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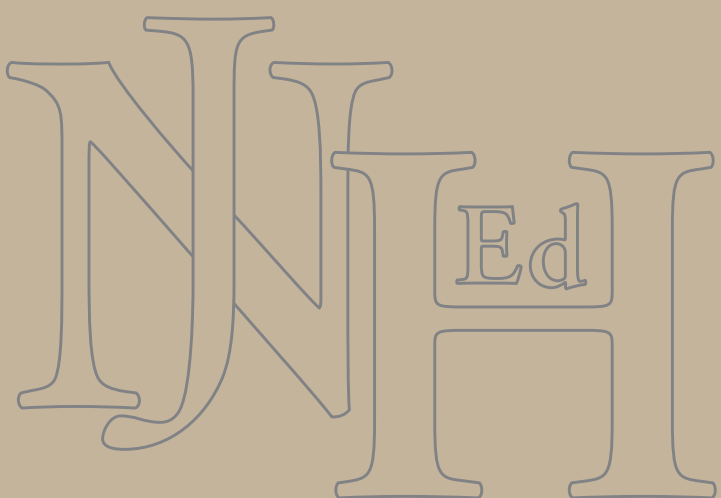

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Nordic Journal of Educational History

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

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EDITORIAL

Notes from the Editors

David Sjögren
Johannes Westberg

As a result of technological developments in recent decades we see that the models of editorial management for scientific journals have changed. New needs for openness and access have led to a publishing structure beside printing and distributing only with paper. Rating lists and index over quality have driven scientific journal to specify their demands and develop detailed guidelines to authors and reviewers. The internationalisation of higher education and research, as well as multidisciplinary research trends has motivated journals to broaden their scope and to become multilingual. The specialized journals in the field of educational history have not been left unaffected by these changes. Apart from affecting the major European journals established in the 1960s and 1970s – *Paedagogica Historica* (1961), *History of Education* (1972) and *Histoire de l'éducation* (1978) – these developments have also enabled an increasing number of journals dedicated to this field of research. These include *History of Education & Children's Literature* (2006), *IJHE Bildungsgeschichte – International Journal for the Historiography of Education* (2011), and *Espacio, Tiempo y Educación* (2014). The *Nordic Journal of Educational History* is certainly also a reflection of the changing infrastructure of educational history.

Some consequences of these changes on editorial management were discussed recently during a series of panels and roundtable discussions at the International Standing Conference for the History of Education (ISCHE) in Chicago 2016. The activities were following up on symposia in London 2014 and Istanbul 2015, arranged by the ISCHE Standing Working Group *Mapping the Discipline of History of Education*. During the roundtable debate one issue of most interest for editorial management were especially discussed: the external peer review process. This key component of ensuring the scientific reliability of a journal is, to large extent, carried out by external reviewers. As the roundtable debate showed, journals have to balance a number of aspects – including finding appropriate expertise, keeping a timetable and handling potential bias – in order to find principles for the review process that suits their distinct conditions.

The debate revealed that specialised journals organized the review process in slightly different ways. Some journals selected reviewers mainly, or exclusively, from the editorial board, while others mainly used reviewers outside the editorial board. The role of the editors also varied. Some compiled and summarised the reviewers' comments, whereas others only communicated the reviewers' opinions as they were. Journals also used so-called desk rejection differently. Some journals used this selec-

tion approach fervently, while others rarely did. As was evident, this sort of selection has both advantages and disadvantages. It saves energy and time, both for editors, reviewers and authors, but have to be carried out carefully. Journals have to consider that screening manuscripts that do not conform to clearly stated editorial guidelines or to the journal's scope is one thing, but for editors to discard articles on grounds of research quality or originality, prior to the actual peer review process, is another. The later seems to challenge the principles of anonymity, expert evaluation and equality, which are cornerstones in the double-blind review process. Although there are no definite answers to the questions posed at the roundtable debate in Chicago, they are nevertheless important. For us members of the editorial team of the *Nordic Journal of Educational History*, it is important to follow this international debate closely and the issues will also be discussed at the journal's editorial meeting in late November.

This sixth issue of the NJEdH contains two articles and four book reviews. The first article, written by Professor Christian Lundahl (Örebro University), may be perceived as a part of the increased interest in transnational history and the material culture of schooling. Exploring how Swedish education was displayed at late nineteenth century World's Fairs, Lundahl is able to shed new light on how these fairs functioned as platforms for an aesthetic normativity that had consequences not only on a global scale, but also locally. In the second article, doctoral student in economic history Sandra Hellstrand at Stockholm University, investigate and discuss apprenticeship in Sweden and attempts to adopt an apprentice law following the de-regulation of apprenticeship in 1864. Her analysis shows that opposition against such a law was not uniform. Many key actors could unite regarding the need for legal regulation of apprenticeship, but they disagreed on the content of an apprentice law. The article makes use of Kathleen Thelen's model of institutional change and discusses the Swedish apprenticeship in relation to Germany and Great Britain.

These articles do not only contribute to our knowledge on the studied topic, they are also excellent examples of studies in educational history that can communicate to an audience outside the national realms that are investigated. In our era of international comparisons and international assessment programs, promoted by PISA and TIMMS, Lundahl's article is an example of academic scholarship that creates a critical distance to present day debates that often focus on quantitative estimates. Hellstrand's article similarly informs present day debate on vocational education, in which apprenticeships are often perceived as the perfect solution to the challenges of vocational education. In contrast to an often simplified debate, Hellstrand's investigation of the messy reality of politics shows how complicated political decisions are.

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Swedish Education Exhibitions and Aesthetic Governing at World´s Fairs in the Late Nineteenth Century

Christian Lundahl

Abstract • For many historians of education, the emergence of a modern education system after the mid-nineteenth century was a national and regional process, neatly and carefully closed off within the borders of the nation. However, these accounts have often disregarded the effects of the flows of cross-border ideas and technologies, such as international comparisons, lesson-drawing, policy diffusion and travel, as well as local adaptations and translations of education policy originating elsewhere. The purpose of this article is to shed light on the relations between Swedish education and the international scene when it comes to policy and practice formation. The field of study is the international World´s Fairs of 1862–1904. Looking at what Sweden displayed, and understanding how visitors perceived it, the article raises questions concerning how exhibitions like these worked as mediators of educational ideals. The focus will be on the dissemination of aesthetic ideals, and the article will show that the World's Fairs were platforms for an aesthetic normativity that had governing effects locally as well as globally.

Keywords • World's fair, education exhibitions, aesthetic governing, synoptical power, transnational history

Introduction - The World's Fairs as spaces of the future

For many historians of education, the emergence of a modern education system after the mid-nineteenth century occurred as a national and regional process, neatly and carefully closed off within the borders of the nation.[1] These accounts have, however, systematically disregarded the effects of the flows of cross-border ideas and technologies as well as local adaptations and translations of education policy originating elsewhere. Therefore, it is important to look at these flows and where they take place among countries, regions and people. One such 'transnational hub' of policy and practice formation in education was the World's Fairs in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. The purpose of this article is to provide an understanding of how such exhibitions functioned as mediators of educational ideals.[2]

1 Akira Iriye, *Global and Transnational History: The Past, Present and Future* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 2.

2 This article was originally presented at AERA 2014, Philadelphia, Session: Education Reform at the Turn of the 20th Century, Division F; however, it is now revised. Some findings in this article were previously described in Christian Lundahl and Martin Lawn, "The Swedish Schoolhouse: a Case Study in Transnational Influences in Education at the 1870s World's Fairs," *Paedagica Historica* 51, no. 3 (2014), 319–35. The present article, however, draws on a larger body of material and tries to strengthen the theoretical arguments. The article is written within the project From Paris to PISA (www.paristopisa.com), funded by *Vetenskapsrådet* [The Swedish Research Council].

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More specifically, the article draws on research carried out on most of the major World's Fair exhibitions between 1862 and 1904.[3] Using Sweden as a focal point, the main questions addressed in this study are: in what ways did these exhibitions disseminate educational ideals and techniques? What was chosen for display, how was it selected, what did it represent, and how did the audience appreciate it?

In this article, I argue that exhibitions rested upon four foundations, which also form the structure of the article. These foundations are 1) *Visualising*, 2) *Governing*, 3) *Markets*, and 4) *Audiences*. *Visualising* involves the modus operandi of every exhibition – things are put on display. Reviewing what was selected for display and how it was displayed tells us something about what was considered most important, or possible, at a given time, to produce and promote. It also says something about the pedagogics of visualisation. *Governing* often involves the very purpose of an exhibition. Exhibitions aim at accomplishing change in power relations or in ways of thinking through the work around structures of formal authority. They encourage comparison and competition. They provide ideals and function as "normative social spaces."[4] *Markets*, with the exception, perhaps, of museums, are places where the things exhibited can be sold, traded or shared. This was certainly the case with the World's Fairs, but they were often also about sharing skills and 'tricks of the trade.'[5] Finally, without audiences looking and learning, there would not be much of an exhibition. If the aim of an exhibition is change in some way or another, someone must be influenced. World's Fairs have been described as a curriculum – they ´function as transfer points for the exchanges of educational ideas' between the different continents.[6]

Central to these foundations of an exhibition are the manifold kinds of numerical and aesthetical representations of educational systems, such as objects or charts, selected to say something of the educational system as a whole. In the following, I will particularly elaborate on the concept of 'aesthetic governing,' as it was particular, often beautiful or tidy, representations that were used to affect emotions, beliefs and hopes.[7] I will argue that exhibitions as transfer points for new educational ideas and technologies cannot effectively project a future based only on rational and comparable statistics. The 'future' must be imagined or sensed for the governing to be effective.

The theoretical section of the article relates the study of World's Fair exhibitions to a transnational perspective on the history of education, in which the concept of soft power is important to understanding the relationship between different countries at places such as the World's Fair. This section ends with an elaborated distinction among the concepts governing, governance and governmentality. The four

3 Because this article is part of an ongoing project, From Paris to PISA, two major exhibitions during this period are not accounted for in this article: Chicago 1893 and Paris 1900. However, they will be addressed in forthcoming papers (www.paristopisa.com).

4 Anders Ekström, *Den utställda världen: Stockholmsutställningen 1897 och 1800-talets världsutställningar* (Stockholm: Nordiska Museets förlag, 1994), 11.

5 Robert W. Rydell, *All the World´s a Fair* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984).

6 Eugene F. Provenzo, *Culture as Curriculum: Education and the International Expositions (1876–1904)* (New York: Peter Lang, 2012).

7 D. Asher Ghertner, "Calculating Without Numbers: Aesthetic Governmentality in Delhi's Slums," *Economy and Society* 39, no. 2 (2010), 185–217; D. Ascher Ghertner, "Rule by Aesthetics: World-Class City Making in Delhi," in *Worlding Cities: Asian Experiments and the Art of Being Global*, ed. Ananya Roy and Aihwa Ong (Oxford: Blackwell, 2011), 279–306.

subsequent sections explores the four foundations of an exhibition. First, I show how Sweden used entire schoolhouses to visualise future ideals. Thereafter, I illustrate how Sweden partook in international comparisons at these exhibitions. I show how the exhibitions function as markets, where the countries bought, traded and learned from each other. Finally, I discuss the role of the audiences and how they experienced these spectacles. In the concluding section, I discuss the use of these exhibitions to display ideals, not only to gain recognition from other countries but also to use the international experiences to achieve changes at a domestic level.

Perspective and theoretical framework

Investigating the mediating role that the World's fairs had on educational ideas and technologies implies a transnational perspective on history. Transnational history is about contacts among communities, polities and societies and their exchanges, interactions, integrations and de-coupling. A transnational perspective on history means acknowledging and assessing foreign contributions to design, taste, strategies, politics and future hopes. Such a perspective also highlights the trends, patterns, organisations and individuals that exist between and within our different historical entities.[8] With a transnational perspective, it is furthermore important to "think 'with and through' the nation"[9] and to look at "local reactions to external global forces."[10] In other words, to analyse the participation at the World's fairs, it is important to have both an internal and an external perspective of a country's participation. For example, as will be described further below, Swedish spectators not only reacted to foreign exhibits, they also reacted to foreigners' descriptions of what Sweden exhibited.

Whereas early nineteenth century international comparisons in education were mainly found in travelling accounts, the second half of the nineteenth century offered new ways of comparison and international exchange through international exhibitions. The international World's fairs were among the "few genuinely international cultural institutions" of their time.[11] At the opening of the first World's fair exhibition in London in 1851, Prince Albert of the United Kingdom declared the importance of education, but it was in London in 1862 that education first received its own department at a World's fair.[12] From the beginning, the international exhibitions helped make comparisons between states increasingly transparent and organised, based around identity and production. The international exhibitions constituted a new mode of production in education, parallel to that of schooling. The future was organised and turned into a display of required objects and techniques that placed entire nations in an elevated, viewable space.[13] The kind of data, the actors and their positions and relations, the patterns used to disseminate ideas, the use of media,

8 Pierre-Yves Saunier, *Transnational History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 3.

9 Ibid., 8.

10 Gita Steiner-Kamsi, "The Politics of League Tables," *Civic Education*, no. 1 (2003), 1–6.

11 Klaus Dittrich, "Experts Going Transnational: Education at World Exhibitions during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century" (PhD diss., University of Portsmouth, 2010).

