he discusses. He ends with the following words:

We want to be free citizens in a free country—not equal subjects of the same tyranny. We believe that ours and everyone else’s children should have equal rights. That is the very reason that we are in favour of more humane family and educational policies.³⁵

³³ *Äpplet*, no. 2–3 (1987), 9.

³⁴ My original translation: “Frimodighet men med respekt för kunskap och kultur; Skolan skall syfta till att förmedla en humanistisk bildning och slå vakt om det västerländska kulturarvet, inte minst genom ämnena svenska, historia och litteraturhistoria; Tydliga sociala normer; Ordningsbetyg; Diferentiering i högstadiet; Reell valfrihet i fråga om skolform och att skolpengen följer elever.” *Äpplet*, no. 3 (1985), 6.

³⁵ My original translation: “Hon och jag vill vara fria medborgare i ett fritt land – inte undersåtar jämställda i ofrihet. Vi anser att alla andra och våra barn skall ha samma rätt. Därför är vi för en mänskligare familje- och skolpolitik.” Krister Pettersson, *Äpplet*, no. 1 (1987), 11–12.

From the Knowledge Movement to editorials in *Dagens Nyheter*

Thus, the educational discourse of the 1970s and 1980s, heavily influenced by Social Democratic ideology, found itself in a bind. It had to deal with harsh criticism from AKS and its allies, who criticised “warm and fuzzy schools” (*flumskolan*) as well as from *KRUT* and others who identified the education system as a central arena for the reproduction of class society. However, school policies did not change dramatically after the Social Democrats lost the elections of 1976 and 1979. Reforms that directly conflicted with the approach of the previous government were not enforced.

Not until the 1980s did Conservative school policy spokesman Per Unckel and party leader Ulf Adelsohn—and to a lesser extent the Liberals and Christian Democrats—begin to take strong stands based on the ideas formulated by AKS.³⁶ An interview with Unckel in an August 1983 edition of *Svenska Dagbladet* suggested that the most extreme laxity had given way to a “classical ideal of *Bildung*.”³⁷

Motion after motion contained suggestions reminiscent of ideas expressed in *Äpplet*. Adelsohn emphasised the priority of proficiency goals as early as 1981.³⁸ English instruction and grading should start earlier, and tracking should be stressed more.³⁹ In summer 1984, he told the Swedish Parliament that the Social Democrats were pursuing a vague standard of equality while the Conservatives wanted to make sure that each student acquired genuine knowledge.⁴⁰ In advocating for an education system that would be firmly anchored to the Western canon, he clearly stressed the reproduction of values. In practical terms, he underscored the importance of grades – including for discipline and conduct – earlier tracking, and a voucher system.⁴¹ Under Adelsohn’s leadership, the Conservatives drifted rightward on a number of issues. The party’s website states that it developed a positive alternative to its previous policies, which had been increasingly critical.⁴² Historian Torbjörn Nilsson’s review of the party’s ideological development from 1976 to 1991 reaches the same conclusion.⁴³

The outlines of an educational policy discourse that emerged in some liberal newspapers, particularly *Dagens Nyheter*, in the 1990s began to appear. In her dissertation of 2006 Matilda Wiklund analyses the way that the paper’s op-ed and editorial pages described and envisaged Swedish schools.⁴⁴ As late as the early 1980s, *Äpplet* published an article entitled “Society Profits from the Lack of Knowledge: *Dagens Nyheter* Leads the Way.”⁴⁵

36 Bergström (1993), 216.

37 Broady (2012), 289–90.

38 Motion 1983/84: 2016.

39 Motion 1983/84: 2016.

40 Parliament protocol 1983/84: 166.

41 The movement stated in *Äpplet* no. 4, 1985 that the Liberal Party and the Moderates were the only parties pursuing its issues.

42 <http://www.moderat.se/partihistorik> (2014-11-03). The website of the New Moderates states that an ideological offensive was launched during the 1970s and 1980s.

43 Torbjörn Nilsson, *Moderaterna, marknaden och makten: Svensk högerpolitik under avregleringens tid, 1976–1991* (Stockholm: Södertörns högskola, 2003), 56–57.

44 Matilda Wiklund, *Kunskapens fanbärare: Den goda läraren som diskursiv konstruktion på en mediearena* (Örebro: Örebro universitet, 2006), 161–78.

45 My original translation: “Samhället profiterar på okunnigheten: *Dagens Nyheter* går i spetsen.” Mats Gellerfeldt, *Äpplet*, no. 1–2 (1980), 10–11.

Battle over the concept of *Bildung*

Criticism by AKS was a reaction to the educational policies of the 1970s, not least as a result of SIA's proposals. Another target of AKS criticism was the official government report on grades in 1977 and those who actively promoted their elimination up until the age of fourteen.⁴⁶ This was the context in which the concept of *Bildung* returned with respect to the education system.

Mostly due to waning German influence, the concept had appeared only rarely in post-war discussions of school policy.⁴⁷ Apart from Unckel, members of the educational community tended to ignore the notion of *Bildung*, whereas people linked to AKS frequently brought it up. But several commentators outside AKS challenged the interpretation that focused on reproduction. Broady was one of them.

His article "Om bildning och konsten att ära" (*Bildung* and the art of inheriting) challenged the *Bildung* ideal that Unckel had promoted in the interview mentioned above.⁴⁸ Inspired by fresh interpretations of the new humanistic ideal of *Bildung*, he argued for the concept's progressive potential.⁴⁹ The interpretations offered him a bridge to the critical perspective that he and others behind *KRUT* thought should inform the school.⁵⁰

Pamphlets published by the National Agency for Higher Education (*Universitets- och högskoleämbetet*) made it clear that the meaning and potential of *Bildung* were of interest elsewhere as well.⁵¹ However, neither Broady's article nor the pamphlets resonated very deeply in discussions of educational policy. The article is nevertheless worthy of particular attention since it was the first to emphasise the above distinction between *avbildning* and *Bildung* in the context of schools.

The next time school-oriented journals highlighted the term was in connection with government investigation SOU 1992:94, *Skola för bildning* (Schooling for *Bildung*).⁵² Broady played a central role this time as well, called in as an expert for the preliminary inquiry under Ulf P. Lundgren, professor of pedagogics. His ideas, particularly his text about *Bildung*, influenced the commission's proposal to a certain ex-

46 SOU 1977:09: *Betygen i skolan: Ett betänkande av 1973 års betygsutredning* (Stockholm: Allmänna bokförlaget, 1977). One of the most prominent critics of the grading system was the future party leader for the Social Democrats in Sweden, Mona Sahlin, who criticised the system in a radio program focusing on schools, Britt Mogård and Mona Sahlin in *Skolan: Ett hett debattämne i alla tider*. Swedish Radio's archive, October 3, 1978.

47 Östling (2008), 165–69. However, the concept was brought up in the more general cultural debate. Two examples: Åke Isling's *Samhällsutveckling och bildningsideal: Skolpolitiska längdsnitt och strukturskisser* (Stockholm: Pedagogiska skrifter 252, 1973); Erik Hjalmar Linder, *Bildning i det tjugonde seklet* (Stockholm: Natur & Kultur, 1962).

48 Donald Broady, "Om bildning och konsten att ära," *KRUT* 8, no. 35–36 (1984), 4–15.

49 See, for example, Hans-Joachim Heydorn, *Bildungstheoretische und Pädagogische Schriften Band 1–3* (Frankfurt am Main: Syndikat, 1980).

50 He was, though, not the first to highlight the tension inherent to this concept. Sociologist Lennart Svensson makes a similar argument in his extensive study *Från bildning till utbildning* [From Bildung to education] for the emancipatory potential of the concept of *Bildung*. In this connection, he also emphasised the tension that the concept holds, Svensson (1978), 224.

51 Kenneth Abrahamsson ed. *Bildningssyn och utbildningsreformer: Om behovet av bildningsmål i gymnasium och högskola* (Stockholm: Liber Utbildning i samarbete med Universitets och högskoleämbetet (UHÄ), 1984).