12 Ibid., 17

13 Bruno Giberti, *Designing the Centennial: A History of the 1876 International Exhibition in Philadelphia* (Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 2002); Anders Ekström, *Viljan att se – viljan att synas: Medieumgänge och publik kultur runt 1900* (Stockholm: Carlssons förlag, 2010); Jeff Werner, *Medelvägens estetik: Sverigebilder i USA* (Hedemora: Gidlunds, 2008).

etc., that we find when looking at the international exhibitions reveal the process of modelling and re-modelling an ideal school system.[14]

The Swedish historian Anders Ekström has described the late nineteenth century World's fairs in general as an "aggressive national, political and economic competition and battle ground, often formulated in war metaphors."[15] They were the Olympic Games of arts and industry; in fact, the formal Olympic Games in sports were co-arranged with the World's fair in Paris 1900 and in St. Louis 1904. Regarding education, Klaus Dittrich has described the participation of education experts at the fairs as a combination of three conscious strategies. First, they went transnational to appropriate foreign features for their own institutions, to learn from abroad. Second, they wanted to represent their own institutions and achievements on an international stage. Third, they wanted to cooperate on the international level, transcending the boundaries of their own institution or nation state.[16]

The exhibitions were also centres for national policy and power transfer. Robert W. Rydell shows how the World's fairs performed a hegemonic function because they propagated the ideas and values of the country's political, financial, corporate, and intellectual leaders.[17] The fairs offered these ideas along with "the proper" interpretation of social and political reality.[18] The hegemonic function was also associated with the evolution of consumerism and the role of newly emerging media. At these fairs, innovative ways of displaying and visualising ideals and models, as well as new ways of looking and perceiving, contributed to effective dissemination.[19] Eugene F. Provenzo claims that "[p]erhaps nowhere was the impact of the expositions and the new system of knowledge and power they helped to set in place as great as in the area of education."[20]

In the case of education, the power of these exhibitions has been related to the notion of accountability. Noah Sobe and David Boven describe the accountability of the exhibitions as the "'political' work of establishing norms, constructing subjectivities and helping to establish what is and is not possible' through 'rituals of verification.'"[21] From their research about the participation of the USA, they show that the fairs were mainly about four things. First, standardization and uniformity via information on educational systems that was in some ways quantifiable or able to be expressed with numbers. Second, an on-going conversation about whether exhibits should feature the "products" or outcomes of schools or the "processes" and methods used at different schools. Third, whether an exhibit should present the highest-quality work or a representative sample of student work. Fourth, an overarching emphasis on performativity and a conscious styling of education exhibits as an arena of performance.

14 Martin Lawn, ed., *Modelling the Future – Changing Education through World Exhibitions* (London: Symposium Books, 2008).

15 Ekström (1994), 23. Transl. here.

16 Dittrich (2010), 37–38.

17 Rydell (1984).

18 See also Volker Barth, "Displaying Normalisation: The Paris Universal Exhibition of 1867," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 20, no. 4 (2007), 462–85.

19 See especially Alan Pred, *Recognising European Modernities: A Montage of the Present* (London: Routledge, 1995); Giberti (2002); Ekström (2010).

20 Provenzo (2012), 5.

21 Noah W. Sobe and David T. Boven, "Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs as Accountability Systems: Scopic Systems, Audit Practices and Educational Data," *Education Policy Analysis Archives* 22, no. 118 (2014), 4.

However, the USA was not very representative in these efforts.[22] Many other countries made more of an effort in showing their educational objects, such as schoolhouses, teaching materials, and pupils' work. This clearly holds true for Sweden, even if Sweden also presented some statistics about its educational system. Therefore, it is necessary to differentiate between numerical accountability and aesthetic normativity. Whereas the former is seen more as a panoptical power producing standards through statistical norms and calculations, the latter can be seen as a synoptical power, producing and displaying ideals affecting emotions, beliefs and hopes.[23]

Aesthetic normativity can be understood as a kind of 'soft power.' According to Joseph Nye, "[s]oft power rests on the ability to shape the preferences of others."[24] In contrast to 'hard power,' whereby someone uses brute force, threats or sanctions to obtain what s/he wants, soft power appeals to shared values through persuasion or attraction strategies. Soft power – getting others to want the outcomes you want – co-opts people rather than coerces them.[25] This power resource is especially valuable in the areas of internationalisation and foreign affairs.

> A country may obtain the outcomes it wants in world politics because other countries – admiring its values, emulating its example, aspiring to its level of prosperity and openness – want to follow it. In this sense, it is also important to set the agenda and attract others in world politics, and not only to force them to change by threatening military force or economic sanctions.[26]

One way to understand the importance of participating at the World's fairs in such a way as to draw others' attention is that if a country displayed excellent examples of its education system, the country increased its opportunities to exchange ideas and cooperate on future developments:

> The expositions provided educators with a forum where they could freely exchange ideas and observe the educational experiments of other nations. In doing so, they were achieving the primary purpose intended by the organisers of the expositions – the exchange and advancement of new technical information and knowledge.[27]

We can thus assume that a major motive to participate in these exhibitions was knowledge exchange and a will to learn how to advance the society in various aspects.[28] It is therefore easy to understand how an aesthetic normativity could be nourished at the World's Fairs as a kind of soft power between countries, but I will also argue that a kind of aesthetic governing also took place within education as such

22 Sobe and Boven (2014); Lundahl and Lawn (2014).

23 Thomas Mathiesen, "The Viewer Society: Michel Foucault's Panopticon Revisited," *Theoretical Criminology* 1, no. 2 (1997), 215–34.

24 Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), 5.

25 Ibid., 6–7.

26 Ibid., 5.

27 Provenzo (2012), 10.

28 In this article, I have mainly used sources that describe what happened at the World's Fairs but looking deeper into parliamentary debates and propositions can reveal more about the explicit reasons to Sweden's participation in the exhibitions. Christian Lundahl, "Becoming International in the Late 19th Century. The Arguments For and Against Sweden's Participation in the World's Fairs" (paper presented at Comparative Education in Europe (CESE), Glasgow, Scotland, 31 May–3 June, 2016).

during this period of investigation. To do that, it is necessary to qualify the concept of governing and distinguish it from governance and governmentality.

Governance is commonly understood as, 'the prevailing patterns by which public power is exercised in a given social context.'[29] Governance implies a structure, "an answer to 'who is authorized to decide'," whereas governing "implies the way people work within and around those structures of formal authority to get things decided."[30] A closely related concept is that of governmentality. Both governance and governmentality concern the state and "stateness," albeit in very different traditions and focus areas.[31] In his studies of the New Delhi slum, Asher Ghertner, drawing on Michel Foucault and Jacques Rancière, defines aesthetic governmentality as a socially produced aesthetic normativity – "'a distribution of the sensible' that lays down boundaries between the beautiful/ugly, visible/invisible, legal/illegal – that operates as a normalizing urban quality, inducing a form of self-government among those who identify with the desirability of world-class urban improvements."[32] Ghertner argues that this 'mode of governing' is particularly effective in cultures not dominated by the logic of numbers.[33]

Characteristic of Foucault's approach and to the concept of governmentality, however, is a relational conception of society and its institutions connecting the political and the subjective realms. But as Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga found, it can be difficult to determine whether this aesthetic governing or normativity also affects the thinking and or behaviour of the subjects over which the power is exercised.[34] A more reasonable starting point is to perceive aesthetic *governing* as a soft power also within the practice of education and not a priori assume that it develops into governmentality. Thus, we have two levels of aesthetic governing, between countries and within education. Exhibitions visualise norms and ideals, making comparisons and external validation possible as Sobe and Boven state; but exhibitions also, as I will show, encourage learning from each other through sensation, admiration, fascination, surprise and curiosity. One of those things that appealed to sensation and admiration was the Swedish schoolhouse and all of its contents, its objects and educational artefacts such as pupils' work. The educational ideal Sweden displayed at the World's Fairs expressed an aesthetic normativity saying that it was no longer acceptable to look, smell or behave however one chose. It was important to adapt not only to values of beauty, cleanliness and hygiene but also to orderliness and functionality. Before further exploring how exhibitions such as the World's Fairs helped disseminate educational ideals and techniques, a brief background to the Swedish case is necessary.

29 Rob Jenkins, "The Emergence of the Governance Agenda: Sovereignty, Neo-Liberal Bias and the Politics of International Development," in *The Companion to Development Studies*, ed. Vandana Desai and Robert Potter (London: Edward Arnold, 2000), 485.

30 Leslie David, "'Governance' or 'Governing'?" (paper prepared by the Centre for Higher Education Policy, Los Angeles, CA, presented to the Governance Roundtable, Santa Fe, NM, June 2003), 4–5.

31 Karin Amos, "Governance and Governmentality: Relation and Relevance of Two Prominent Social Scientific Concepts for Comparative Education," *Educação e Pesquisa* 36.SPE (2010), 23–38.

32 Ghertner (2011), 3.

33 See especially Gerthner (2010).

34 Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga, "Bungalows and Mansions: White Suburbs, Immigrant Aspirations, and Aesthetic Governmentality," *Anthropological Quarterly* 87, no. 3 (2014), 819–54.

Staging a schoolhouse as a portal to the future

World's Fairs have put education systems on display from the 1860s until today. Between the 1860s and the 1890s, it was possible to find models of schoolhouses, school room interiors and students' work (writing, drawing, arithmetic, etc.) at these fairs, which otherwise were mainly exhibitions of industry, art and culture.[35] In a few cases, some countries such as Sweden chose to display entire schoolhouses, or up to full-scale models thereof, at the London exhibition of 1871, the Vienna Exhibition of 1873, the Centennial exhibition in Philadelphia 1876 and the Stockholm exhibition in 1897.

In Sweden, discussions about how to best build a schoolhouse increased in the decades when the primary school system *folkskolan* was established (1840s–1860s). For example, the Royal Academy for Liberal Arts arranged competitions for the best schoolhouse plans five times between 1839 and 1854.[36] On a national level, Per A. Siljeström (1815–1892), a teacher of natural sciences, made impressive efforts at improving the state of schoolhouses, publishing handbooks in schoolhouse architecture. In 1862, he also became the first *folkskole* inspector of Stockholm. It is fair to say that through his work, he laid the ground for a new schoolhouse standard based on modern architecture in Sweden.[37]

For Siljeström, the quality of the schoolhouse was a reflection of the quality of the education and a sign of respect for teachers and children:

> Formerly too little importance was attached to the condition and character of the schoolhouse and the school room. A miserable hovel, devoid of every convenience, and situated on a badly-selected and unattractive spot: a dark, gloomy and ill-ventilated room; benches to sit upon, which must have given the children some notion of the rack, and which could not but excite in the minds of school-boys the desire to wreak their vengeance in the form of every degree of injury which a knife can inflict on a wooden bench.[38]

Siljeström clearly states a relationship between poor standards in schoolhouses and bad school discipline and learning. With this perspective on discipline and learning, a nice schoolhouse in a good environment became very important, and Siljeström's interest in modernising schoolhouses came to occupy his work for some years.[39] It

35 Hjördis Kristenson, *Skolhuset – Idé och form* (Lund: Bokförlaget Signum, 2005).

36 Ibid., 55.

37 Kristenson (2005); Johannes Westberg, *Att bygga ett skolväsende. Folkskolans förutsättningar och framväxt 1840–1900* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2015a).

38 Per Adam Siljeström, *The Educational Institutions of the United States, their Character and Organization* (London 1853a), 207.

39 Siljeström wrote a pamphlet in 1853 in which he argued, not least from a hygiene perspective, for the modernisation of schoolhouses: Siljeström, *Skolhusen och skolmaterielen: Om vigten af en ändamålsenlig anordning af skolornas upplysning, luftvexling m.m, samt om behöfliga förbättringar i dessa hänseenden, med särskilt afseende på hufvudstadens offentliga skolor: föredrag hållet vid pedagogiska föreningens årsmöte den 1 juni 1853: tillika med några sednare tillägg* (Stockholm, 1853b). He soon also published drawings/plans for how to build and furnish them – much of which came from America (only one desk and one chair was drawn in Sweden – by Svenska slöjdföreningen), see: Siljeström, *Inledning till skolarkitekturen* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1856a); Siljeström, *Bidrag till skol-arkitekturen: Ritningar och beskrifningar öfver skolhus, skolmöbler, undervisningsmedel m.m. till tjenst för skolstyrelser, skolföreståndare, lärare och andre för undervisningsväsendet intresserade personer* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1856b).

is clear that the National Building Plans for schoolhouses in Sweden (*normalritningar*) from 1865 bear the landmarks of Siljeström's school architecture and his basic arguments.[40] Some formulations are exact copies of Siljeström's writings.[41] However, compared with what we see in the National Building Plans, Siljeström placed a relatively strong emphasis on the value of choosing a good environment when building a new schoolhouse in a neighbourhood. The poor environments and conditions schoolhouses were built in had not been such a great problem when the church governed the education, Siljeström argued:

> As long as the morning glory of the Priesthood shone through the windows and contributed to mitigate schoolroom darkness and a close atmosphere, it was easier to keep spirits up, but since it is now important to make teachers independent of priestly influences it is necessary to ensure that schoolteachers can get on well in school.[42]

It seems that Siljerström intended for schools to be attractive in other ways when they are not used solely for educating for religious purposes. Here, aesthetics could play an important role. Siljeström argued that when more children, from younger ages and for a longer time, were expected to learn more and develop civic manners, there was a need for school buildings that manifested societal respect for the institution of education.

In other words, the schoolhouse was a way of exhibiting a new perception of knowledge and education. Siljeström's writings showed that schoolhouses had for too long been allowed to objectify a poor past. Now it was time to let them materialise future hopes. Modern architecture, light and tidy rooms, open space and clean air appeal directly to the senses. Displaying a pretty and healthy schoolhouse can thus be understood in relation to the societal embrace of the educational institution, which hitherto had been mostly a religious institution.

When Sweden included education exhibits for the first time at the World's Fair in London in 1862,[43] Siljeström was chosen to organise and present the Swedish education exhibits.[44] Except for Sweden, no other country seems to have exhibited schoolhouses at the exhibition in London 1862. The only known exhibit of schoolhouses is Siljeström's *drawing* of a schoolhouse. He actually received a 'Medal of Excellence' for the objects displayed at the Swedish exhibition room at the educational department of the London exposition. The objects included the drawing of a new elementary school as well as school furniture, maps and plans.[45]

Possibly, Sweden wanted to participate, exchange ideas and compete at these exhibitions with an emphasis on the material objects of education. The early World's Fairs were related to industrialisation and a general interest in material moderni-

40 This was a legislative document proclaiming that every new school building in Sweden should follow the standards set by this act.

41 Kristenson (2005), 60.

42 Siljeström (1853b), 27. Transl. here.

43 London International Exhibition on Industry and Art (1 May 1862–15 November 1862).

44 Behind the people working at the Swedish exhibitions stood a national commission of selected experts who initially decided what to exhibit and what should represent Sweden.

45 *International Exhibition 1862 – Catalogue of Works of Industry and Art – Sweden* (London: Clowes and Son 1862), 65; *Förteckning å de vid 1862 års allmänna industry- och konstexposition i London belönade utställare* (Stockholm: Isaac Marcus, 1863), 21.

sation.[46] At the same time, education could be elevated to a new societal position, deserving – at least according to people such as Siljeström – an attractive appearance accompanying an ambition to foster not only skilled people but also clean, healthy, sound and disciplined people. In the following, I will illustrate how Sweden's participation at the exhibitions can be seen as a form of aesthetical governing that appeared in what was visualised, compared, exchanged and learned.

Displaying, comparing and competing

Where early nineteenth century international comparisons, as already mentioned, could mostly be found in travel accounts, the second half of the nineteenth century offered new ways of comparison and competition through international exhibitions.[47] With education systems displayed side-by-side, the comparative and competing logic of the industrial movement also affected ways of thinking about education. As noted by Sobe and Boven, the United States, at least from the 1870s to the 1890s, tried to display its educational system using facts and figures. Sweden, on the other hand, chose to put entire schoolhouses filled with authentic, even if carefully selected, school objects on display. How did this "method" of display evolve? In what different ways can we find expressions of numerical and aesthetical governing at these fairs?

In London 1862 and in Paris 1867, the school items were displayed in exhibition cases and cabinets.[48] In Paris 1867, a Finnish observer noted that only three countries chose to have a separate exhibition about education and folk culture (e.g., national clothes): North America, Prussia and Sweden. Sweden won the gold medal for their school interior and objects, which were considered "modern and fit to meet future expectations," but the schoolhouse presented by Sweden was deemed "far too small and dark."[49] According to the list of prize-winners, Sweden also won a bronze medal for work by blind, deaf and dumb students and a silver medal for school maps.[50]

In Paris 1867, the United States won a prize jury award for its schoolhouse, which was described by Finnish spectators as "light and with lots of space and clean air."[51] Sweden had presented its educational exhibition within the country's main pavilion, which was crafted in honour of the sixteenth century Swedish king Gustav I of Sweden.[52] Although the choice of a historical theme for the pavilion was rather common at the nineteenth century World's Fairs,[53] in this case, the consequence was the critique "too small and dark."[54]

46 Anders Ekström, Solveig Jülich and Pelle Snickars, eds., 1897: *Mediehistorier kring Stockholmsutställningen* (Stockholm: Statens ljud- och bildarkiv, 2006); Pred (1995).

47 In, for example, Siljeström's script "A Contribution to the School Architecture" (1856b), he presents drawings of schools and classrooms from his visits to America and England. See also Dittrich (2010).

48 Exposition universelle de Paris (1 April 1867–3 November 1867).

49 Otto Alfthan, *Berättelse från Verldsexpositionen i Paris 1867 afgiven till Auxiliärkomitén i Helsingfors af kommisarien för Finland vid denna utställning* (Helsingfors: J.C. Frenckell and son, 1868).

50 *Förteckning öfver de svenska utställare vid 1867 års verlds-exposition i Paris, hvilka fått sig tilldelade pris och belöningar* (Stockholm, 1868).

51 Alfthan (1868), 122.

52 *L'Exposition populaire illustrée*, 1867, 18.

53 Anders Ekström, *Damen med velocipeden: Till tingens kulturhistoria* (Uppsala: Avdelningen för vetenskapshistoria, Uppsala universitet, 1997).

54 Alfthan (1868), 122.

To make a better impression on the audience and on the prize jury, Sweden chose to follow the United States in presenting its education within a full-scale schoolhouse in Vienna 1873 and Philadelphia 1876. We know that Sweden made a major effort to build these schoolhouses and to fill them with the best teaching material and student work the country could provide. The cost for the Vienna schoolhouse was 6,000 Swedish kronor, and for the schoolhouse in Philadelphia, costs ran up to 25,000–30,000 Swedish kronor (Figure 1).[55] The exhibited schoolhouses followed the basic architecture of the National Building Plan for schoolhouses (Figure 2), but they were also aligned with the other Swedish buildings at the exhibitions that often followed an old and traditional Nordic style.[56] They were clearly made more attractive aesthetically than ordinary schoolhouses in Sweden.[57]

Figure 1. The Swedish Schoolhouse in Philadelphia 1876 and in Stockholm 1897. Sources: Original 1876 Centennial lithograph, The Swedish school house (author's private collection); Ludvig Looström, ed., *Allmänna konst och industriutställningen i Stockholm 1897* (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1899), 360.

Some Finnish spectators were initially unsure whether the displayed schoolhouses were representative of Swedish schoolhouses or, rather, of the skills of Swedish woodsmen. However, because the spectators saw the drawings of the National Building Plans for schoolhouses (Figure 2) displayed on the inside of the schoolhouse, they concluded that Sweden really did have high-quality schoolhouses.[58] The schoolhouse at Philadelphia received particular appreciation.[59] The schoolhouse in Philadelphia (Figure 1 left pic.) was designed by the same architects, Magnus Isæus and Ernst Jacobson, who had constructed the schoolhouse in Vienna,[60] but it was built by another company: *Wengströms mekaniska snickeri fabrik AB*. When, in 1897, Sweden and Stockholm had the opportunity to arrange the World's Fairs, the Swedish

55 At the time, the cost for an ordinary country schoolhouse in Sweden was approximately 4,300–8,700 kronor; see Johannes Westberg, "How Much did a Swedish Schoolhouse Cost to Build? Rewriting the History of 19th-Century Rural Schoolhouses," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 39, no. 4 (2014), 448–71.

56 Kristenson (2005), 79; Lundahl and Lawn (2014).

57 Compare, for example, with schoolhouses presented in Kristenson (2005) and in Westberg (2015a).

58 Carl Synnerberg, *Skolväsendet vid Verldsutställningen i Wien 1873. Aftryck ur tidsskrift. Utgiven av Pedagogiska föreningen i Finland* (Helsingfors, 1873).

59 Lundahl and Lawn (2014).

60 Picture available in Lundahl and Lawn (2014).

exhibition committee decided that Sweden should once again hold the educational exhibit in a real schoolhouse (Figure 1 right pic.). As was obviously not the case in Vienna and Philadelphia, the schoolhouse in Sweden could be built to permanently function as a schoolhouse even after the exhibition closed.[61] The organisers therefore decided to see whether any municipality near Stockholm needed a brand new school. The municipality in Norrköping replied, and *Ekmanska snickerifabriken*, responsible for the Vienna schoolhouse, had one built for them.[62]

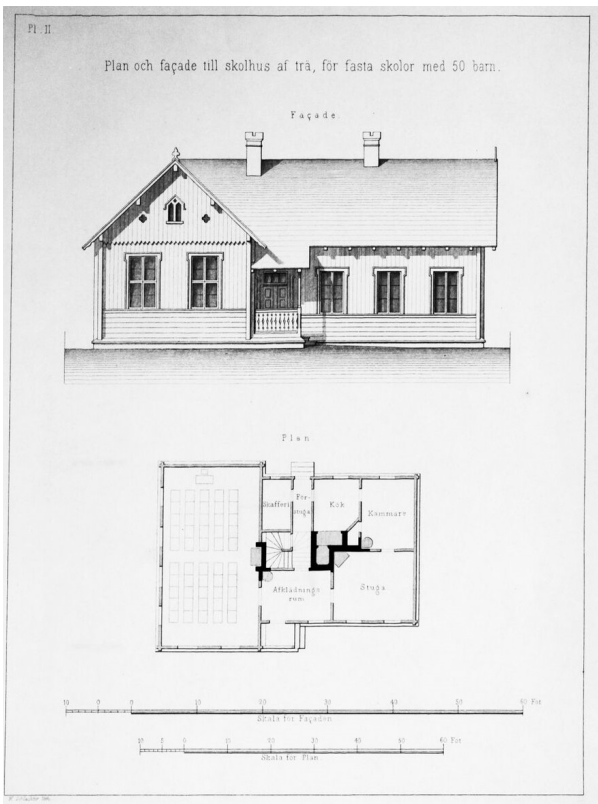

Figure 2. The National Building Plan for schoolhouses (1865). 'Schoolhouse built in wood intended for 50 children' (Plate 2). Source: *Öfverintendentsembetet, Normalritningar* (Stockholm, 1865), pl. 2.

61 A curiosity concerning the schoolhouse in Philadelphia is that after the exhibition, it was chosen for Central Park in NY by park co-designer Fredrick Law Olmsted, where it has served many different purposes ever since: http://www.centralparknyc.org/things-to-see-and-do/attractions/swedish-cottage.html (accessed June 1, 2016).

62 *Redogörelse för Stockholms folkskolors utställning samt utställningarna i folkskolehuset* (Stockholm: Walfrid Wilhelmssons boktryckeri, 1897). The schoolhouse was built and put on display in Djurgården, Stockholm, next to the Nordic museum, but it has not been possible to determine whether it was ever actually transported to Norrköping.

Nation	Utställarnes antal															
	Gr. I	Gr. II	Gr. III	Gr. IV	Gr. V	Gr. VI	Gr. VII	Gr. VIII	Gr. IX	Gr. X	Gr. XI	Gr. XII	Gr. XIII	Gr. XIV	Gr. XV	Gr. XVI
Förenta Staterna ...	692	348	283	412	26	50	228	248	193	250	20	426	228	137	278	39
England med kolonier	466	148	167	380	31	108	86	118	195	196	12	59	37	28	56	39
Frankrike	45	1	90	162	12	8	39	15	99	120	26	7	35	16	45	3
Tyskland	41	2	94	140	—	1	19	47	40	66	60	8	21	6	14	4
Österrike	12	35	30	56	1	4	10	11	20	115	13	4	9	4	5	1
Schweiz	2	1	8	21	—	—	—	11	24	40	3	2	1	—	5	2
Belgien	19	45	9	17	—	1	11	19	36	31	—	8	7	8	10	7
Holland	4	13	17	47	2	4	7	17	9	3	1	3	9	1	4	3
Danmark	—	8	6	20	—	1	2	1	2	6	1	1	3	—	1	1
Sverige	20	7	26	38	8	4	10	6	6	16	2	5	13	3	27	10
Norge	19	9	13	29	25	4	7	3	1	8	4	3	4	3	7	4
Italien	24	24	114	218	2	18	16	12	26	42	7	8	13	1	10	5
Egypten	1	2	2	1	1	—	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
Tunis	1	3	1	—	—	—	2	—	4	2	2	—	—	—	—	2
Fristaten Orange ...	1	—	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	—
Luxemburg	—	1	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	1	—	—	—	—
Kina	2	21	1	2	1	2	8	1	10	9	2	1	2	1	5	—
Japan	9	68	6	13	—	2	20	18	36	38	1	1	14	1	—	4
Hawaii	4	5	12	4	—	5	5	6	—	14	—	1	—	2	—	—
Brasilien	79	34	59	148	1	51	23	95	11	50	—	14	2	2	1	8
Argentinska Republiken	115	28	76	250	5	74	6	54	70	79	3	9	4	1	—	—
Chili	9	2	4	29	1	3	2	—	2	5	—	1	2	—	—	—
Peru	3	—	7	21	—	—	1	4	4	9	—	3	1	—	—	—
Mexiko	28	4	19	22	—	15	3	27	4	18	—	5	3	—	—	1
Spanien	345	51	140	967	19	98	4	242	180	147	—	14	31	12	10	22
Portugal	82	40	57	1108	9	104	14	132	107	99	12	14	8	—	22	5
Turkiet	101	44	80	212	1	112	33	59	196	280	20	130	14	18	19	8
Ryssland	49	31	49	96	5	7	24	37	56	85	8	34	13	2	17	20
Venezuela	2	—	1	25	—	2	—	1	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—
Summa	2175	975	1371	4443	150	679	582	1186	1333	1733	198	766	475	247	537	190

Nation	Gr. XVII	Gr. XVIII	Gr. XIX	Gr. XX	Gr. XXI	Gr. XXII	Gr. XXIII	Gr. XXIV	Gr. XXV	Gr. XXVI	Gr. XXVII	Gr. XXVIII	Gr. XXIX—XXXVI	Kollektiv utställn.	Special-utställn.	Summa utställare	Antal belöningar	Resultat. Procent
Förenta Staterna ...	139	147	93	460	227	85	712	90	235	86	1127	212	890	44	120	8525	5134	60,22
England med kolonier	56	26	78	66	19	12	76	31	70	11	395	135	148	—	7	3256	1621	49,78
Frankrike	8	5	5	52	6	2	45	7	73	19	270	84	14	—	2	1315	697	53,00
Tyskland	2	3	3	13	2	12	5	16	64	1	158	163	3	—	1	1009	605	59,96
Österrike	4	1	2	2	—	—	9	9	20	54	124	10	1	—	—	566	294	51,94
Schweiz	—	1	—	2	—	7	—	7	54	52	9	68	—	—	2	322	200	62,11
Belgien	2	4	—	7	4	3	2	4	5	13	145	38	—	—	1	456	253	55,48
Holland	—	2	1	6	—	1	3	7	10	15	118	23	5	—	—	335	195	58,20
Danmark	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	—	2	2	13	3	—	—	—	76	30	39,37
Sverige	—	10	3	8	6	2	7	5	14	6	94	40	—	1	12	409	216	52,81
Norge	4	—	9	4	4	—	7	1	5	5	39	6	—	—	—	227	142	62,55
Italien	4	—	8	4	2	—	12	17	11	1	184	26	2	—	—	811	448	55,23
Egypten	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	4	5	—	—	—	31	21	67,77
Tunis	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	20	8	40,00
Fristaten Orange ...	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	10	5	50,00
Luxemburg	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	10	9	90,00
Kina	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	71	43	60,56
Japan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	5	7	63	5	—	—	—	314	142	45,22
Hawaii	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	5	8	1	—	—	76	12	15,79
Brasilien	17	—	5	5	1	—	6	4	8	18	24	39	—	—	—	705	436	61,84
Argentinska Republiken	24	1	3	—	—	—	1	34	—	—	19	18	6	—	—	880	83	9,43
Chili	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	5	12	—	—	—	82	41	50,00
Peru	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	57	3	5,26
Mexiko	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	6	2	3	54	88	—	—	—	304	75	24,66
Spanien	10	1	2	—	—	—	16	19	—	14	190	386	5	—	—	2925	868	29,70
Portugal	6	—	6	—	—	—	3	38	13	8	14	20	—	—	—	1921	1008	52,47
Turkiet	17	—	1	—	—	—	1	35	14	—	9	2	—	—	—	1406	86	6,11
Ryssland	19	5	12	18	4	1	9	12	18	17	59	34	1	—	—	742	450	60,64
Venezuela	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	—	—	—	—	40	27	67,50
Summa	316	206	236	648	275	125	917	347	627	337	3131	1429	1077	48	145	26901	13152	48,88

Figure 3. Prizes awarded to each country in different categories. Category XXVIII is education. *Redogörelser för verldsutställningen i Filadelfia 1876* (Stockholm 1876), 42–43.