52 See, for example, Göte Rudvall ed. *Bildning och utbildning: Texter till ett seminarium om bildning och utbildning*, (Malmö: Lärarhögskolan, 1994) and *Forskning om utbildning*, no. 3–4 (1993).

tent. Broady also participated in the translation of an educational inquiry by the researchers at *Collège de France*, led by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (whom Broady earlier had introduced in Sweden).⁵³

However, the open-ended ideal of *Bildung* lacked the impact for which the Commission had hoped. Goals were plentiful, not only at the system level – which Lundgren had imagined – but also at the individual level.⁵⁴ The prospects for largely goal-oriented schools to adopt such an ideal were anything but good, as the intellectual historian Bernt Gustavsson has pointed out.⁵⁵

On the other hand, an education system that strives to implement the *avbildning* ideal meshes very well with goal orientation. Another factor that influenced the gap from idea to practice was that the curriculum committee for “Schooling for *Bildung*” and the grading committee were unable to cooperate. Several leading supporters of the curriculum committee were very disappointed when the goal-oriented grading system was presented.⁵⁶ Lundgren said in a 2006 interview that “the whole idea of managing schools based on goals was that it would be linked to evaluating the system, not individuals.”⁵⁷

The goal-oriented grading system was only one of several changes to the Swedish education system. Only now, for example, was the SIA commission’s proposal for greater decentralization implemented.⁵⁸ Once the proposal had been fully launched—both through increased financial responsibility and municipal oversight of goal fulfilment—the regulatory framework for the establishment of independent schools (privately run but publicly funded) was relaxed. The changes also included the adoption of a voucher system that allowed students and parents to choose schools.

Sweden suddenly went from having one of the most centralized education systems in the world to one of the most decentralized. Of course, the SIA commission was not the only source of the reforms. Sentiment for school choice was strong in the early 1990s. The focus on individual-oriented goals was hardly limited to the educational arena. Several areas of the welfare system were subject to efficiency goals under economically inspired slogans such as new public management and social choice. Thus, more than one prominent idea from SIA (a product of criticism by the 1970s leftist school) was implemented at the same time as the centre/right government led a freedom-of-choice revolution.

The fact that the curriculum committee presented its reform proposal on the

53 As a part of his contribution to the work with *Skola för bildning*, Broady introduces and translates the suggestion for a change in schools put forth by the scholars at the Collège de France: *Propositions pour l’enseignement de l’avenir*. As for the title selection, “Schooling for *Bildung*”, which, in the light of the above written is tempting to ascribe just Broady, none of the people involved that I have been in contact with (Berit Hornqvist, Donald Broady, Ingrid Carlgren, Ulf P. Lundgren), remember why they chose to include *Bildung* in the title (personal communication Nov. 8–9, 2012).

54 Donald Broady and Ulf P. Lundgren, “Hela havet stormar,” *Ord & Bild*, ed. Rune Romhed, no. 3–4 (2006), 12.

55 Bernt Gustavsson, *Bildning i vår tid: Om bildningens möjligheter och villkor i det moderna samhället* (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1996), 255.

56 Personal communication with Ingrid Carlgren, Inger Hörnqvist and Ulf P. Lundgren, Nov. 8–9, 2012.

57 My original translation: “[...] hela idén med målstyrningen av skolan var att den skulle kopplas till utvärdering av systemet, inte till kontroll av individer.” Broady and Lundgren (2006), 12.

58 Bill 1990/91: 18.

same day as the central bank raised its prime rate to 500 % was an omen of things to come. Cutbacks in the wake of the crisis limited the financial manoeuvrability of both municipalities and the government for ensuring equal education throughout the country. Since municipal spending was discretionary and there was no clear framework to monitor the changes, inequalities in the resources appropriated for individual students were inevitable. However, the simultaneous shift from equality to equivalence as an overall aim of the education system (see below) limited the conceptual change.⁵⁹

Subordination of one area after another to goal-oriented thinking can be understood in light of the ideological and structural changes that Sweden began to undergo in the 1980s. By the middle of the decade, the great majority of economists in Sweden had abandoned Keynesianism and were basing their analyses on classical equilibrium theory inspired by James Buchanan, Gordon Tullock and other prominent members of the Public Choice school.⁶⁰

The postulate of the rational actor, the idea of the supremacy of supply and demand, and the emphasis on individual responsibility gradually eroded the base of support for equality as a key social objective. The transition to the concept of equivalence was the manifestation of this trend in the area of education. Equivalence and the flexibility it reflects appear to be more attractive than equality in a society characterised by the rational attempt to satisfy individual preferences. According to Tomas Englund and Ann Quennerstedt, the trend was also an expression of the ideological drift towards a more responsibility-oriented form of individualism starting in the 1980s.⁶¹

Challenged by the rebirth of these economic doctrines, the Social Democrats could no longer avoid the fateful question of equality versus labour market reform. Simultaneously cutting the public budget, more strictly evaluating efficiency and allowing more scope for citizens to make their own choices was inconsistent with the kind of equal opportunity that SIA was looking for. Given that the government was accused of inefficiency (public choice critique) and acting like guardians (by both the Left and the Right) – not to mention the fact that demands for greater decentralisation had grown increasingly vociferous since the mid-1970s – goal-orientation and decentralisation appeared to be a decent combination.

Due to the resurrection of the ambiguous *Bildung* concept at the administrative level, support could be counted on from both the discipline-oriented and emancipation-oriented factions of the educational policy debate. The renaissance of *Bildung* also reflected the growing importance ascribed to education as a vehicle of economic

59 Bergström (1993), 219; Tomas Englund and Ann Quennerstedt, "Likvärdighetsbegreppet i svensk utbildningspolitik," in *Vadå likvärdighet*, ed. Ann Quennerstedt and Tomas Englund, 7–35 (Uddevalla: Daidalos 2008).

60 Agneta Hugemark, *Den fängslade marknaden* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1994).

61 Englund and Quennerstedt (2008), 22. Alongside native-grown ideas, the same laissez-faire liberal tradition gained popularity in both Europe and the United States. In 1981, Ronald Dworkin laid the foundation for an egalitarian answer to the responsibility question in his articles, "What is Equality? Part 1: Equality of Welfare" and "What is Equality? Part 2: Equality of Resources," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 10, no. 3–4, 1981. The two articles gave rise to the luck-egalitarianism stream (immensely influential the analytical tradition) in the political-philosophical debate of the time. The term was coined by Elisabeth Anderson in "What's the Point of Equality," *Ethics* 109, no. 2 (1999), 287–337.

growth by augmenting human capital.⁶² For example, the notion of lifelong learning reappeared at the same time and has been part of the educational discourse ever since.⁶³ The concept originally emerged in the early 1970s. The focus at that time had been on issues such as unequal access to education among the various social classes.⁶⁴

When “Schooling for *Bildung*” was presented, the intellectual historian Crister Skoglund wrote that the resurrection of *Bildung* was a kind of “sugar coating for the rather bitter reforms that have been adopted.”⁶⁵ Considering how schools have changed since 1993, there is good reason to believe that the concept’s survival in GY 2011 can also be explained in this way. From the standpoint of entrepreneurship, however, the use of *Bildung* in the current curriculum is certainly more than just sugar coating.

Entrepreneurship

Schools should help students develop skills and attitudes that promote *entrepreneurship, enterprise and innovative thinking*. As a result, they will be better prepared to start and run businesses. Entrepreneurial skills are valuable in the workplace, in the community and for advanced studies.⁶⁶

The above quote is from GY 2011, the curriculum for the various types of upper secondary school education in Sweden.⁶⁷ The curriculum makes it clear that entrepreneurship should inform all levels of education. This should be regarded as both an educational approach and a concrete effort to disseminate knowledge about enterprise (“entrepreneurship” on the website of the Swedish National Agency for Education, *Skolverket*). Eva Leffler, Ron Mahieu and others have conducted research about

62 An important contributor to the development of the idea of human capital was Gary Becker. Since he developed his theories on human capital as a fourth production factor and the “alternative cost” approach to human behaviour, i.e. the idea of *homo oeconomicus*, the practical importance of these ideas have gradually increased. For an accessible introduction to Becker, one of the main contributors to the development of man as *homo oeconomicus*, see his Nobel Lecture, available online, Gary Becker, Nobel Lecture December 9th, 1992 http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/economic-science/laureates/1992/becker-lecture.pdf (accessed June 28, 2014).

63 See Magnus Dahlstedt, “I val(o)frihetens fotspår: Segregation, differentiering och två decennier av skolreformer,” *Pedagogisk forskning i Sverige* 12, no. 1 (2007), 20–38.

64 “Strong support must be given democracy, as the only way for man to avoid becoming enslaved to machines, and the only condition compatible with the dignity which the intellectual achievements of the human race require; the concept of democracy itself must be developed, for it can no longer be limited to a minimum of juridical guarantees protecting citizens from the arbitrary exercise of power... more support must also be given to educational requirements, for there cannot... be a democratic and egalitarian relationship between classes divided by excessive inequality in education, and the aim and content of education must be recreated, to allow both for the new features of society and the new features of democracy.” Edgar Faure et al., *Learning to be* (Paris: UNESCO, 1972), xxvi.