The competitive nature of these exhibitions is clearly illustrated with a chart of prizes awarded to each country participating in the Philadelphia fair (Figure 3). Swedish education was highly acclaimed by the prize jury in Philadelphia, winning more than 40 prizes. The total number of prizes awarded to Sweden according to the chart was 216. This tally means that almost 20 per cent of Sweden's prizes were won in the field of education. The United States' 212 prizes in education represented only approximately four per cent of the host country's total 5,134 prizes.

The list over prizes awarded is a very clear example of numerical governing through comparing quantitative achievements, but, more often, we find comparisons based on aesthetical and qualitative achievements. This is evident, for example, in the review of the Swedish schoolhouse:

> For an excellent school building furnished with furniture and materials of all kinds also including textbooks and valuable collections, and student work, manifesting an effective school system, completely orderly and maintained by the government and the people.[63]

That the fairs were places for comparisons and competitions becomes clear in the comments of George Hodgins, the Ontario Deputy education minister, about Sweden's accomplishments:

> This Kingdom [of Sweden] had already distinguished itself by its educational exhibit at the Paris Exposition of 1867, and especially at the Vienna Exhibition of 1873. But, as these places were in Europe, it was a less difficult and expensive undertaking to

63 *Redogörelser för verldsutställningen i Filadelfia 1876* (Stockholm 1876), 29. Transl. here. Also quoted in Lundahl and Lawn (2014).

> transport a large variety of articles to the French and Austrian Capitals than it was to have them despatched to the New World. It showed great enterprise and decision on the part of a comparatively small kingdom, in the north of Europe, to enter into competition with so formidable, and noted an educational competitor, as the United States of America.[64]

Obviously the efforts made, and the costs paid, by the Swedish government made an impression.[65] The quantitative and qualitative comparisons made possible by arranging either objects or numbers side by side trained both spectators and consumers.[66] In the context of arts, culture and industry, the logic of industrial improvement moved into people's everyday lives, including the field of education. Some spectators even described the educational departments at the World's Fairs as the "industrialisation of education."[67] Provenzo argues that education and industry in this way became "inseparable in the scheme of progress and power" that emerged from the late nineteenth century World's Fairs.[68]

It is clear that the schoolhouse served as some kind of showroom and meeting place at the exhibitions, as well as an exhibition object in its own right. The strength of the schoolhouse as an exhibition object was its ability to persuade the audience to believe in what they saw. Being able to walk around inside, to look at bookshelves, to sit at the pupils' desks, and to feel the fresh air from the ventilated school room – all of it worked as an aesthetical force making the subject "feel and realise" how modern Swedish education was. In an article in the *New York Tribune*, we gain a picture of the impression that Carl Jonas Meijerberg (1816-1903), the organiser of the education section at Philadelphia, and his Swedish school material could make on the visitor:

> On his (Meijerberg's) desk were dozens of ordinary copy books written and sent over by the identical little babies of whom I was in search. Their names were on the back. Olga Johansson, Karl Bund, &c.; I held them in my hand as he talked [Meijerberg] – they made the statistics real. When he told me that 85 per cent of all the children in Sweden went to the national schools, it was not a percentage I saw at all, but Olga and Karl in their coarse shoes and patched jackets trotting along the same road upward as the nobleman's son, and sitting on the bench beside him. Olga's father is a miner, Karl's a peasant … The whole family of either will not probably own $50 in the year. What chance would these little ones have to become anything better than mere beasts of burden if their country was not a mother to them?[69]

Meijerberg as a person, and the school material selected for the exhibition, created an image of Swedish education communicated to people through newspapers and

64 George J. Hodgins, *Special Report to the Honourable the Minister of Education on the Ontario Educational Exhibit, and the Educational Features of the International Exhibition at Philadelphia, 1876* (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1877), 59.

65 Even if the government realised this and was rewarded for it, they decided that for Paris 1878, less money would be spent on the exhibition. The case here was also that the organisational structure of the Paris exhibition did not really allow any foreign schoolhouses (cf. *Ny illustrerad tidning* (1878), 32).

66 Ekström, Jülich and Snickars (2006); Pred (1995).

67 Synnerberg (1873).

68 Provenzo (2012), 55.

69 *New York Tribune*, June 24, 1876, 2.

reports as facts.[70] In the quote from the *New York Tribune*, it is also interesting to note how the author draws conclusions that go beyond the schoolhouse and makes assumptions about the country of Sweden, its people, its democracy, etc. This is a typical example of how soft power works on a transnational scene as a kind of "Nation branding"[71] By displaying an aesthetic schoolhouse with orderly and tidy content, Sweden is not just appreciated for its education system: the schoolhouse and its content represent another culture and another way of thinking. In this way, education and the nation are linked, and things valued highly in education give status to the nation, and likewise, things considered attractive in other national state areas can be linked to education (such as equality and democracy). The representation of education as aesthetic thus promotes governing by comparison between countries, but as shown below, there was also an aesthetic governing taking part *within* education.

Markets of objects and of knowledge

The World's Fairs were market places as well as places of learning. Things were bought, traded and sold.[72] At the same time, audiences received impressions, were influenced and developed new ideas of their own from what they saw when visiting the fairs. Regarding education, these exhibitions displayed common school artefacts, including books, maps, globes and pictures of animals, related to the late nineteenth century fashion for object teaching. Many objects were displayed. At the educational exhibit in Vienna 1873, over five-thousand exhibitors submitted materials.[73] Sobe and Boven show that for American education, it was important to display statistics of teacher and student enrolment to show progress. Sweden did that as well but also chose to show progress by highlighting certain objects and aspects of the educational system. Here, the modern subjects of Sloyd, gymnastics and drawing were prominently displayed.

However, when looking at what really gained appreciation in reports, in articles and in the awards, we find that it was objects or methods related to challenges in mass education and to the needs of the industrialised society. Some of these were clearly related to notions of aesthetics.

70 Meijerberg was obviously not a very representative member of the Swedish educational community. In Sweden, he had several important positions within the educational system. Dittrich noted that the education experts at these fairs combined many different occupations, such as officials of ministries of education and school boards, school directors, university presidents, prominent teachers, politicians, clergymen, specialists in school hygiene, medical doctors, manufacturers of school equipment, and architects (Dittrich (2010), 87–88). A New York Tribune journalist thought Meijerberg was a passionate and a very skilled informer of Swedish education: "I found there Dr C.J. Meyerberg (sic!), one of the first Government school inspectors of Sweden, who certainly seemed to care as much for the shabby little children as any woman could do, and who poured forth information and statistics quite beyond any woman's power to carry away." *New York Tribune*, June 24, 1876, 2.

71 E.g., Melissa Aronczyk, *Branding the Nation: The Global Business of National Identity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013). See also Werner (2008).

72 Lundahl and Lawn show, for example, that the South Kensington School Museum in the UK acquired almost all of what Sweden had displayed in London 1871, from books to school models. In total, the South Kensington Collection includes more than 600 books, maps, plans, models and globes from the Swedish exhibition, see Lundahl and Lawn (2014). There are registers preserved that accounts for every piece sold, see e.g., Riksarkivet, Utställningsbestyrelserna, Sveriges deltagande i världsutställningen i St. Louis 1904 (U9), vol 8. SE/RA/420463/420463.09. Provenzo shows especially how Russia carefully collected materials from the educational exhibits at the Centennial 1876 for their national school museums, see Provenzo (2012), 46–47.

73 Provenzo (2012), 9.

The idea of these exhibitions was to give a comprehensive but complete picture of the education system. A classroom filled with high-quality teaching materials gave the spectator an image of what kind of teaching Swedish children received:

> The system of instruction in an elementary school seems to consist in a large degree of object teaching, judging from the articles on the exhibition in this building. There were glass cases of mosses, plants and woods labelled, and cards with pictures of birds and beasts, each with its appropriate label.[74]

In the Paris World's Fair of May 1-November 10, 1878, Sweden chose to display less educational material than in previous exhibitions.[75] Instead, Sweden sent some of its more famous educationalists and presented more written reports, as the United States had done in Philadelphia. In Paris, for example, the internationally well-known representative of the subject of Sloyd, Otto Salomon, gave a speech about the importance of Sloyd, for which he was awarded a *Médaille d'Or*.[76] Sloyd and the philosophy of Otto Salomon were clearly based on the fear that the contemporary elementary school was too theoretical. The rote learning of pure facts led the children to adopt negative attitudes towards schooling and towards each other, Salomon believed.[77] The children also needed to develop practical skills, and they needed physical activity.

In a Finnish report from Vienna, we see how they found the education exhibition to be an expression of the industrialisation of the school system. The Finnish spectators wrote that the school exhibition displayed first and foremost the "external side" of education, namely, what is visual: schoolhouses, apparatuses, material; secondly, it gave statistics; and thirdly and most importantly, it revealed the results of teaching in the forms of *schule arbeiten*.[78] Taken together, the Finnish spectators saw a new school develop that could rationalise or even industrialise learning – modern schoolhouses, ergonomic school benches and new methods (i.e., object teaching) made more children learn faster. But they feared that it came at a high price;mechanical learning. To prevent the mechanisation of man, gymnastics and other physical activities were seen as a welcome solution:

> As a counterweight against the harmful influence of mass-reading and one-sided intellectual activities, an important task in the modern school will also have to be the technical exercises and especially manual labour in various forms.[79]

74 J. S. Ingram, *The Centennial Exposition, Described and Illustrated* (Philadelphia: Hubbard Bros, 1876), 532.

75 *Exposition universelle de 1878, à Paris: Royaume de Suède* (Stockholm: Imprimerie centrale, 1878).

76 Riksarkivet, UD 1902 års dossiesystem, 30, vol. 2355, file 14 [List of prize-winners]; Speech in: Otto Salomon's private acts in August Abraham's stiftelses arkiv, SE/GLA/12113/Ö II b/10. Sloyd became a widespread subject in schools around the world. In his school at Nääs-Floda, Otto Salomon personally trained 4,000 Swedish teachers and 1500 teachers from other countries in the subject of Sloyd. For an introduction in English, see: http://www.ibe.unesco.org/publications/ThinkersPdf/salomone.PDF; Hans Thorbjörnsson, "Swedish Educational Sloyd – an International Success," *Tidskrift för lärarutbildning och forskning* 13, no. 2–3 (2006), 10–33.

77 Otto Salomon, *The Theory of Educational Sloyd: The only Authorised Edition of the Lectures of Otto Salomon / Revised and Edited for English and American Students by an Inspector of Schools* (London: George Philip & Son, 1892).

78 Synnerberg (1873), 2–4.

79 Ibid., 5.

It was exactly here that Sweden found a way to contribute to international education policy. Instead of showing progress mainly in terms of enrolment lists, etc., Sweden promoted the fact that Swedish educators had made important contributions to school subjects such as Sloyd and gymnastics through the works of Otto Salomon and Pehr Henrik Ling.[80] This becomes evident if we look, for example, at the World's Fair in St. Louis 1904 (Figures 4 and 5). In St. Louis, Sweden presented the comprehensive school system in a large exhibition showroom. We clearly see that these new subjects, 'the liberal arts,' are brought to the fore and take up most of the space in the exhibit area. Together with adult education and vocational education, these more aesthetical and practical subjects take up approximately four-fifths of the total space (Figure 4).

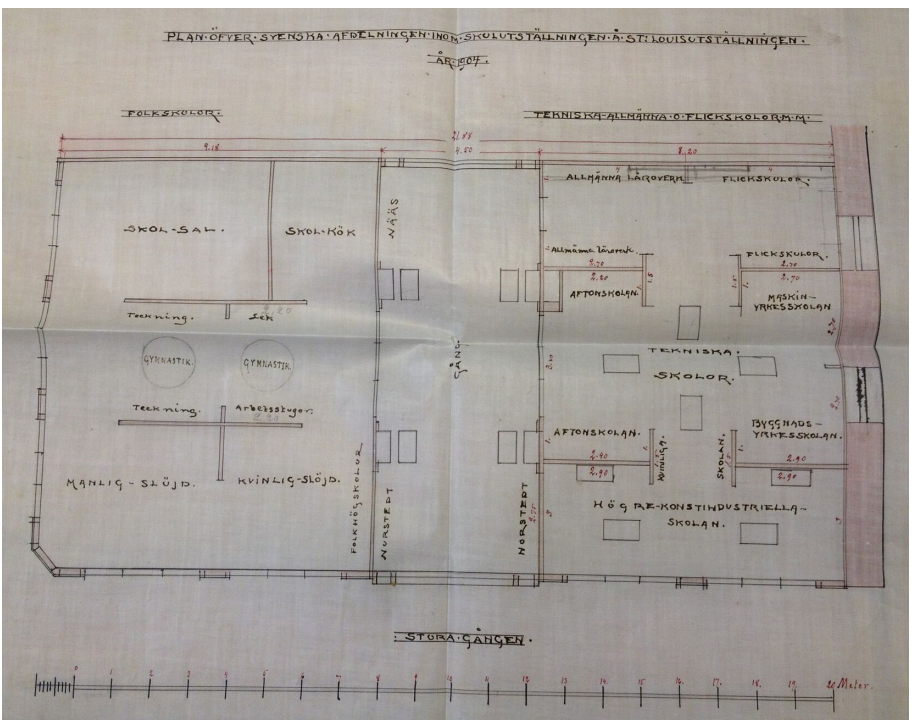

Figure 4. Blueprint for the Swedish educational exhibition at the World's Fair in St. Louis 1904. Source: Nordiska museet, Skolmuseet, "Utställningar," Stockholm.

When the visitors entered the Swedish educational exhibition, they first saw, directly to the left, the Sloyd area. Behind that, they found gymnastics, and in the inner left corner, theoretical school subjects such as language, aritmetics and religion. At the other side of the corridor, the visitor first found the higher school for industrial art and behind it, evening schools and vocational education. In the inner right corner, one could find the traditional grammar school. It is obvious that Sweden wanted to display up front more modern aspects of its educational system.

80 June E. Eyestone, "The Influence of Swedish Sloyd and Its Interpreters on American Art Education," *Studies in Art Education* 34, no. 1 (1992), 28–38; Natalie Barker-Ruchti, "'Stride Jump – Begin!': Swedish Gymnastics in Victorian England," *Sporting Traditions* 22, no. 2 (2006), 13–29.

Figure 5. Swedish Sloyd. The Swedish exhibition at the World's Fair in St. Louis 1904. Source: Riksarkivet, Utställningsbestyrelserna, Sveriges deltagande i världsutställningen i St. Louis 1904 (U9), vol 8. SE/RA/420463/420463.09.

The new school subjects in primary education were clearly aimed at modernising the individual subjects through the use of bodily work and aesthetics. In the guide book to the education exhibition, we can see how an aesthetic normativity could be expressed in educational terms. For example, Sloyd for the boys was intended:

- To awaken an interest in and a respect for manual labour;
- To accustom the pupil to habits of order, exactness, attention, and perseverance;
- To develop in him dexterity, promptitude, judgment, and skill;
- To train the eye to discern and the hand to execute;
- To develop a sense of form and taste; and
- To strengthen his physical powers.[81]

For the girls, the aim of the instruction was:

- To exercise hand and eye;
- To quicken the power of thought;
- To strengthen love of order;
- To develop independence;
- To inspire respect for carefully and intelligently executed work; and, at the same time,
- To prepare the girls for the execution of their domestic duties.[82]

81 *Guide to the Educational Exhibit of Sweden [at Saint Louis, 1904] with Notes on Some Points of Educational Activity in Sweden* (Stockholm, 1904), 13.

82 Ibid., 15.

Clearly, the combination of a schoolhouse and its objects and examples of pupils' work functioned as an argument both for society to invest in education and to make it purposeful for all of its citizens – and towards the citizens saying that going to school was something both useful and normal. At the same time, the citizens would learn to appreciate the light, fresh, clean, orderly, functional norms of activity and living.

The possibility of using the World's Fairs to educate the society in this way made the spectators, and especially the media, at these events very important. We actually see in the Swedish press that it often seemed more important to report on what other countries' reporters had noticed about Sweden than to make one's own comparisons. Having an 'international perspective' had become important *per se*, even if the reports were mainly local, about one's own nation.[83]

The international versus the domestic perspective

As illustrated, exhibitions are about visualising, displaying, marketing, governing and learning. The World's Fairs are also interesting from a policy perspective, because they represent an international space for these activities. The question of what was represented at these exhibitions – the reality or an ideal, a dream or more realistic hopes – can be understood from a transnational perspective as a matter of a nations' *use* of international outlooks. In other words, we need to look at 'the local reactions to global forces.' In this particular case, handling the international space becomes an activity in itself in which *objects* play an important role as connectors between and among national and international audiences. Objects have the material capacity to make connections possible. They can create a shared and or contested landscape of identity, imagination and practices using, for example, maps and globes.[84] At a World's Fair, they can connect the inventor of a school desk from Sweden with the future hopes of educationalists with respect to the children in France. Objects can be translated and interpreted in ways that suit subjective purposes. Furthermore, they can be mutually understood or mutually misunderstood among different observers.

Anders Ekström writes in his book about the media and the Stockholm World's Fair 1897 that people at the World's Fairs during the late nineteenth century started to look at other people who were looking at something. The audience became a spectacle in itself.[85] People were simply not used to looking at exhibitions like these. Barth found that the majority of the visitors who sought treatment at the exposition in Paris 1867 complained of headaches, tiredness and dizziness, probably caused by 'mental overload.'[86] But what did these exhibitions actually represent, and how did the people who had visited them describe their impressions? What did the visitors learn about education in other countries, or rather, what did they believe they had learned and how was the learning in itself mediated?

First, we can conclude that many people had the opportunity to draw impressions from these exhibitions. For example, it is estimated that London 1862 had more than

83 E.g., "Sverige på Filadelfiautställningen," *Kalmar*, April 26, 1876, 2.; "Sverige och Norge på Filadelfiautställningen," *Tidning för Wenersborgs stad och län*, June 12, 1876, 3.

84 Saunier (2013), 47–49.

85 Ekström (1994).

86 Barth (2007), 468.

six million visitors. Of these, 35,000 were children and pupils representing 713 specially invited schools.[87] In Paris 1867, with a total of 11 million visitors, the French government gave all teachers a 50 per cent reduction on the entrance tickets, and it has been estimated that more than 12,000 teachers visited the exhibition.[88] Just three days before the end of the exhibition, 10,000 pupils were invited to visit. The children were moved around in long lines to look at the objects on display (Figure 6).

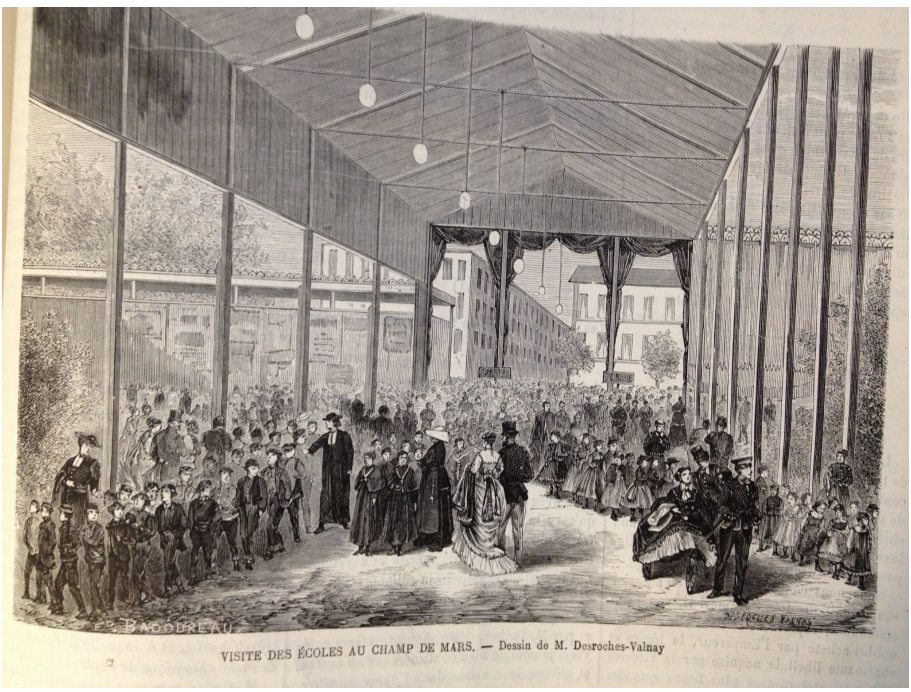

Figure 6. School classes visiting the exhibition in Paris 1867. Source: *L'Exposition universelle de 1867 illustrée*, 1867.

The Philadelphia Centennial also had approximately 10 million visitors, whereas Vienna 1873 and Paris 1878 did not attract that many people.[89] Stockholm 1897 attracted only 1.5 million visitors, and Paris 1900 broke all the former records with more than 50 million visitors.[90] Obviously, the World's Fairs were learning places in their own right. Some of the visitors had been to World's Fairs before and could make comparisons. A common statement was that the Vienna Exhibition had a much better education section than Philadelphia.[91] But for most people their visit to a World's

87 *International Exhibition 1862 – Catalogue of Works of Industry and Art – Sweden* (London: Clowes and Son, 1862).

88 Provenzo (2012), 9.

89 *Redogörelser för verldsutställningen i Filadelfia 1876*, preface; Dittrich (2010).

90 Joakim Landahl, "Estetikens triumf: Skolan på världsutställningen i Paris 1900," *Vägval i skolans historia*, no. 2 (2014); See also John E. Findling and Kimberley D. Pelle, eds., *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851–1988* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990).

91 E.g., *Veckoblad för folkundervisningen*, May 20, 1877.

Fair exhibition would be their first and last. To an untrained eye, the things on display could sometimes convey the wrong meaning. For example, from Philadelphia, we find spectator accounts of a Japanese schoolhouse next to the Swedish one,[92] but when comparing the maps of the exhibition and the content in catalogues, we see that this was actually a Japanese bazaar.

Even to the trained eye, there was still the possibility of a false representation of the state of affairs back home. Clearly, most countries would choose to display the best of their education. Some spectators realised this, as is clear from the Finnish report from Vienna 1873,[93] but we also find examples in which people believed in what they saw. In some cases, the representativeness of what was displayed first came under criticism when Swedes back home read the reports from the World's Fairs. This is most evident when we compare international reports with national reports about the Swedish schoolhouse in Philadelphia. In an official American account of the Centennial, J. S. Ingram wrote that the schoolhouse:

> … attracted so much deserved attention from its tasteful design. The materials used in its construction were imported from Sweden. It represented a typical primary country schoolhouse, and was 40 by 50 feet in size. The main entrance opened into a large vestibule, on the right end of which was a large private apartment for the teacher, and at the other was the school room. Three rows of school-desks of peculiar pattern were here arranged. The desks were all of the same size, but were adapted to children of different ages by means of a folding foot-board, which could be raised or lowered. The desks were provided with an ink-well, book-rest, a place for the slate, and the books were protected from the dust by a lid.[94]

The Swedish schoolhouse was filled with statistics and other data that showed how the Swedish government and the people in Sweden were building and organising a modern school system. Pupils' works, such as essays or maths books, were obvious "results" to display. But did all of this really represent the "typical" primary school, as suggested by Ingram in the quote? In a letter to Meijerberg, the organiser of the education section at Philadelphia, Peter Gödecke – the principal of Nerike folkhögskola – clearly illustrates that efforts were made to select the *best* student work possible:

> … I would, in view of the final wrapping on Philadelphia-things, ask about the last date to send in the material to the exhibit. As we mentioned before, we have here at school a few disciples who excelled with beautiful linear drawings. We wish to enclose a few such drawings that are now being prepared but should be ready soon.[95]

In the United States, there was a discussion on whether one should exhibit the best objects or merely the most representative objects.[96] This was seemingly not the case in Sweden, but did the Centennial visitors regard – as Hodgins, Ingram or the New York Tribune reporter appeared to – the schoolhouse as an exact replica or a trans-

92 *New York Tribune*, June 24, 1876.

93 Synnerberg (1873).

94 Ingram (1876), 532.

95 Letter from Gödecke to Meijerberg Sköllersta March 1, 1876. Transl. here. From Meijerberg's personal archive, Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm.

96 Sobe and Boven (2014).

ported example of a working education system? Sweden presented an ideal schoolhouse, but what did it represent? When the visitors observed the schoolhouse, what did they see? A real school, transplanted? An artifice? Evidence of a system? Would they have been surprised to read the letter to the local newspaper *Karlskrona Veckoblad*?

> It is generally considered that America is unrivalled when it comes to exaggerations. Now this parameter has been surpassed, even by our country, Sweden. A letter to *Karlskrona Veckoblad* proves this through the rendering of an American newspaper opinion regarding the "Swedish schoolhouse at the Philadelphia Exhibition," wherein it is stated that among other exhibition objects from Sweden there is also a schoolhouse, "as it is employed in Sweden," and shortly thereafter, that this schoolhouse will cost over 10,000 dollars. /…/ Here at home, it is still far from being that upright /…/ a single storey building painted in red on an unplanned wainscot; a low door shows us where the entrance is found. In the small dirty hall-stand a score of dirty clogs, which, like barricades close the passage. To the left of the hall we see a door that leads to two small flame stoves or, at best, a brick masonry stove-equipped hovel, intended as "a residence for the teacher." To the right of the hall we find likewise a door, and from the noise inside we conclude that this is where we have the "school room." After we have kicked a bunch of clogs, etc. away, we step inside. At the front, in the "room" darkened by smoke and dirt , we see an elevation, resembling a pulpit, and there stands one person, namely, the schoolteacher. On the floor, long black benches and a seven, eight, or a dozen more or less ragged, rude and impolite children. On the walls a few fragments of maps of Scandinavia, of the province in which the school exists, and in the best case, of Europe. At the far end, a large heap of stones, which is the stove.[97]

The Swedish schoolhouse in Philadelphia was clearly not representative of real Swedish schoolhouses back home. In *Veckoblad för folkundervisningen* (Education Weekly), from 1877, a visitor from the Philadelphia exhibition describes in some detail the differences between the different countries' schoolhouses at the exhibition. Sweden had impressed, especially with the contents of the schoolroom and the ventilation system. The news editor's reaction to the description of the Swedish schoolhouse was that he thought only one out of 50 schoolhouses followed the direction of the National Building Plans for schoolhouses:

> The Swedish schoolhouse at the exhibition in Philadelphia, which is so much admired, therefore has certainly a comparatively small number of duplicates in its homeland, and the glory, we Swedes therefore harvested, is, we believe, neither good nor righteously deserved.[98]

It is interesting to see how the appreciation Swedish education met at these fairs was not always appreciated as such back in Sweden. This indicates that it was important for Sweden to participate at the World's Fairs, which were modern and progressive, to 'get access' to and exchange new technologies and knowledge in order to advance reforms back home. At the same time, on a domestic level, the reality might have been poorer, and from a local policy point of view, reforms could be more legitimate if they addressed current problems rather than future hopes.

97 *Lindesbergs allehanda*, June 30, 1876, 3. Transl. here.

98 *Veckoblad för folkundervisningen* (1877), 41. Transl. here.

To sum up, these exhibitions were a major investment for the participating countries. In the area of education, Sweden clearly made a calculated attempt to portray the Swedish state and society as having an advanced educational system. This was put on display in a tasteful and aesthetical way, and it seems to have worked well. The schoolhouse and its visualised pedagogic relations and appliances were all genuine products available in Sweden. However, in their totality, they did not represent the normal Swedish school, as major local investment in schoolhouses was just beginning in Sweden and the schoolhouse at the exhibitions was very well endowed with teaching materials.[99] The schoolhouse and its contents were both real and ideal and both actual and mythological. The issue about representativeness is rather a question of what it represented to those who looked at it.