65 My original translation: “en sockerglasyr för de tämligen beska reformer som har genomdrivits,” Crister Skoglund, ”Herder och en skola för bildning,” *Forskning om utbildning*, 3, no. 4 (1993), 28.

66 My original translation: “Skolan ska bidra till att eleverna utvecklar kunskaper och förhållningssätt som främjar *entreprenörskap, företagande och innovationstänkande*. Därigenom ökar elevernas möjligheter att kunna starta och driva företag. Entreprenöriella förmågor är värdefulla för arbetslivet, samhällslivet och vidare studier.”

67 Because the translation of the curriculum to English does not contain a reasonable term for “bildning” and entrepreneurship is italicised in the original Swedish version, I decided to do a more precise translation myself.

how this concept was introduced in school policy discussions.⁶⁸ Leffler's dissertation distinguishes between two entrepreneurial discourses: one narrow and one broad. The narrow discourse emphasizes the external enterprise, which can be directly linked to the economy. The broad discourse focuses on the inner enterprise, which "approaches education in general by relating it to upbringing and inner human qualities."⁶⁹ Leffler and Mahieu, as well as Magnus Dahlstedt and Fredrik Hertzberg, argue that the second discourse best characterises the way that this concept has been used in Swedish discussions of educational policy.⁷⁰ According to this reading, entrepreneurship is part of the school policy discourse, which has been dominated by concepts such as flexibility, adaptability and responsibility ever since the 1990s.⁷¹

Interpreting entrepreneurship in this way also sets the stage to accept the open-ended reading of *Bildung* by the emerging school. The creation of something that has not been predetermined, the core idea of such a reading, can now be interpreted in a less ambiguous fashion, consistent with the kind of internal enterprise that the entrepreneur represents. Without any pre-planning, the education system should shape individuals who will not waste their time on terms such as meaning. Not only will they think about proper (useful) things, but they will be inspired to commercialise their ideas.

Interpreted in this way, entrepreneurship becomes the thread that weaves together the open-ended ideal of *Bildung* with the stark realities of the education system in GY 2011. *Bildung* and education, the creation of something that is not predetermined, and labour market needs intertwined in entrepreneurial learning replace "warm and fuzzy" creation with *productive creativity*.⁷² This reading is similar to that which Dahlstedt and Hertzberg present in their Foucault-inspired explanation of the central role of entrepreneurship in discussions of educational policy. They argue that the introduction of the concept involves both I-technologies ("free" *Bildung*) and power technologies (the stark realities of the education system).⁷³

In line with the arguments of the Knowledge Movement during the 1980s, clear inspiration from the ideal of *avbildning* can also be discerned in GY 2011. Belief in the value of indoctrinating students with a common curriculum to be tested in national exams jibes with the above notions of entrepreneurial learning.⁷⁴ Thus, a clear distinction is drawn between evidence-based knowledge and what is to be regarded as warm and fuzzy.⁷⁵ Measurability becomes the criterion, the line of demarcation

68 Eva Leffler, *Företagsamma elever: Diskurser kring entreprenörskap och företagsamhet i skola* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2006), Ron Mahieu, *Agents of Change and Policies of Scale* (Umeå: Umeå University, 2006).

69 My original translation: "inre företagsamheten", "vänder sig mot utbildning i allmänhet genom att relatera till fostran och mänskliga inre kvaliteter." Leffler (2006), 89.

70 Magnus Dahlstedt and Fredrik Hertzberg, "Den entreprenörskapande skolan: Styrning, subjektsskapande och entreprenörskapspedagogik," in *Pedagogisk Forskning i Sverige* 16, no. 3 (2011), 195; Leffler (2006), 89, 225; Mahieu (2006), 8.

71 Dahlstedt and Hertzberg (2011), 179–98.

72 Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (London: Verso, 1985), 105.

73 Dahlstedt and Hertzberg (2011), 195.

74 Folkpartiet, "Frihet i globaliseringens tid," 2013 (Political Party Programme).

75 For a more profound discussion of measurability and the Knowledge School's academic ideological foundation, see Emmamalin Larsson and Tomas Wedin, "What Knowledge is of Most Worth?." Unpublished paper (Göteborg: University of Gothenburg, 2009), especially pages 13–17 and 35–36.

that distinguishes knowledge from opinion. Anything that cannot be measured is relegated to low priority. Entrepreneurship might be considered to be the missing link in the discourse of the “mature” Knowledge Movement.

From having been introduced during a period of political turmoil characterised by a severe economic crisis and a new centre/right government, with various possible interpretations that made it particularly apt to rally around, the meaning of *Bildung* in GY 2011 appears to be rather narrow. What emerges is the impression of a positivist view of knowledge, according to which individuality is charged with meanings such as responsibility and productive creativity and future economic growth is the horizon within which the education system is to be understood.

The break with previous curriculum ideals is not, however, as abrupt as it might appear. Similar ideas also set limits for the upper secondary school curriculum of the 1970s, though articulated within a very different educational discourse.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, a key difference between the current and previous curriculum is the blunt fashion in which the ideas of employability is presented in GY 2011, clearly illustrating the underlying political changes that have occurred over the last twenty years. Whereas the concept of *Bildung* as first introduced can be regarded as a compromise between forces with substantially different agendas, it is fairly restrained in its peripheral role in GY 2011. Although all of the last three curricula (1970, 1994 and 2011) have been explicitly based on the needs of the labour market, representing different forms of the same ideological horizon, GY 2011 reveals substantial *discursive* changes within the same horizon.

Concluding remarks

I have discussed the emergence of the Knowledge Movement and related it to the resurrection of the concept of *Bildung*, as well as how they are associated with the appearance of the concept of entrepreneurship in educational policy over the past ten years. A constructive question to consider in light of this discussion is what role, if any, the concept of *Bildung* should play in the education system of tomorrow? “Schooling for *Bildung*” did certainly not become what Broady, Carlgren, Lundgren and the others in the committee had hoped for. The concept itself has, however, lived on and can, in its flexibility, be actively integrated into the new curriculum as well.

This development notwithstanding, I am convinced that we have a lot to learn from it. However, as the intellectual historian Thomas Karlsohn has written with regard to the boom for Humboldt’s ideas in recent years, these “[...] romantic inspirations do not teach what specific words and concepts we will use. Rather, they teach us what language we should actually speak.”⁷⁷ Within a well-defined linguistic cloak and joined with actual reforms concerning the educational practices, I certainly believe that the concept of *Bildung* offers us a logic that is more relevant today than ever before.

Looking beyond the limited scope of this article, the text forms part of a broader project in which I aim at presenting new perspectives of the ideological shifts within

⁷⁶ Wedin (2013).

⁷⁷ My translation, originally: “romantiska inspirationskällor inte lär oss vilka specifika ord och begrepp vi skall använda. Snarare lär de oss vilket språk vi över huvud taget skall tala.” Thomas Karlsohn, *Originalitetens former* (Göteborg: Daidalos, 2012), 109.

the school system since 1970. As I have argued, I believe that the ideological and material conditions that gave birth to the Knowledge Movement are essential for our understanding of our current situation. The straw-man dichotomy of “warm and fuzzy school” vs. the “knowledge school”, invented by the Knowledge Movement and later on frequently articulated by the former Swedish Minister for Education, Jan Björklund, does not seem to be a particularly clarifying distinction in itself. Those very energies that gave birth to it, on the other hand, I believe are important keys in order to understand the chain of events that have led us to the current situation.

As I have contended above, the Knowledge Movement was, but a few years after it was founded, transformed into a rather one-dimensional political force, very much in line with the school political program under the Swedish conservative party (*Moderaterna*) during the 1980s. But what happened with those forces that shared the initial critique of the Knowledge Movement that did not agree on the way the movement developed during the 1980s? And even if we, for the sake of the argument, assume that they all accepted the way in which the movement developed during the decade, how come that no alternative school-critical movement emerged? We have good reasons to believe that the initial critique articulated by the Knowledge Movement in fact went beyond the left-right political spectrum, and that there were more voices coming from the left that criticized the way in which the school developed.⁷⁸ Addressing questions like these is crucial for a more adequate understanding of the current situation in Sweden.

⁷⁸ Jan Peterson ed. *Skolan som kunskapsförmedlare* (Stockholm: Prisma, 1979).