Conclusions

Historians of education are increasingly recognising the importance of the World's Fairs in disseminating educational ideas and technologies. At the same time, it seems important to approach the role of the World's Fairs from a comparative and transnational perspective because different countries had different principles for selecting what should be displayed, why it should be displayed, and how to interpret what was displayed.[100] No less important is to further investigate interactions and cross-border flows of ideas and technologies and how specific representations might lead to different understandings in different cultures.

The modus operandi of the World's Fairs was that of displaying, comparing and competing. The fairs were often crowded with objects on display. In Vienna 1873, for example, more than five thousand exhibitors submitted materials, as mentioned earlier. To stand out, it was logical to display attractive and aesthetical objects. As Georg Simmel noted in a reflection on the Berlin trade exhibition in 1896:

> It is at the point where material interests have reached their highest level and the pressure of competition is at an extreme that the aesthetic ideal is employed. The striving to make the merely useful visually stimulating – something that was completely natural for Orientals and Romans – for us comes from the struggle to render the graceless graceful for consumers.[101]

Turning the graceless into graceful representations in a transnational space has important governing implications. First, it provides an opportunity to participate in what Provenzo describes as a "symbolic universe constructed by an emerging social elite."[102] Being part of this universe provides the possibility to interpret and define a particular social and political reality. Siljeström and Meijerberg certainly were not representative Swedish school officials at the end of the nineteenth century, but they had a vivid correspondence with like-minded people abroad, and they met and par-

99 See Westberg (2015a); Johannes Westberg, "Multiplying the Origins of Mass Schooling: an Analysis of the Preconditions Common to Schooling and the School Building Process in Sweden,1840–1900," *History of Education* 44, no. 4 (2015c), 415–36.

100 See Ekström (1994); Lawn (2008); Dittrich (2010); Provenzo (2012).

101 Georg Simmel, David Frisby, and Mike Featherstone, *Simmel on Culture: Selected Writings* (Los Angeles: Sage, 1997), 157.

102 Provenzo (2012), 5.

ticipated in these exhibitions. Appearing as, what we would call, modern and progressive made it possible to participate in elite conversations about education – which could inform, enlighten and legitimise national reforms. People like Siljeström and Meijerberg in Sweden or Hodgins and Ingram on the North American side clearly transcended the boundaries of their own institutions and nation-states.[103]

Secondly, from this position of being included, there is an option to direct the discourse towards a specific content area. In the Swedish case during the late nineteenth century, this was much about an aesthetic normativity that in one regard said it was important to adapt to values of beauty, purity, and cleanliness as well as order, control and functionality. Reading Siljeström, this is an argument for increased health, learning and discipline. At the same time, there was the influence of *Svenska Slöjdföreningen* (The Swedish Sloyd Society) formed in 1844. Svenska Slöjdföreingen had an expressed purpose to ensure that the high quality of craftsmanship was not lost when increasingly more work turned into mass-production. They saw that education could be a way of guaranteeing high-quality craftsmanship – even if they also feared that too much intellectual education could lead to instrumental mass-reading. Sloyd became the antidote. Compared with other countries, this elaborated vision of technical education was more successful in Sweden.[104] The amount of material related to Sloyd in these exhibits indicated the close relation between a particular kind of education – the *folkskola* (being neither too practical nor too theoretical) – and industrialisation. Sweden was recognised for its *folkskola*, considered as one of many purposeful forms of mass-education, serving the needs of a modern industry and a modern society rather than the church and patriarchal authorities. Aesthetic governing is a synoptic power that works through a distribution of the sensible and the dissemination of a compelling vision of the future.[105] In the case of the Swedish school exhibitions, we might call this the aesthetics of comprehensiveness and the cultivation of a popular desire for such a future.

Third, governing by aesthetics using exhibitions to disseminate ideals and exemplary objects for governing purposes is quite a balancing act between external and internal policy influences. Sweden chose to display material and objects that were not necessarily representative of the quality of Swedish education but of the ideal of the *folkskola*. Compared with other investigations of the effects of the World's Fairs on educational departments,[106] this article illustrates not only cultural transfer between different countries, but also the tension between a country's international self-image and its national self-image. In the effort of 'branding the nation' (and its education) abroad, there is always a risk that the claims will not hold up when reviewed in the homeland. In the case presented here, there might have been a conflict between two strategies to promote reforms – one based on a graceful ideal and one on a graceless reality. Progress and policy reforms can sometimes be understood in relation to this tension between an international and a national self-image. In Sweden, the National Building Plan for schoolhouse architecture started to have an impact on the building

103 Cf. Dittrich (2010).

104 Cf. Dittrich (2010).

105 Ghertner (2010); Ghertner (2011).

106 Dittrich (2010); Lawn (2008).

of new schoolhouses in the late nineteenth century.[107] The "fame" of the exhibitions probably had little to do with this, at least in a direct way. But it may have given the young nation-state the confidence to continue with its efforts.

The rise of the comprehensive and compulsory schools was aligned with the hope and ambition to construct a new kind of society, one that was technically advanced, orderly, hygienic and more egalitarian. Education could serve this society through its *form* and *content*. Today, there is often a stronger emphasis on comparability and statistical results than on content.[108] An important feature of the objects and schoolhouses at the World's fairs that really differentiated them from contemporary data about education is that they could be walked around (or even inside), studied closely and seen in relation to other things, from different angles. Therein lay much of their power.

107 Johannes Westberg, "Referring to International Examples, Adjusting to Local Realities: Swedish Nineteenth Century Rural Schoolhouses," *Bildungsgeschichte. International Journal for the Historiography of Education* 5, no. 1 (2015b), 25–40; Westberg (2015a).

108 Bernd, Zymek, "Nationale und internationale Standardisierungsprozesse in der Bildungsgeschichte. Das Deutsche Beispiel," *Jahrbuch für Historische Bildungsforschung*, Jg 13 (2007), 307-34; Bob Lingard and Shaun Rawolle, "New Scalar Politics: Implications for Education Policy," *Comparative Education* 47, no. 4 (2011), 489–502.

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Attempting Institutional Change: Swedish Apprenticeship, 1890–1917

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Abstract • Sweden never got an apprentice law after apprenticeship was de-regulated in 1864. This has been attributed to unified opposition to legislation from industry employers and trade unions, with the craft employers as the only advocates. Analysing the pattern of agreement and disagreement in the political struggle over apprenticeship in the Swedish case in 1890–1917, it is clear that opposition was not that uniform, nor was the support from the craft employers that undivided. This article makes use of Kathleen Thelen's model of institutional change in order to shed new light on the developments in Sweden. The model states that any apprentice law requires a coalition of two or more out of the state, the crafts and the metalworking industries – divided into employers and workers. Legislation, in turn, is a near requirement for the survival of strong apprenticeship. In this article the Swedish case will be discussed in relation to two of Thelen's cases, Germany and Great Britain. In Germany an apprentice law was passed in 1897, while in Great Britain no modern apprentice law was ever passed. Similarities can be found between both of these cases and the Swedish case.

Keywords • apprenticeship, training, skill, institutions, Sweden

Introduction

In the mid-1800s, freedom of trade was spreading throughout Europe, making entry into the crafts much easier than during the guild period. The concomitant de-regulation of apprenticeship caused dissatisfaction among European craft employers. Meanwhile, industry became a new training arena and new unions and employer organisations emerged with stakes in apprenticeship. In some countries, the state took an active interest in training and re-introduced legislation on apprenticeship.[1]

In a study of the institutions of modern, post-guild, apprenticeship in Germany, Great Britain, the United States and Japan, the political scientist Kathleen Thelen argues that all systematic regulation of apprenticeship must be supported by a coalition of actors. In Thelen's view the potential candidates for forming a coalition in the area of apprentice training are employer organisations, trade unions and the state. However, not all employer organisations or unions are equally likely to be interest-

1 Anders Nilsson, "From One Model to the Other: Swedish Vocational Education and Training in the Twentieth Century," in *Utbildningens sociala och kulturella historia: Meddelanden från den fjärde nordiska utbildningshistoriska konferensen*, ed. Esbjörn Larsson and Johannes Westberg (Uppsala: SEC, Uppsala University, 2010), 87; Kathleen Thelen, *How Institutions Evolve: The Political Economy of Skills in Germany, Britain, the United States, and Japan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), xii–xiii, 6, 31–33, 46, 106–7, 111–13, 116, 278, 286–89, 294–95; Lars Pettersson, *Är Danmark bättre än Sverige? Om dansk och svensk yrkesutbildning sedan industrialiseringen* (Malmö: Øi förlag, 2006), 12–14.

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ed in apprenticeship regulation, the level of knowledge-intensity of the production is often a decisive factor. Hence, employer and worker organisation within knowledge-intensive sectors, such as the crafts and the metalworking industries, are more likely to be interested in legal regulation of apprenticeship, while employers and workers within less skill-dependent industries are more likely to be disinterested. While coalitions support apprentice regulation, class conflict undermines it. Thelen avoids the power resources perspective, arguing against the idea that institutions always adjust to changes in power, instead she argues that purposive actors create institutions, but a gap may emerge between their intentions and the actual effects of the institution. Furthermore, power is less tangible and harder to study than interests, which may be explored in an analysis of political demands. Consequently, Thelen focuses on the latter.[2]

In Germany, a coalition between the state and the craft employers underlay the 1897 apprentice law. The 1897 reform gave craft employers the right to certify skills and created a conflict between craft and industry employers. The industry employers sought the same certification rights as the craft employer. Later, the law was expanded to include industry employers and workers' representatives. In Thelen's terms, the training was contested between craft and industry employers, meaning that there was conflict and rivalry between these two actors over how apprenticeship ought to be organised and controlled. In Great Britain, the conflict over training was between employers and workers. Trade-based craft unions tried to control training in order to limit the number of apprentices, thereby limiting the supply of skilled labour within their crafts, which in turn would strengthen the unions' position in collective bargaining. In the end the employers wrestled the control of training from the craft unions, defeating the unions' attempt at limiting the supply of skilled labour, but by then apprenticeship had become an area of class conflict. There was no coalition and no law.[3] In existing research, the Swedish industry employers and unions have been seen as opposed to apprenticeship legislation, while the craft employers were the only advocates. In this article, I argue that this image needs to be nuanced. I will explore the political demands of the Swedish actors involved in the conflict surrounding apprenticeship, between 1890 and 1917. The analysis will reveal the areas of agreement and disagreement between the actors.

The aim of the study is to contribute to the Swedish history of vocational training in a European perspective by nuancing the picture of why Sweden did not get an apprentice law during the investigated period. The study will answer these questions: To what degree was there agreement between the actors? What were the implications for institutional change in general and an apprentice law in particular? How does the outcome compare to the developments in Germany and Great Britain regarding coalition building?

Vocational training during the era of the Swedish guilds consisted of between three and six years of training that ended with a mandatory test. An additional test

2 Thelen (2004), xii–xiii, 6, 31–33, 46, 106–7, 111–13, 116, 278, 286–89, 294–95; Pepper D. Culpepper and Kathleen Thelen, "Institutions and Collective Actors in the Provision of Training: Historical and Cross-National Comparisons," in *Skill Formation: Interdisciplinary and Cross-National Perspectives*, ed. Karl Ulrich Mayer and Heike Solga (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 25–26, 29, 43.

3 Thelen (2004), 39–40, 43–47.

was thereafter required to become a master. In 1846, local mandatory associations of all craft producers, regardless of trade, replaced the guilds. The associations oversaw the still mandatory master examinations and the now voluntary apprentice test. In 1864, freedom of trade was introduced. The employer, the apprentice and his/her legal guardian could now freely agree on the terms of training. The associations, unlike the guilds, were allowed to remain in voluntary form.[4]

The Swedish craft employers wanted an apprentice law and the period 1890–1917 is key to understanding why no law was passed. The craft employers' objections to de-regulated training were not new, but in the 1890s they got the issue onto the political agenda and into parliament. Meanwhile, unions and employer organisations emerged. Throughout the period there was a transition in the labour market from a patriarchal system to a system of collective bargaining, with both co-existing for a long time. Training was sometimes covered by collective bargaining.[5]

Apprenticeship is a long-term cost-sharing agreement, with both educational and economic elements. The employer agrees to train the apprentice in a broad set of skills and the apprentice agrees to work for a low training wage for an extended period of time. Apprenticeships, obviously, involves risks. Employers can, for example, exploit apprentices as a cheap labour, demanding more work at the expense of training. At the end of the training period, when the gap is widest between their training wages and the wages of skilled workers, apprentices may also leave for a job with higher wages. Other employers may also poach half-trained apprentices. Certification, tests, formal contracts and poaching bans can minimise cheating and can operate through norms, formal contracts or collective bargaining, but the most effective way to control cheating is by law.[6]

Specific ways of organising apprenticeship may benefit one or both of the parties. Long indentures (*lärlingskontrakt*) mainly benefit the employers. They have longer to recuperate their training investment and get secure access to cheap labour. Trade-based craft unions may nevertheless push for long indentures, as it limits competition in the labour market and consequently strengthens the unions' positions. On the other hand, unions may seek shorter training periods as a way to limit the risk of apprentices being exploited as a source of cheap labour. Regulation of the number of apprentices can have both of these favourable effects for the unions, simultaneously limiting competition in the labour market and making it harder to exploit apprentice. Tests can benefit both parties and make it harder to cheat, resulting in a qualification for the worker and functioning as a control of the training offered by the employer. Tests also make it easier for employers to recruit apprentices. It is sometimes obvious that a particular way of organising training benefits either the employers or the workers. However, in many cases, the question of who benefits is dependent upon the historically specific situation and strategies of the actors. By studying the political demands of the actors I will reveal these historically specific aspects of the Swedish apprentice debate.

4 Folke Lindberg, *Hantverk och skråväsen under medeltid och äldre vasatid* (Stockholm: Prisma, 1964), 78–80, 82–83, 87; Tom Söderberg, *Hantverkarna i brytningstid: 1820–1870* (Stockholm: Vasatryckeriet, 1955), 88–100.

5 Christer Lundh, *Spelets regler: Institutioner och lönebildning på den svenska arbetsmarknaden 1850–2010* (Stockholm: SNS förlag, 2010), 81–2.