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Book Reviews

Dissertations

Åsa Broberg

Utbildning på gränsen mellan skola och arbete: Pedagogisk förändring i svensk yrkesutbildning 1918–1971
Stockholms universitet (PhD diss)
2014, 262 pp.

The three Nordic countries – Denmark, Norway and Sweden – are often grouped together in social analyses, being welfare states with similar languages, a common labour market and similar systems of higher education. Interestingly, however, they have quite different models of vocational education and training. School-based and work-based learning have been given different emphasis, education and the labour market been linked in different ways. Most notably, apprenticeship has developed historically very differently in these countries, either as a separate dual system (Denmark) or as an integrated part of upper secondary education (Norway) whereas in Sweden apprenticeship has almost disappeared. How have these differences come about? More specifically, how has the particular “Swedish model” of vocational education and training (VET) evolved over time?

Recent studies have linked the different destinies of Danish and Swedish VET during the early and mid 20th century to the predominance of small firms in Danish capitalism, large firms in Sweden (Dobbins and Busemeyer 2014). Similar ideas about the role of trade and industry to explain why Swedish VET has been almost exclusively located within the secondary school system and subject to a schooling logic have been put forward by e.g. Olofsson and Persson Thunqvist (2014). The doctoral thesis under discussion here, Åsa Broberg’s *Education on the border between school and work. Educational change in Swedish vocational education and training 1918–1971* (2014), takes a different approach. Broberg’s con-

cern is with the ideas and varying “figures of thought” that have guided pedagogical transformations of the Swedish VET sector during most of the 20th century, rather than with the economic or social forces behind it.

Changing figures of thought

“Figures of thought” is a notion borrowed from sociologist Johan Asplund. It concerns a level between basic existential conditions of life, on the one hand, and articulated thought in the form of theories, arguments and explicit ideas, on the other. Broberg argues that a close attention to the dominant pedagogical discourses about how to organise training will reveal the figures of thought, i.e. the rationalities or logics, behind the changes over time. She discerns two such logics, the “figure of work” versus the “figure of school” as being guiding paradigms behind educational ideals, practices and institutional set-ups in VET, with the latter replacing the former over time. Her argument is based on a reading of public inquiry reports, archival material from schools in the Stockholm region, journal articles, and commemorative books from vocational schools. This provides for a rich and detailed study with many interesting insights into everyday practices within Swedish VET, their changing rationales, and evolution over time.

In the period between 1918 and 1971, the organisation and character of Swedish vocational education and training changed. In 1918, special schools for practical training received state support and school statute for the first time. It was the first step in acknowledging that practical training could be learnt within schools and be improved with the help of theoretical knowledge. The system was nevertheless and for a long time characterised by low government involvement; rather, education was geared towards the local community, as much of the training took place in the workplace or at technical schools with production of goods and services linked to the surrounding commu-

nity. During the next decades, vocational education expanded greatly. It differentiated into a variety of school forms but later became increasingly centralised and streamlined as to governance and types of training. In 1971, VET was integrated into the upper secondary school and thus became part of a coherent national educational system, its rules and ideals. Most practical training now was to take place within a school setting.

VET differs from other forms of education in that it is influenced by both work and school logics, the balance between them is, however, not given. Broberg's study focuses on three educational practices that were important within the vocational school system but which were re-negotiated over time – the probation period, production, and the "diligence allowance" (*flitpengar*). They had been inspired by the figure of work but were considered less suitable in a VET-system inspired by the figure of school and were finally discontinued. Instead, new practices linked to other pedagogical norms were introduced.

Pedagogical changes

Broberg's first example concerns how students were accepted into vocational education. Grades from elementary school were in the early and mid 20th century less important than in other school forms when judging the applicant's capacity for practical work. Instead, various tests were used that were unique to VET, including aptitude tests. In general, physical capability, a sense of order and responsibility, but also curiosity and initiative were valued – traits that were less favoured within other school forms at the time. There was a probation period – a period in the beginning of the training during which the student's suitability for the chosen profession was tested. If the student was found to be unsuitable, he or she could be denied further training. It was the teacher acting in his or her capacity as a representative of the profession that decided the student's fate. When VET was reformed at the end of the period discussed by Broberg, these specific procedures were gradually abandoned. The assessment criteria changed, from reflecting the requirements of the profession to reflecting those of the school system. Grades replaced individual tests as selection mechanisms, and the pro-

bation period became a time for the student to reflect about whether to continue or not rather than a tool for the teacher to deny him or her a place.

A second important change was that VET schools ceased their production of goods or services for internal or external use. For many years, apprentice-based training or production at school were established pedagogical practices. In this way, VET was an integrated part of the local economy and school buildings sometimes looked more like production units than educational establishments. According to the figure of work, production was authentic work, valuable for student motivation and integration into the labour market. Doing such "real work" would give the students relevant and high quality skills, train problem-solving and cooperation with workers and customers. Production as part of the education was also seen as a necessity from an economic point of view since state support was limited; in addition, it contributed to keeping the schools up-to-date about machines, products and working methods.

When the figure of school gained ascendancy from the 1950s onwards, production was, however, problematised. Proponents of schooling argued that production-based training was unsystematic and inefficient. Production depended on external demand, which would fluctuate between years, types of education, and geographical location. Therefore, it was not easy to fit within an orderly curriculum; necessary skill elements would be trained in a non-pedagogical order, or maybe not at all. Production within a workplace setting was also seen as non-optimal, since it was not always possible for the apprentice to train all necessary skills, the pace of production was often hard, and workplace culture was sometimes considered inimical to learning.

Instead, the figure of school favoured a de-coupling of education and production. This was thought to lead to more efficient learning, a more concentrated period of education and a more systematic and all-round training of the necessary skills. It would also permit a more rational way of assessing what the student had learnt. The schools tried to accommodate to this critique and adapted their production in various ways to fit the national curriculum; eventually, however, the figure of school came to

predominate and production more or less disappeared. New pedagogical methods and technologies for learning were developed, with inspiration from industry and applicable to all kinds of skills, from typing to turning a lathe.

Instead of the students learning from contact with the master teacher and their work mates, they should now read texts and follow written instructions. Learning became organised around training objects arranged in a pedagogical order, from easy tasks to more complicated ones. These objects were originally part of production for sale but were soon to be organised as pure learning objects with no evident use or sales value; their sole function was to make the student train specific methods or procedures. Textbooks, step-by-step instructions and drawings would help the student along. Training was now individualised: the student should move at his or her own pace between training objects. Coupled with the use of learning objects were other pedagogical inventions. The curriculum was divided into many small parts which should be trained separately at different stations, for example, at different machines or with different kinds of material. Having the students train a number of times at different stations would guarantee that they learnt all the necessary steps and that all students learnt the same things. Circulating between the stations would, it was thought, enhance student motivation and help him or her work independently without the direct intervention of the teacher. The result would be a more efficient education, with students learning more and in a more systematic way than before. Thus, the image of efficient learning was one that trained predetermined, ordered knowledge bits, systematically organised according to a national curriculum, separate from production and the social relations of the work place.

Accordingly, the teachers' professional knowledge became less important and teachers changed from being masters or co-workers to a school based role of supervising, controlling, and grading students. Professional expertise was now located within handbooks and detailed instructions produced by pedagogical experts somewhere else.

The transformation of everyday practices at VET was completed with the third

change discussed by Broberg. Monetary compensation ceased for what the students produced as apprentices within local enterprises or within the schools' production of goods and services. The so-called "diligence allowance" was for a while used to motivate students; its withdrawal was also used as punishment for various misdemeanours to emphasise the need to adhere to workplace moral and social codes. But all schools did not have the financial means to provide for this allowance. This went against the homogenising ambitions of the figure of school; all schools across the country should be equal. It therefore disappeared when production disappeared as part of the education, and work in VET was re-coded from "real" work to school work.

Comments

Broberg's dissertation is well written and makes interesting sense of a multifaceted and sometimes contradictory history. Her focus is on ideas, discourses and their materialisation in pedagogical practices, not on actors, political decisions, or institutional re-organisations, although these are also given some attention. I will take up three points here. They are not so much points of critique as a way to further a discussion of important issues occasioned by Broberg's approach.

The first issue concerns the notion of "figure of thought". It is an interesting concept which Broberg uses to make sense of the dichotomies of ideals and practices within VET. Asplund himself refers to it, in Broberg's words, as "the underlying structures, that complex of ideas and notions which give support and meaning to more articulated thoughts manifest in what we say and do in different circumstances" (p. 51). They are stickier than articulated thought, slower to change, normally not reflected upon, and may be materialised in both physical objects, words and social practices.

The concept has been used in other studies, including some of Asplund's own; however, as Broberg notes, its theoretical status has not really been clarified. I see it as, what one may call, a "promissory concept", one that "refers to something undefined and *hidden* that is accorded with the power of explaining what we share and how we act" (Gad and Bruun Jensen 2014: 705).

My questions relate to this somewhat

uncertain theoretical status of the concept. Do they – in this case the figure of work and the figure of school – refer to something that actors are conscious about and adapt their practices to? Or are they hidden, unconscious structures, something that only researchers can gain an insight into through a systematic analysis? In other words, do they exist, or are they theoretical tools for the analyst to provide order into “what we say and do in different circumstances”? And, if they exist, how are we to understand their power and influence? For example, *must* the figure of work (or of school) always mean certain favoured criteria and practices? Does it form a coherent complex, a logic or rationality (terms also used by Broberg), which consistently will produce certain forms of seeing and acting, and not others? And if it is internally differentiated: what parts of a figure of thought – or its manifestations – are more fundamental, which more peripheral and temporary?

These are difficult questions, but Broberg comes some way in answering them empirically. Her analysis makes room for contradictions and flexibility in how figures of thought are manifested in articulated practices. For example, in how production and monetary compensation based on the figure of work for a while were re-interpreted to fit practices emanating from the figure of school – but eventually abandoned. Thus, pedagogical change may come about when the two logics meet and challenge each other, and where processes of conquering, insertion, and re-negotiation may take place.

This said, it is not altogether clear what the figure of work actually represents – and even less what the figure of school is, apart from “what most can relate to” (p. 56). Does the figure of work relate to craft work, industrial work, salaried work, or even entrepreneurship? These aspects are bundled together to constitute the figure of work. One may wonder if “work” is the same over the whole period, or whether its fundamental logic has not changed over these 50 years, something which may have consequences for how, for example, efficiency is conceptualised within the figure of work. It also seems to me that the figure is based to a large extent on male occupations within craft and early industry. For example, curiosity, independence, mobility, etc. were, it is argu-

ed, personality traits to be assessed during the probation period and all-round skills something to be furthered by production at school. However, these are traits that were not particularly favoured within *women’s* work in factories, offices or service occupations. Their jobs were rather characterised by immobility, fragmentation and subordination. Thus, there seems to be a male bias in how the figure of work (as a construction by the historical VET actors or by Broberg herself) is translated into pedagogical ideals.

Neither is the class dimension of VET really discussed. Issues of power and social relations within work places and in society at large are not given much attention, by Broberg or, it seems, in the discourses studied by her. But VET students train to become workers, to a large extent within capitalist production. The ambition to discipline a potentially unruly working class may have been an important rationale behind how educational practices were first constituted in the politically turbulent interwar years. And the figure of school is linked to ambitions to abolish the class structure through individual mobility; the focus on written texts, grades, and individual trajectories opens up for VET students to leave the working class (cf. Berner 1999).

My second point of discussion concerns the place of actors within a history focusing on ideas and notions of suitable pedagogical practices. Broberg loosely identifies what she calls an “epistemological community” which expresses ideas based on either the figure of work or the figure of school. As with all such communities, it is difficult to methodologically delineate who belongs and who does not belong, depending on which sources and definitions are employed in the analysis. To investigate this is not Broberg’s main concern and indeed the strength of the thesis lies instead in the systematic and detailed depictions of ideas and practices, something which is lacking in other studies.

However, it would have been interesting to know a bit more about this “community”. In what sense was it in fact a community? Which actors were central, which peripheral and – perhaps important – which groups were *not* given a voice in the sources or in the analysis (students, for example?) Other actors than VET professionals did indeed play a role, e.g. industrial engineers and ma-

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

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

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

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

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Ingela Nilsson

Nationalism i fredens tjänst: Svenska skolornas fredsförening, fredsföstran och historieundervisning 1919–1939
Umeå universitet (PhD diss)
2015, 398 pp.

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

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

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

State of the art

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

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

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

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

Theory and method

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

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

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

Research questions

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

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

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

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

These are three important and relevant questions to consider.

Source materials

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

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

The main results

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Edited collections and series

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

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

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

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

for boys and girls, for children from different social backgrounds and between geographic regions. The traditional focus on Danish national education is replaced by a more comprehensive account, which also covers the Duchies, Norway and the Danish colonies in India, Africa, Greenland and the West Indies. Education in the Faroe Islands and on Iceland is also presented.

The authors have settled for a broad definition of schools, as the general practice of transmitting book culture. Thus, a school is said to exist “when a person with or without formal qualifications assumes the role as teacher for a group of children and conduct activities that have to do with books and scripts” (p. 15). This definition includes informal transient arrangements, such as groups of parents who have engaged a person to teach their children to read, as well as the formally organised and historically enduring Latin schools. The authors include the Latin schools in their account with the justification that the lower lectia, during the major part of this historical period, catered for lower age groups and focused on teaching the basic skills of reading and writing in the vernacular. Moreover, the broad definition of “school” is justified by the usage of the term among people at the time. Whenever someone taught skills connected with the book culture, it was called school, regardless of the physical and institutional context.

The authors have adopted a “cultural approach” and their aspiration has been to write a cultural history of education (p. 375). Still, changes at the level of social institutions, i.e. relations between education, the state and the church, which are structural rather than cultural changes, are thematised. Also the issue of state educational policy is addressed, especially in connection with the two major educational reforms of this period, the reformation, with the Church Ordinance, and the 1739-42 legislation from the pietist period.

A contested issue, starting with the reformation, concerns state policy toward private schools. The authors claim that the Ordinance explicitly allowed town authorities to decide whether or not to establish schools in writing and arithmetic (p. 45). Elsewhere (p. 157) it is underlined that the writing schools were the responsibility of the town authorities, as distinct

from the church and the state. In neither case do the authors assume that the state, through its legislation, wanted to promote writing schools as public schools and as an alternative to private schools. However, other historians have seen the statute in the Ordinance about writing schools as an expression of state interest in promoting public at the expense of private education. This interpretation is corroborated by later legislation and rescripts, in which the town authorities were ordered to establish Danish schools, though without much success (Tveit & Thuen 2013). Other studies on the educational legislation of the Lutheran reformation portray it as a lasting legacy of state responsibility for the education of its citizens, either carried out directly by state institutions or by delegation to local public or private agents. After the reformation, in the Lutheran German states, the responsibility for organising schools was transferred from the church to the secular town authorities, and private schools were forbidden, though without much success (Witte 2002). That this policy, in many cases, and notably in Denmark, did not succeed in eradicating private schools, is another matter.

Concerning the legislation of 1739-42 the authors argue against established accounts among Danish historians who have seen it as a failure, one of the most serious setbacks of the absolute state. They claim, on the contrary, that the acts had a long-term effect by defining elementary education as a state project and removing the schools from parental control (p. 201). The children became “officially defined as school children”. The reform, however, partly cemented and partly augmented regional differences in educational provisions. “Since schools had existed everywhere before the enactment of the legislation, its effect was primarily to provide a common frame for existing and very variable ways of organising schools” (p. 216). One could say that the 1739-42 legislation transformed informal education into formal education. Thus, the authors might have benefited from making the distinction between formal and informal education, which their broad concept of “school” has collapsed.

Ironically, this volume’s descriptions of early Danish education does not at all contradict the British sociologist Margaret Archer’s comparative analysis of Denmark

(Archer [1979] 2013) whose influence in the international literature the authors see as “regrettable” (p. 369). Archer’s study object is formal education, and the transformation of educational structures, which does not entail a prohibition against studying informal education and exploring the variety of educational provisions. It is just a different undertaking and a different research project. There are strong affinities between the present volume’s descriptions of continual parental and local engagement in initiating education outside state control and Archer’s conception of the Danish educational system as decentralised. Decentralised systems have “no leading part”. In such systems efforts to implement state policy are constantly challenged by educational initiatives from other groups. Processes of change originate from “the bottom” as much as from “the top”.

Notwithstanding these critical remarks, there is every reason to congratulate the authors with this beautiful first volume of the new Danish history of education. They have succeeded in presenting a convincing account of the great variety of educational provisions during this early period and in drawing attention to the existence of informal and private schools promoting literacy and other basic skills before the state engaged in legislation on elementary education for all. A generous helping hand to further research has been extended by the literature reviews at the end of the book.

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Da skolen tog form: 1780-1850.