6 Nilsson (2010), 87; Thelen (2004), 17–19, 46, 70–71, 106–7, 111–13, 116.

From an institutional perspective 1890–1917 was a time period of small, partly incremental, changes concerning the regulation of apprenticeship, but relatively intense debate of more ambitious institutional changes, mainly in the shape of legal regulation. In 1890, Swedish apprenticeship was supported by norms and the craft associations' voluntary tests. In 1917, three official enquiries had failed to produce an apprentice law. The number of tests was falling. Regulation of training through collective bargaining had emerged. Limited state financial support had been instituted. Very soon afterwards, in 1918, a system of part-time theoretical vocational schools was introduced. The schools were meant to complement, not replace, apprenticeship. This study covers the attempts at institutional change in the area of apprentice training, the support and opposition to the different ways of regulating training and the outcome of the political struggle over apprenticeship.

Method and sources

My analysis in this article is inspired by Thelen's approach. Thelen studied post-guild apprenticeship in Germany, Great Britain, the United States and Japan. The broader aim of her work was to understand the emergence and evolution of the institutions that regulate skill production. In three of the cases, Thelen focused on the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, while in the German case her time period extended further towards the present.

My study differs from Thelen's in a number of ways. Her account is based largely on secondary literature, while this study is mainly based on primary sources that are subjected to qualitative text analysis. This article covers a shorter time period and lacks the comparative scope of Thelen's work.

The disadvantage of the more limited scope of this article is that the results do not lend themselves to the creation of an explanatory model in the same way that Thelen's wider study did, though the addition of the Swedish case can illustrate the variations of the political dynamics in the early years of modern skill regimes. On the other hand, the closer focus on the Swedish case as well as the use of primary sources and qualitative text analysis enables a closer look at the argumentation of the actors and greater focus on agreement and disagreement as underlying factors in coalition building. This, in turn, brings to light the role of the specific *content* of the proposed solutions to the problems plaguing apprenticeship.[7]

The sources utilised in this study are parliamentary materials, official enquiries and consultations. Some of these source materials have certainly been neglected. During the investigated time period a number of specific proposals and drafts of apprentice legislation were presented. The first was an 1893 craft employer draft. Later drafts, proposals and enquiry reports were produced by state committees and published in 1900, 1909, 1910, 1911 and 1913. Here, the 1911 report is treated together with the 1913 draft, for which it mostly laid down the groundwork. The first official state enquiry, from 1900, has previously received little attention. The report was neither published, nor archived, by the state, but a copy in full was published as an offprint of *Handtverks- och industri-tidning*.[8]

The parliamentary materials originate from an 1895 decision to investigate the

7 Thelen (2004), 5, 31–33.

8 *Lärlingsfrågan inför regeringen* (Stockholm: Iduns kungliga boktryckeri, 1900).

question of apprentice legislation and a 1917 decision to institute limited state financial support for apprentice training. The relatively heated 1895 debate in the second chamber of parliament has been under-utilised in previous research.

The craft employers, the main advocates of legislation, are studied in more depth through periodicals and minutes from annual meetings. This allows me to follow the debate continuously, but it is important to keep in mind that the analysis of the craft employers is more thoroughly supported than that of the other actors. In particular, the sources produced by the craft employers include an inside view that can reveal issues of cohesion and strategy, while for the other actors the sources are limited to external communications.

Unions and industry employers are covered through consultations before the 1900 report and after the 1909 and 1913 reports. This material does not, in general, allow me to follow the same organisation over time. For the 1900 consultation we do not have access to a list of replies and there is not much overlap between the replies in the 1909 and 1913 consultations. Original replies are available only for the 1913 consultation; the other sources are summaries. In 1900, the large, national organisations for industry employers did not exist, and it is likely that no effort was made to include industry; the law was meant for the crafts only, as was the 1909 draft. Apart from mechanical engineering, the only replies from industry employers are from the 1913 consultation.

Previous research

Previous studies of Swedish apprenticeship have often covered both education and training over long time periods. The brunt of research has been devoted to later periods; a common starting point is the 1918 and 1921 vocational school reforms. The disproportionate attention paid to schools, even when apprenticeship was more common, may be connected to the dominance of schools from the 1950s onwards.[9] This study of the period 1890–1917 consequently covers a neglected period of Swedish apprenticeship.

Nevertheless, some blanks of this research field have already been filled. The economic historian Anders Nilsson has, for example estimated the number of apprentices between 1850 and 1910. The economic historian Fay Lundh Nilsson has studied the value placed on training and the proportion of apprentices in the engineering industry around 1900. The historian Tom Söderberg offers some description of apprenticeship at the turn of the century and, while writing the history of the craft sector in general and *Sveriges handtverksorganisation* in particular, he touches on the craft employers' stances in the politics of skill formation.[10]

9 Peter Håkansson and Anders Nilsson, ed., *Yrkesutbildningens formering i Sverige 1940–1975* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2013); Jonas Olofsson, *Svensk yrkesutbildning: Vägval i internationell belysning* (Stockholm: SNS förlag, 2005); Jonas Olofsson and Eskil Wadensjö, *Lärlingsutbildning: Ett återkommande bekymmer eller en oprövad möjlighet?* (Stockholm: Finansdepartementet, Regeringskansliet, 2006); Pettersson (2006); Lisbeth Lundahl, *Efter svensk modell: LO, SAF och utbildningspolitiken 1944–90* (Umeå: Boréa, 1997).

10 Anders Nilsson, *Yrkesutbildningen i Sverige 1850–1910* (Uppsala: Föreningen för svensk undervisningshistoria, 2008); Fay Lundh Nilsson, *Lönande lärande: Teknologisk förändring, yrkesskicklighet och lön i svensk verkstadsindustri omkring 1900* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2007), 79, 96, 101–5, 144–46, 152, 159, 183–84, 187, 192–93; Tom Söderberg, *Hantverkarna i genombrottsskedet 1870–1920* (Stockholm: Vasatryckeriet, 1965).

This study is not the first to cover institutional change regarding apprenticeship, though it is the first to cover the time period between 1890 and 1917 in depth. Nilsson argues that Sweden has changed skill regimes repeatedly. Nilsson utilises a set of ideal types to describe these shifts. The British ideal type is a liberal, market-based system with no apprentice law and no national system of vocational schools. The French ideal type is a statist system, heavily dependent on vocational schools, while the German ideal type is a system of strong apprenticeship supported by apprentice legislation combined with vocational schools. Nilsson argues that the Swedish system before 1918 was similar to the British, unregulated model because craft and industry employers were unable to combine their interests. However, Nilsson only hints at the reasons behind this inability to agree, stating that the craft employers were worried about apprentice recruitment and the unions were suspicious of apprenticeship. The historian Ingrid Lindell, while studying vocational school reforms, mentions that the 1913 apprentice law failed due to widespread disagreement in the consultation. Lindell never clarifies who was disagreeing with whom, or what the disagreement consisted of.[11]

The economic historian Lars Pettersson uses the concept 'production regimes' to explain the divergence of the Swedish and Danish systems, with smaller, craft firms in Denmark and larger, industrial ones in Sweden. In his view, Swedish industry had the power to shape the skill system and the unions were united with them in opposing an apprentice law. The opinions of those employer and worker organisations that were at times more positive towards apprentice legislation have been left out by Pettersson. The political scientists Michael Dobbins and Marius R. Busemeyer, analysing the same two cases, agree and add that the Swedish craft sector was weak and unable to build on its guild traditions or to offer a viable alternative to mass production. In their description of the time around the turn of the century they mention the vocational schools, but ignore training.[12]

Other scholars have studied the turn of the century politics of vocational schools. A diverse set of lower technical evening and Sunday schools that supplied basic theoretical education emerged in the nineteenth century. In 1918 a reform created a national system of part-time, theoretical vocational schools as a complement to training. Lindell argues that the aim of the 1918 reform was to increase skills and improve worker discipline. The reform was supported by a coalition of craft and industry employers, teachers, the state, conservatives, liberals and social democrats. The educational researcher Anders Hedman adds that industry employers were only briefly interested in skills in the 1910s, while craft employers had a continuous interest in skills. The unions were disinterested in the vocational schools. A 1921 reform added full-time workshop schools that replaced apprenticeships for a smaller num-

11 Nilsson (2010), 86–92; Nilsson (2008), 120-123; Ingrid Lindell, *Disciplinering och yrkesutbildning: Reformarbetet bakom 1918 års praktiska ungdomsskolereform* (Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, 1993), 35, 38–40.

12 Lars Pettersson, "Därför valde Sverige en annan väg än Danmark," in Håkansson and Nilsson, ed., (2013), 155–167, 178–181; Michael Dobbins and Marius R. Busemeyer, "Socio-Economic Institutions, Organized Interests and Partisan Politics: The Development of Vocational Education in Denmark and Sweden," *Socio-Economic Review* 13, no. 2 (2015), 269–70, 276–77. For further discussion of the importance of the size of firms in relation to different institutions of vocational education and training see: Pepper D. Culpepper, "Small States and Skill Specificity: Austria, Switzerland, and Interemployer Cleavages in Coordinated Capitalism," *Comparative Political Studies* 40, no. 6 (2007).

ber of students. They were precursors to the full-time schools that began to dominate Swedish skill formation in the 1950s and 1960s, but such school dominance was neither the intention nor the immediate outcome of the reforms. Nilsson states that the 1918 reform can be seen as half of a German system, with the other half, an apprentice law, missing. But the interwar period is hard to categorise. Since the 1950s Sweden has been seen as 'statist', like France.[13] It is clear that regarding the vocational schools a broad coalition, capable of driving institutional change, was formed. Why then was there no coalition for the other side of skill formation, that is, apprentice training?

As evident from above, existing research has largely focused conflicts and opposition to apprentice legislation, but is this the full picture? From 1924 and onwards, industry employers and unions did oppose legislation, but was this true pre-1920? And was Sweden in 1890–1917 already dominated by large, mass-producing, low-skill industrial enterprises in general and their employer organisation, *Svenska arbetsgifvareföreningen* (SAF), in particular? Here, the views vary and it is useful to apply Thelen's distinction between knowledge-intensive sectors (new and old) such as crafts and mechanical engineering (most of it, at least), and less skill-dependent industries such as sawmills, textiles and paper mills. Moreover, SAF was only one of several key employer organisations.[14]

Theoretical framework and the Swedish case in a European perspective

In a European perspective this study adds a case study of training in a country in which apprenticeship was still, but later ceased to be, the dominant form of skill formation in manufacturing. Much attention has been devoted to cases of 'collective' systems such as Denmark and Germany, where apprenticeship remained dominant. These states introduced new laws around the time period of this study. Most countries lacking apprentice laws did not develop collective systems, and have received less attention; training in particular in such countries is less researched compared to vocational schools. The Swedish case will contribute to the understanding of the requirements for an apprentice law and illustrate some institutions, which developed in its place.[15]

Sweden is also an interesting case against the background of research that has emphasised path dependency. The often utilised ideal types of Germany's dual system, combining apprenticeship with vocational schools, Great Britain's liberal system

13 Lindell (1993), 35–36, 46, 71–72, 211–12, 214–28; Anders Hedman, *I nationens och det praktiska livets tjänst: Det svenska yrkesskolesystemets tillkomst och utveckling 1918 till 1940* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2001), 40, 54–55, 241–44; Olofsson (2005), 43–45, 51, 54–55, 238–40; Nilsson (2010), 90–95.

14 Hedman (2001), 41, 246; Dobbins and Busemeyer (2015), 269–70, 276–77; Lennart Erixon, *The Golden Age of the Swedish Model: The Coherence between Capital Accumulation and Economic Policy in Sweden in the Early Postwar Period* (Stockholm: Stockholm University, Department of Economics, 1997), 18; Lars Magnusson, *An Economic History of Sweden* (London: Routledge, 2000), 121–23, 138; Tom Ericsson, *Mellan kapital och arbete: Småborgerligheten i Sverige 1850–1914* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 1988), 14–15, 20, 74–77, 169–70. Anders Kjellberg, "Arbetsgivarstrategier i Sverige under 100 år", in *Arbejdsgivere i Norden: En sociologisk analyse af arbejdsgiverorganiseringen i Norge, Sverige, Finland og Danmark*, ed. Carsten Strøby Jensen and Anders Kjellberg (København: Nordisk Ministerråd, 2001), 164–66.

15 Marius R. Busemeyer and Christine Trampusch, ed., *The Comparative Political Economy of Collective Skill Formation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 164–66, 168–69.

with little state involvement, and France's statist, school-based system are thought to be heavily path-dependent. In that regard, Sweden's lack of path dependency stands out.[16]

In the previous international research on different skill systems, a frequently used framework is that of varieties of capitalism (VoC). It connects institutions of vocational education and training to a broader set of complementary institutions that together constitutes a particular type of capitalist society. Strong apprenticeship is, for example, often combined with strong employer organisations and unions, extensive social insurance systems and long-term financial arrangements. This type of society is called a CME, a coordinated market economy. The other main variety of capitalism is called a liberal market economy, a LME, and is characterised by a heavier dependence on markets. Usually apprenticeship is weak in LMEs. Sweden is considered to be a CME, but is not characterised by strong apprenticeship. Hence, from a VoC standpoint it is interesting to pose the question of why Sweden did not get an apprentice law.[17]

The theoretical framework of this article is Thelen's model of the emergence of institutions supporting apprenticeship. Thelen argues that the regulation of training needs to be supported by political coalitions between two or more actors, such as employer organisations, labour unions and the state. Actors in knowledge-intensive sectors of the economy are more likely to be interested in training than actors in less skill-intensive sectors. Coalitions between actors are a requirement for comprehensive regulation and regulation, in turn, is necessary for the survival of strong apprenticeship. Thelen, independently and with the political scientist Pepper D. Culpepper, has also identified class conflict as particularly detrimental to apprenticeship. Furthermore, state actions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century play an important role in their analysis, especially in those cases where the employers are divided on the issue of apprenticeship. The state treatment of the craft sector, the traditional arena for apprentice training, is key. In Germany, the state chose to favour the craft employers rather than the industry employers, as a way to stem class conflict brought on by industrialisation. The state allowed the craft guilds to remain in voluntary form, preserving an organisational platform for the craft employers. An apprentice law for the crafts was passed in 1897 and chambers of craft employers (of all trades) were given parapublic authority to oversee skill certification. Training became contested between crafts and industry due to the actions of the state. In contrast, in Great Britain the guilds were dissolved by the state, weakening the craft employers. The craft workers on the other hand formed strong trade-based craft un-

16 Wolf-Dietrich Greinert, *Mass Vocational Education and Training in Europe: Classical Models of the 19th Century and Training in England, France and Germany during the First Half of the 20th* (Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2005); Torben Iversen and John D. Stephens, "Partisans Politics, the Welfare State, and Three Worlds of Human Capital Formation," *Comparative Political Studies* 40, no. 4/5, (2008); David Ashton, Johnny Sung and Jill Turbin, "Towards a Framework for Comparative Analysis of National Systems of Skill Formation," *International Journal of Training and Development* 4, no. 1, (2000), 8–25.