Dansk skolehistorie 2: Hverdag, vilkår og visioner gennem 500 år, ed.

Charlotte Appel & Ning de Cninck-Smith

Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag,

2013, 428 pp.

Revolutionsåret 1848 deltog N.F.S. Grundtvig i en skolpolitisk debatt med kyrko- och utbildningsministern Johan Nicolai Madvig. I en skarpt polemisk attack anförde Madvig att de skolor som kommit att kallas latinskolor i själva verket var *danska* skolor, att universitetet i Köpenhamn, sitt romerskt katolska ursprung till trots, var *danskt* och skulle så förbli. Madvig ville dock inte medverka till bildandet av ”en särskilt, karakteren af danskhed monopoliserende undervisningsanstalt”. Striden vanns vid det tillfället av Madvig och det skulle dröja en tid innan Grundtvigs nationellt orienterade skolor skulle förverkligas. Även om Grundtvig vid detta tillfälle i första hand avsåg folkhögskolan har nog det grundtvigianska programmet ingått i alla andra danska skolformers mer eller mindre dolda läroplan. Detta svåröversatta program om folk, nation och språk, med rötter hos Herder och Fichte, kom också att sätta sin originella prägel på dansk utbildningspolitik under det kommande århundradet.

Det är därför förklarligt att flerbandsverket *Dansk skolehistorie* verkligen är en dansk historia. ”Den danske skole” betyder i denna andra volym skolorna i kungariket Danmark under perioden 1780-1850. Författarna har emellertid inte skrivit en dansk skolhistoria i inskränkt och anakronistisk mening, som skett så många gånger förr, alltså exklusivt om skolorna i Danmark inom 1864 års gränser. Här behandlas tvärtom också skolförhållandena i hertigdömena Slesvig och Holstein, Norge (fram till 1814), Island, Färöarna och Grönland. T.o.m. skolorna i de utomeuropeiska besittningarna tilldelas en del spaltutrymme. Man får dock känslan av att författarna menar något mera med uttrycket ”den danska skolan”, en skola som är arteget dansk i en specifik och karakteristisk bemärkelse. Det finns nog goda skäl för det.

Visst finns det inslag i dansk skolhistoria som är unikt danskt i ett nordiskt och europeiskt jämförande perspektiv. Om vi bara ser på dansk utbildningshistoria i ett legislativt perspektiv ser utvecklingen onekligen aktningsvärd ut: 1716 års förordning om skolor i Köpenhamn, 1739 års förordning om skolor på landet och en mängd andra kungliga förordningar om fattigvård och konfirmation som berörde skolfrågor långt före den allmänt hyllade skollagen från 1814 bildar en överväldigande kronologi, med kulmen i denna lagstiftning där sammanlagt fem olika förordningar föreskrev att allmogens barn var skolpliktiga från sju års ålder fram till konfirmationen. Även om skolan inte var ett obligatorium för alla barn rörde det sig om en lagstiftad skolplikt för de breda samhällslagren nästan sjuttio år före t.ex. Sverige. Allra mest respektingivande är kanske att 1814 års kungliga förordningar tillkom efter en period av nationella olyckor för Danmark. I samband med krigshandlingarna med Storbritannien 1801 och 1807 förlorade danskarna inte bara sin flotta utan tvingades också in i de stora europeiska konflikterna (med bl.a. arvfjenden Sverige som motståndare), ekonomisk kris, statsbankrutt 1813 och att kung Fredrik VI 1814 måste avstå Norge till Bernadotte efter fyra hundra år av dansk överhöghet. Alla dessa nationella katastrofer kom att bidra till att skolväsendet i Danmark kom att bli just danskt. Danmarks unika bidrag till världens utbildningsinrättningar, folkhögskolan, med sin enastående lärmiljö, tillkom på 1840-talet men fick sin expansion efter den bakre tidsgränsen för denna volym. De friskolor för barn som sökte tillämpa de pedagogiska och ideologiska programmen från Grundtvig och Christian Kold tillkom också först en bit in på 1850-talet.

Författarna förnekar inte utländska influenser. Den danska skolan hämtade idéer och inspiration från många håll. I boken nämns ett stort antal av de män som kom att utöva inflytande över den danska skolan. Rousseau, Basedow, Rochow och Pestalozzi, förstås, men också C.G. Salzmann (inte bara med sina många läseböcker i dansk översättning utan också i påtaglig mening då grevarna Reventlow och Schimmelmänn inrättade skolor på sina gods, där Salzmanns Filantropin i Schnepfenthal var den direkta förebilden).

Den pedagogikhistoriska traditionen

har alltså behandlats i ett europeiskt sammanhang, men författarna framhåller att huvudintresset har riktats mot idéer och fenomen som ”pekat framåt”, och valt bort sådant som uppfattats som tillfälliga hugskott och återvändsgränder, men gjort ett markant undantag för växelundervisningsmetoden, ”inbyrdes undervisning”. Mot detta kan invändas att växelundervisningens inslag av drill och regelmässighet nog blev mer än en episod, metoden har också sin principiella förlängning in i nutiden.

Författarna till volymen, Christian Larsen, Erik Nørr och Pernille Sonne, säger sig vilja göra upp med en mera idylliserande skolhistoria, som varit dominerande i all historieskrivning om skolväsendet. De redovisar en mängd äldre dansk skolhistorisk litteratur, men förvånansvärt lite har hämtats från internationell utbildningshistorisk forskning. De uppger att kapitel 6, ”Skolegang og undervisning i København” delvis inspirerats av Bengt Sandins klassiska studie *Hemmet, gatan, fabriken eller skolan* från 1986, men man ser inga tydliga uttryck för den inspirationen. Även dansk utbildningshistorisk forskning från de senaste decennierna behandlas ganska snävt. Vagn Skovgaard-Petersen får t.ex. en (välförtjänt) känga för en övertolkning av 1814 års skolelovgivning och Harry Haue får utstå kritik för en utsaga om skolagens omfattning.

Det är ett ambitiöst kulturhistoriskt projekt som Aarhus universitetsforlag och huvudredaktörerna Charlotte Appel och Ning de Coninck-Smith gett sig in i. I fem volymer ska tolv författare skildra hela mångfalden av offentliga och privata skolor i Danmark under 500 år. Denna andra volym är, i likhet med de övriga, ett överdådigt illustrerat praktverk med drygt 400 dubbelspaltiga sidor och försett med både person-, sak- och ortregister samt med fylliga bibliografiska kommentarer.

Denna andra volym är särskilt intressant. Perioden 1780 – 1850 är en mycket skickel-sediger och dramatisk epok i dansk historia. Se bara på de s.k. landboreformerne som successivt emanciperade bondeklassen. Under perioden upphävdes stavnsbåndet (1788) och livegenskapen i hertigdömena (1804), de mest utpräglade feudala resterna i nordisk lagstiftning. Chockvägorna från februarirevolutionen 1848 inspirerade till revolutionär och nationell agitation i Slesvig och Holstein och i Köpenhamn, som

inte bara ledde till krig och både segrar och nederlag utan också till att det danska enväldet begravdes och en ny konstitution, ”junigrundloven” antogs 1849. Oehlenschlägers död 1850 brukar betecknas som slutet på den halvsekellånga ”guldalderen” i danskt kulturliv.

De stora ambitionerna och den praktverksgenre den ingår i är problematisk. Man vill gärna behandla allt; frågor om prästgårdseminarier, skoldisciplin, skolor, skolföreningar och lärartidskrifter och en rad andra ämnen har de tre författarna till volym 2 av verket velat få med. Resultatet har blivit en ”coffee-table book” man inte köper för att läsa utan för att skänka bort som gåva, en diger dörrstopp till bok att bläddra i men inte läsa, vilket är synd. Ty det ska framhållas att *Dansk skolehistorie* volym 2 är en intressant och lättläst bok, rikt illustrerad med båda samtida bilder och nytagna fotografier. Den förtjänar att bli uppmärksammas av en bred allmänhet och särskilt för de delar av allmänheten som hyser intresse för både skola och historia.

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Anne Katrine Gjerløff
Anette Faye Jacobsen
Da skolen blev sat i system 1850–1920. Dansk skolehistorie 3: Hverdag, vilkår og visioner gennem 500 år, ed. Charlotte Appel & Ning de Coninck-Smith
Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag
2014, 446 pp.

Det danske skolehistorieprojekt, som startede i 2009 under ledelse af historikerne Charlotte Appel og Ning de Coninck-Smith, er nu blevet tilendebragt med udgivelsen af fem tykke bind i kronologisk rækkefølge, fra Reformationen til i dag. Verket i sin helhed behandler skoleundervisningen i det danske rige sammen med læreruddannelsen. I det første bind (frem til 1780) inddrages latinskoleuddannelsen, hvorimod den udelades for det meste i de følgende, hvor hovedvægten lægges på den obligatoriske skolegang. I dette tredje bind omtales realskolen således kun sporadisk;

dens udvikling og virksomhed beskrives for øvrigt udførligt i *Realskolen gennem 200 år*, som udkom i 2010, da skolehistorieprojektet var i begyndelsesfasen. Men generelt ville en nærmere redegørelse for hele værket emnemæssige afgrænsning have været relevant.

Forfatterne til dette tredje bind af *Dansk skolehistorie*, Anne Katrine Gjerløff og Anette Faye Jacobsen, er erfarne historikere, der har lavet forskning bl.a. i pædagogikkens og barndommens historie. Indledningsvis redegør de for bindets kronologiske ramme og tematiske tyngdepunkter eller ”fortællinger”. Den første fortælling handler om, hvordan skolen efter enevældens afskaffelse blev til i åben politisk forhandling; den anden handler om spændingen mellem mangfoldighed og voksende systematisering; den tredje fortælling handler om, hvordan kombinationen af religion og nation prægede elevernes identitetsdannelse; den fjerde hvordan en egentlig lærerstand blev til og den femte om fremkomsten af pædagogiske eksperter inden for skolens rammer.

Det fremgår af forfatternes målsætninger, at dette bind handler om en kritisk periode i den danske skoles udvikling. I starten fandtes der mange forskellige skoletyper for børn og unge: forskellige landsbyskoler og mangeartede købstadsskoler, ikke mindst i hovedstaden. I grove træk genspejlede denne mangfoldighed det gamle standsamfunds socioøkonomiske og politiske strukturer. I 1800-tallets anden halvdel, da urbaniseringen og den industrielle revolution tog fart, blev enevældens arv gradvist erstattet af de nye samfundsforhold. I denne ændringsproces spillede skoleudviklingen en vigtig rolle. Samtidig med fremvæksten af de offentlige skoler på privatskolernes bekostning blev skoleudviklingen et af de mest omstridte politiske spørgsmål, ikke mindst forholdet mellem stat og kirke, skole og lokalsamfund. I 1900-tallets begyndelse resulterede disse konflikter i omfattende skolereformer: forskellen mellem landsbyskoler og købstadsskoler vedr. elevtal og årligt antal undervisningsuger blev betydeligt reduceret; med etableringen af en ny mellemskole skabtes der en forbindelse mellem den offentlige grundskole og de videregående eksamensskoler, som kunne føre til real- eller studentereksamen. Samtidigt (i 1903) blev skoleundervisnings-

faglige indhold styrket og udvidet, især til fordel for fagene dansk og historie. Takket være disse reformer ved århundredeskiftet blev der lagt grundlag til en almenskole – en egentlig folkeskole.

Værkets teoretiske hovedstyrke består efter min mening i den nære sammenhæng, som forfatterne påviser imellem skoleudviklingen på den ene side og den samfundsmæssige og politiske udvikling på den anden. Tillige giver det læseren meget god indsigt i skolens hverdag og dens hovedaktører, elever og lærere. Ifølge forfatterne var en af hovedmålsætningerne at "indfange skolens sammensatte og til tider konfliktfyldte hverdag ved at komme med elever og voksne ind i skolestuerne ..." (s. 20). Flere kapitler ud af de samtlige 21 bidrager hertil, ikke mindst kap. 8, 10 og 11. Det er især ved hjælp af to slags kildemateriale at ovennævnte formål er blevet realiseret: på den ene side erindringsmateriale, hvoraf en del er uddgivet, og på den anden side et rigeligt billedmateriale, både fotografier og malerier, som bedre end mange ord belyser datidens skole- og undervisningsforhold, ikke mindst hovedaktørerne, eleverne og lærerne. I det hele taget rummer bindet et meget righoldigt billedmateriale; ansvarlig for dets valg og tilrettelæggelse er Anette Stoffersen og én af værkets to redaktører, Charlotte Appel. Samspillet mellem tekst og billeder er særdeles vellykket. Endvidere er billederne forsynet med udførlige forklaringer, som uddyber og konkretiserer selve hovedteksten. Hver kapitel starter (på venstre side) med et helsidebillede, som henviser til kapitlets emnesindhold.

Forfatterne væver barndomshistorien ind i skolehistorien på en meget frugtbar måde, ikke mindst gennem deres analyse af spændingen mellem børnearbejde og skolegang (kap. 16). Her som i andre sammenhænge har de åbent øje for kønsforskellene. Disse kommer bl a til udtryk i deres behandling af undervisningsindholdet (kap. 9 og 20), for ikke at tale om selve lærerstandens sammensætning. I denne forbindelse er det bl a bemærkelsesværdigt, at fra slutningen af 1800-tallet var der næsten lige så mange kvinder som mænd, der bestod en lærereksamen.

I bindets sidste kapitler rettes opmærksomheden mod et ofte forsømt aspekt af skoleudviklingen, nemlig undervisningens ydre, materielle rammer og faciliteter

– et aspekt som redaktøren Ning de Coninck-Smith har udforsket i mange sammenhænge. Ud over selve skolebygningernes arkitektur redergøres der her bl. a. for skolestuernes indretning og møblering hvor ændringerne, i samspil med materielle og teknologiske nyheder, efterhånden påvirkedes af nye skolehygiejniske og sanitære standarder. Det åbenbares bl.a. for læseren, hvor stor en rolle overgangen fra råt til ferniseret trægulv i skolestuerne kunne spille for renlighed og bekæmpelse af smitsomme sygdomme. Nypædagogikkens gennembrud ved århundredeskiftet får også en udførlig behandling, idet der lægges vægt på, at i praksis havde den størst indflydelse på småbørnsskolernes virksomhed. Med undtagelse af de sidstnævnte og friskolerne viste det sig vanskeligt "at ryste sig fri af traditionen" (s. 293) med dens daglige prygl og udenadslæren.

Kontrasten mellem land og by er en af dette binds ledetråde – et meget givende perspektiv. Det samme kan siges om beskrivelsen af skole- og undervisningsforholdene i de nordlige kolonier, Færøerne og Grønland, i forhold til selve Danmark. Endnu stærkere kontrast til de hjemlige tilstande fremgår af beskrivelsen af myndighedernes forsøg på at overføre dansk uddannelsespolitik til De Vestindiske Øer (Skt. Thomas o.fl.). På den anden side kunne man have ønsket, at skoleforholdene i Danmark i større udstrækning var blevet kompareret med de skandinaviske nabolande end tilfældet er her. Eksempelvis rejser sig spørgsmålet, om Norge og Sverige, ligesom Danmark, gennem hele perioden holdt fast ved de kønsinddelte skoleklasser.

Afslutningsvis lægges der vægt på, at trods den gradvise systematisering af de obligatoriske skolers virksomhed forblev der henimod periodens slutning en stor forskel mellem land og by og selv mellem købstæderne og hovedstaden. Men der var kommet system i mangfoldigheden!

Dette bind bygger delvis på forfatterens egen grundforskning, men herudover har de benyttet et meget omfattende sekundære kilder. I „kilde- og litteraturreviews“, som placeres efter bindets sidste kapitel og dækker 45 sider, redegøres der for værkets kildegrundlag, både generelt og for hvert enkelt kapitel. Disse essays vil være af et stort udbytte for fremtidige skolehistorikere, men hvad angår de enkelte data giver de læseren

ikke lige så direkte kildeoplysninger som de traditionelle notereferencer. – Selve teksten virker meget vel skrevet, og der findes næsten ingen trykfejl. Udførlige registre over personer, steder, emner og billeder gør bindet til et uundværligt værktøj for enhver, som interesser sig for dansk skolehistorie i brydningstiden efter enevældens afskaffelse.

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Monographs

Johannes Westberg

Att bygga ett skolväsende: Folkskolan förutsättningar och framväxt 1840–1900

Lund: Nordic Academic Press
2014, 445 pp.

Sundsvall is a county in the northern part of Sweden, where peasants over many generations have lived from the land and from fishing, and where industrialism took hold during the second part of the 19th Century with sawmills and iron mines. The demand for construction material exploded in the European cities, and by the turn of the century Sundsvall was most likely the biggest sawmill area in the world.

Entangled with the history of industrialisation was the rise of a public school system. As an entry into how this actually happened the educational economist and historian Johannes Westberg focuses on the construction of the school buildings. The far majority of these were built in the years after the passing of the 1842 national school law, with its demand of at least one permanent school per parish. The demographic development lead to a rising number of schools and by the turn of the century the 12 parishes were served by more than 66 schools.

Demography was not alone in explaining this development, and in his study Westberg demonstrates, how demography was intertwined with a series of other explanations, ranging from the local political and religious interests, access to industrialised building material, changes within the taxation and loaning system – and existence of skilled and unskilled labourers.

Westberg's study is more than an empirical analysis, it is also meant as a critique of existing research into the development of school systems. In his opinion these studies have been too occupied with demonstrating that schools were a national project, closely linked to the concepts of modernisation and industrialisation and constructed to discipline the labouring poor. Seen from a local historical – and primary agrarian – perspective this is far from true; peasants and pastors, who made up the ruling class in the local agrarian parishes, were occupied by more mundane and pragmatic issues like renovation or enlargement of school buildings, their locations or keeping up with the neighboring parish. The constructing processes were also influenced by conflicts, corruption and badly made decisions. To the degree the labouring poor were addressed it was as cheap labour – and not as someone who should be disciplined by the school. Seen from this perspective the 1842 law was just one among many factors, which lead to the consolidation of the school system.

Readers should start with the final chapter, where Westberg summarises his conclusions and draws up his methodological reflections. The text will be very useful for students and scholars with an interest in the history of education – and a good outset for discussions. Could a broader focus than on the school construction process and the building committees not have brought forward more arguments about the more general role of education? And is he not overstating his conclusions in his eagerness to hunt down Marxists and modernists?

More than 30 different archives have been consulted – and Westberg has gone to great length to document the cost and the financing of the school system. This task is often not considered among scholars of the history of education, and I can only lift my hat. It might only be nerds, who will find it interesting, that the school at Sättna demanded 690 beams of a length of 6,5 meter, when it was built in 1880, or that it took 33 days and 254 labour days and 59 days using horses to create the foundation of the school at Indal the same year. It clearly gives the reader an understanding of the scale of these construction projects. Since this kind of information most likely would be difficult to find elsewhere, an index of names and places could have been very useful.

The primary quantitative approach generates new and interesting information, like the average length of the construction process – 4.5 years – the change of the financing from cash and pay in kind to bank loans – and the role of the local industries in equipping the schools with everything from furnaces to beams and bricks. The majority of the new schools were designed by local capacities – ranging from a pastor, a peasant to master builders; architects were mostly hired in cities. All these people were part of a long list of “new heroes”, which also included local industrialists and the national school inspectors.

Westberg also includes references and comparison to development in Russia, France, the US, Britain and even Italy – but not from the other Nordic countries, which seems surprising. Where Westberg is very careful to document his empirical conclusions, the choice of these countries is not discussed at all.

Why Westberg have left out the other Nordic countries with their cultural and social closeness to Sweden, therefore remains to be explained. Similar studies – with the same understanding of the rise of the elementary school system as a result of many entangled local processes – can be found at least from my own country Denmark. References to the studies of the educational historian Erik Nørr of the role of the pastors within the administration of the Danish school system seem highly relevant. So even though Westberg repeatedly claims he is the first to challenge modernist or revisionist and Marxist understandings, a broader literature survey would definitely prove him wrong. Like Nørr, Westberg rightly stresses the effectivity of the organisations at parish level – and he also reminds of the fact, that construction of school building did not necessarily have anything to do with children. It could so to say have its own logic rooted in a mixture of traditions, local interests, demography and finances.

Despite my critique, his work pays respect and can be read both by experts in the history of the Sundsvall region but also for its methodological reflections. It's not an easy read, too many figures and un-pedagogical tables clouds the interesting conclusions. But as the author states in the introduction: complex, entangled and multiple explanations demands patience from the

historian – and I would add also from the reader. But it is definitely worth it in the end.

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Karen Vallgård
Imperial Childhoods and Christian Mission: Education and Emotions in South India and Denmark

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2015, 279 pp.

The development of a new, simultaneously scientific and sentimentalised conception of the universal child in the decades around 1900 is a well-known and often visited theme in educational history. *Imperial Childhoods and Christian Mission* is a study of how imperial relations between South India and Denmark both influenced and were affected by that understanding of childhood.

At the centre of Vallgård's study stands the Danish Missionary Society (DMS), an organisation that between the mid-1860s until the end of WWI sent some 100 missionaries to South India. The men and women of the DMS started and ran schools and orphanages in which Indian children were enrolled – sometimes with, but often without, their parents' consent. Through close analysis of published missionary material, magazines, pamphlets, books and songbooks intended for a Danish audience, Vallgård sets out to examine the emotions and ideas about childhood, belonging, malleability and race at play in the Danish mission.

Taking the cue from newer historiography on European empires, Vallgård places Indians and Danes within one and the same analytic framework in order to shed light on the mutual influences between the metropolises and colonies. With this perspective she intends to demonstrate the influence of these types of imperial relations on the emerging scientific and allegedly universal category of childhood, arguing that that category played an important role in the formation of Danish and even European identity.

Vallgård's examination of how the modernist sentimentalisation of childhood functioned in a colonial setting offers a fine

example of how historical contextualisation can illuminate what work an idea is doing in a particular context. One major example is how a sentimentalised and universalised idea of childhood legitimised dubious enrolment strategies to some of the missionary institutions. The local populations' parenting practices, often constrained by harsh economic conditions, served as a contrasting other to the new, scientific idea of the child. This in turn licensed what was in effect confiscation of Indian children.

Vallgård's study is well crafted, written with nuance and in close dialogue with a number of other scholars in the field. She makes productive use of her ambition to read historical texts both "with" and "against the grain" (33), to take the ideas expressed in them seriously and to understand them as expressions of the intricate power relations from which they sprang. In addition, Vallgård writes well. She starts every chapter with an anecdote that introduces the theme, a "microhistorical entry", and this anecdote continually structures the narrative as the author returns to it again and again, each time bringing forth new aspects of it in light of the analysis conducted in the chapter.

The disposition of the book makes it possible for Vallgård to make both synchronic arguments, about the function of certain ideas, and diachronic ones, such as her claim that the relations between the missionaries and the local population changed over time as a consequence of emerging ideas about childhood. She offers the reader an opportunity to get close to the persons involved and experience glimpses of the extraordinarily complex web of emotional and racialised power that imbued their relationships. It is hard not to be simultaneously moved and disturbed by the story about the Indian child telling his adoptive Danish parents that if it were true that in heaven he is going to be white, he would rather die right away.

As is demonstrated in the book, old, allegedly universal categories, such as *Christian* or *convert*, as well as emerging ones like *the universal child*, were combined with and thus undermined by, particularist and racialised ideas as soon as they were used to guide a concrete practice. The oxymoronic term "heathen Christians" was frequently used in the missionary literature and is a case in point.

Vallgård's discussion of how different types of categorisations blended in missionary literature and practice are to my mind the book's most interesting contribution. Yet, it also exposes one of the weaknesses of the study. Polemic is naturally not an end in itself, but Vallgård's study appears to confirm the conclusions and arguments of earlier studies to such a degree that it occasionally seems to have merely illustrational character. Bluntly put, is the DSM case just more of the same? This tendency unnecessarily plays down the study's relevance for fields of research broader than that of imperial childhoods. Studies of imperial history more generally, not least of the French empire such as the works of Emmanuelle Saada and J.P. Daughton (both available in English), would have made useful discussion partners for the study. For example, Vallgård argues that the Danish missionary activity played a part in the formation of Danish identity. This is an argument that has been made by scholars of French and British imperial history before, but contrary to these the Danish state did not make any territorial claims overseas at the time. Whether that made any difference on the ground would have been an interesting question to pose, and the Danish example could thus have provided qualifications to a more general imperial historical discussion.

All in all, Vallgård's book is nevertheless a nuanced and well-written study that hopefully will find its way to readers also beyond its own immediate field. It offers important nuance to the history of an emerging new conception of childhood at the turn of the century. It shows that "saving brown babies from brown women" in Denmark's South Indian missions was not only a highly emotional matter, but also a project that helped define what it meant to be Danish, European and Christian. Finally, Vallgård's view that emotional, bodily and intimate relations are part of the capitalist and global production of inequality still rings true in the 21st century, where an emerging industry of Indian surrogacy opens a new chapter in the history of imperial childhoods.

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