17 Peter A. Hall and David Soskice, "An Introduction to Varieties of Capitalism," in *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*, ed. Peter Hall and David Soskice (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 9–12, 18, 25–27; Marius R. Busemeyer and Janis Vossiek, "Global Convergence or Path Dependency? Skill Formation Regimes in the Globalized Economy," in *The Handbook of Global Education Policy*, ed. Karen Mundy et al. (Hoboken: John Wiley and Sons, 2016), 147–49; Culpepper (2007), 612–14, 631; Thelen (2004), 2–4.

ions and tried to control the supply of skilled labour by controlling training, which the employers strongly opposed. Class conflict was a fact, with training contested between unions and employers, and there was no legal regulation of apprenticeship. Eventually the employers defeated the union control of training and centralised collective bargaining grew influential, but the employers refused to include apprenticeship in the central agreements.[18]

The analysis in this article of why Sweden did not get an apprentice law between 1890 and 1917 is inspired by Thelen's research. Accordingly, I will pay special attention to the key factors identified by Thelen, that is, state treatment of the craft sector in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the positions on regulation of training of employers and unions in skill-dependent and less skill-dependent sectors of the economy and whether or not there was class conflict over apprenticeship. In doing so an atypical case will be added to the international research into vocational education and training systems.

The actors

The actors that had an impact on the issue of apprenticeships in Sweden between 1890 and 1917 were the employer organisations of the crafts, mechanical engineering and large, industrial companies as well as the labour unions and the state.

The craft employers' voluntary associations grew into a national organisation of both craft associations and trade-based employer organisations. In 1905, the organisation split into two. *Centrala arbetsgifvareförbundet* (CA) became the employer organisation and the labour market party of the building trades and crafts. *Sveriges handtverksorganisation* (SHO) housed the craft associations and was to promote the general craft interests, such as skill formation, but still consisted only of employers. In 1910, industry employers created a similar organisation, *Sveriges industriförbund*. *Sveriges arbetsgifvareförening* (SAF), representing employers in large-scale industry, was formed in 1902. The same year, the employers within mechanical engineering formed *Sveriges verkstadsförening* (VF). Perhaps the fragmentation of the employer organisations was due to different strategies. Both SAF and VF, representing large-scale industry employers and mechanical engineering employers, saw the limited resources of the small firms as a liability to mutual strike insurance (an early SAF strategy) and lockouts. The small craft employers in CA, on the other hand, did not want strike insurance and were in general less aggressive towards the unions.[19]

The unions were less fragmented. A national, peak-level organisation of the unions, *Landsorganisationen* (LO), was formed in 1898. In 1907 the unionisation level was about 30%, but after the 1909 general strike it took LO ten years to recuperate in terms of members and strike funds. Skilled craft workers formed trade-based unions in the late 1800s, and in the early 1900s unskilled workers followed suit. In 1912, LO argued that the unions ought to be industry-based rather than trade-based, with all the employees of a firm in the same union, to increase their clout and unity, but between 1890 and 1917 the unions were mainly trade-based, especially in the crafts.[20]

18 Culpepper and Thelen (2008), 25–26, 29, 43; Thelen (2004), xi, 20–23, 39–47, 92–93, 100–2, 109–10, 145–47.

19 Söderberg (1965), 172–224; Kjellberg (2001), 164–66, 170.

20 Lundh (2010), 88–98.

Parliament in 1895 – three camps

In 1895, when two members of the second chamber of the Swedish parliament (MPs) presented, on behalf of the craft employers, a motion on an apprentice law for the crafts, the positions of the Swedish politicians can be divided into three camps. The first camp consisted of those MPs who sought a strict apprentice law in line with the wishes of the craft employers. The second camp of MPs agreed that there was a need for an apprentice law, but sought a looser, less coercive form of legislation; a parliamentary committee that processed the motion ahead of the debate also belonged to this camp. The third camp did not want any legal regulation of training and saw the free mutual agreement as a sufficient means of organising apprenticeship.

The opinions of the first camp can be found in the 1895 motion, which also included an 1893 craft employer draft of a law.[21] This 1893 draft, and the 1895 motion, called for an official enquiry into an apprentice law with mandatory contracts and tests, certification by craft associations and a five-year maximum indenture, but no ban on using apprentices for tasks outside of the trade. The local craft associations tried to influence the outcome of the debate by sending letters to their local MPs in support of the motion. Several such letters were mentioned or read out loud in the parliamentary debate.[22]

However, the matter is further complicated by the fact that when one of the co-authors, Andersson from Malmö,[23] presented the motion in parliament, he softened the demands in the face of earlier criticism. He argued that the enquiry could decide on a suitable maximum indenture instead of the five-year maximum requested in the motion and the tests did not have to be mandatory; instead, the voluntary tests could be strengthened. Andersson's new version became the rallying point of the motion-friendly MPs in the 1895 parliamentary debate. They talked of apprentices running away, bad training and inactive, unsupervised youths and argued that their type of law would control the abuses of both the employer and the apprentice and create better incentives, thereby increasing skills and upholding the crafts in competition with industry.[24]

The second camp consisted of a parliamentary committee and a set of like-minded members of parliament. The parliamentary committee agreed that an enquiry into regulation of the rights and responsibilities of the employer and apprentice was needed, but countered with an outline of a more limited law. This limited law was to *encourage* examination through a legal framework, but the committee did not want more than three years of indenture and they were deeply opposed to mandatory tests, fearing a slippery slope towards skill-based licensing for all craft employers, like the guild system. The committee wanted a Danish system with widely used voluntary tests, and a ban on using apprentices for tasks outside of the trade had to be included. This proposal passed (having narrowly avoided outright rejection). The first chamber of parliament then approved the decision from the second chamber

21 Overall, the 1895 motion in parliament is in line with the content of the 1893 craft employer draft, hence they are treated together here.

22 Motion, 2nd chamber, 1895, no. 164. Minutes, 2nd chamber, 1895 no. 26, 41, 45–47, 49–50, 54–56; Minutes, 2nd chamber, 1895, no. 27, 1–3, 6, 9, 11, 13–14, 20.

23 Co-author with Larsson, Uppsala.

24 Minutes, 2nd chamber, 1895, no. 26, 41–47, 49–51, 54–56; Minutes, 2nd chamber, 1895, no. 27, 1, 5–6, 11–15, 20, 30–32.

without debate. The subsequent official enquiry was assigned the task of drafting a law that encouraged tests without impairing freedom of trade.[25]

The third camp of MPs in the second chamber of parliament deemed even the position of the parliamentary committee to be too invasive. Instead this camp preferred the free mutual agreement, combined with the existing employment law. This law recognised voluntary apprentice contracts (three years maximum) and included a ban on using workers for tasks outside of the trade. All workers were supposed to be able to attend trade schools, though the impact of this regulation was limited. There was no guarantee of on-the-job training. However, actual agreements, even on the length of indenture, were rare and the three-year maximum was ignored; most trades had four years of training. Still, many MPs were pleased with the status quo. They thought that the skill level was high enough and that the law would only increase the employers' misuse of apprentices. The free agreement – "*det fria aftalet*"[26] – was their leitmotif. Increased coercion would discourage youths from joining the crafts and drive them to the factories; it was best to mimic the liberal labour markets of Great Britain and the United States. Interestingly, this opinion was strong in parliament, but marginalised among employer and worker organisations in the consultations. However, Hahn, one of these MPs, later became chairman of a craft association, indicating disagreement among the craft employers.[27]

The first enquiry – union opposition

As a first step, following the 1895 parliamentary decision to perform an official enquiry into apprentice legislation, the government chose to conduct a consultation on the motion of 1895 (including the 1893 craft employer draft) and the parliamentary committee´s statement of 1895. In this case, unlike the later ones, the consultation preceded the enquiry. In the 1900 report that summarised the replies, the main questions was whether or not different organisations thought there was a need for legal regulation of apprenticeship within the crafts or not. And, if so, which specific regulations might be called for to structure apprentice training. Among the replies there was a dividing line between employers and workers, 50 employer organisations, 40 employers and three unions supported the idea of an apprentice law, while 67 unions opposed it. However, it is noteworthy that the unions had partially been consulted on the 1893 draft that reflected the employers' interests.[28]

Nearly all proponents of apprentice legislation, that is, for the most part, the employers, wanted regulations in line with the 1893 craft draft, such as mandatory contracts of a maximum of five years. There was disagreement on mandatory tests, but

25 Minutes, 2nd chamber, 1895 no. 26, 46, 51–54; Minutes, 2nd chamber, 1895 no. 27, 1–3, 8–9, 11, 12, 18–20, 24–25; 2nd chamber, 1895, temporary committee no. 4, statement no. 15; Minutes, 1st chamber, 1895 no. 33, 55.

26 Minutes, 2nd chamber, 1895 no. 27, 8, 12, 24.

27 Minutes, 2nd chamber, 1895 no. 27, 3–9, 12, 15–18, 20–30, 33–34; 2nd chamber, 1895, temporary committee no. 4, statement no. 15, 10–11; *Förslag till lag om vissa lärlingsaftal* (Stockholm: Isaac Marcus' boktryckeri-aktiebolag, 1909), 73; "Hahn, släkter," *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, 760–61. See also: Lundh (2010), 61–62.

28 *Lärlingsfrågan inför regeringen* (1900), 3–6; Söderberg (1965), 174, 178–80, 204; Centralstyrelsen för Sveriges handtverks-och industriföreningar, *Årsberättelse och protokoll med bilagor* (Stockholm: Andréns boktryckeri-aktiebolag, 1896), 9–10. See also: *Förslag till lag om vissa lärlingsaftal* (1909), 50–53.

some of it was illusory, as those who favoured voluntary tests did so because they were seen as more politically viable. Some wanted the test to be a requirement, a license, for all craft firms (to be fulfilled by the employer or an employee). The mandatory tests were seen as an incentive to learn and verified both the apprentice's skill and the employer's training.[29]

The opponents to legal regulation of apprenticeship, the 67 unions, saw legislation as unnecessary, even harmful, and unable to raise the skill level or uphold the crafts. The most outspoken opponent, a trade union from Gothenburg, *Göteborgs arbetareförening*, argued that it would even harm the craft employers in the competition with industry, while also subjecting them to costly obligations. Furthermore, legislation was likely to have a negative impact on the workers, according to *Göteborgs arbetareförening*. Erring employers probably would not be punished. Instead, vocational schools ought to be combined with skills acquired just by working. Many unions agreed, but had further concerns; apprentices could be used as strike breakers and employers might hire too many apprentices. If there was a law, they wanted regulation of the ratio of apprentices to skilled workers. Lastly, many unions opposed extending the indenture, as the increasing specialisation within the craft trades ought to lead to shorter training periods rather than longer ones.[30]

After the consultation a committee from the Board of Trade and Commerce (*Kommerskollegium*), a state agency, summarised the results in a 1900 report and outlined a law. The committee argued that a law was needed for the advancement of skill and for upholding the crafts. Current skill formation was insufficient. The committee wanted mandatory contracts, a five-year maximum indenture and a ban on poaching apprentices. They proposed voluntary tests, but the majority of the committee from the Board of Trade and Commerce wanted the test to be a criterion for at least the right to train apprentices or, preferably, to run a craft firm – just the type of licensing parliament wanted to avoid. The committee argued that freedom of trade was still guaranteed, as unlicensed employers could employ licensed workers. New state agencies would oversee the tests. Craft associations, but not unions, could elect members to the new agencies. To guard against employer misuse, the committee from the Board of Trade and Commerce wanted to limit the number of apprentices per employer and to ban using apprentices for tasks outside of the trade. The test was seen as a way to check the quality of the training. An employer who had broken contracts twice would lose the right to train apprentices.[31]

Two members of the committee from the Board of Trade and Commerce argued, in a reservation, that the majority had gone too far – the proposal *did* impair freedom of trade. Furthermore, the employers just wanted cheap labour and would not submit to the responsibilities and it was apparent that the law went against the workers' interests from their many objections. The authors of the reservation saw vocational schools as a more modern approach.[32]

29 *Lärlingsfrågan inför regeringen* (1900), 4–6.

30 *Lärlingsfrågan inför regeringen* (1900), 6–7; Söderberg (1965), 204; Tage Lindbom, *Den svenska fackföreningsrörelsens uppkomst och tidigare historia 1872–1900* (Stockholm: Tiden, 1938), 323–27.

31 *Lärlingsfrågan inför regeringen* (1900), 13–27; Söderberg (1965), 204.

32 *Lärlingsfrågan inför regeringen* (1900), 27–28. The two committee members who submitted the reservation were Rehbinder and Malmén, both of them held high positions within the Board of Trade and Commerce.

The 1900 report was never subject to consultation, but it is possible to compare the committee's outline of a law with the opinions of the actors as stated in the consultation that preceded the enquiry and with what is known of the response to the 1900 report. The proposal of 1900 matched most of the craft employers' wishes: licensing, mandatory contracts, longer maximum indenture and some influence for the craft associations. They had also been in contact with the committee from the Board of Trade and Commerce, before the 1900 report was finished, pushing for mandatory tests and licensing. However, the state did not enter into an alliance with the craft employers. It may have been that the union opposition made presenting the law in parliament politically difficult. The economic historian Christer Lundh points out that the state in Sweden was unusually neutral towards the unions and refrained from passing anti-union laws. In addition, the sociologist Anders Kjellberg argues that the Swedish political right was fragmented at this time and, for the most part, unable to pass labour market regulations. The public and the press were also relatively union-friendly.[33] The support in parliament for the 1900 proposal was consequently likely to be weak, especially since the 1900 proposal for an apprentice law went far beyond the 1895 parliamentary decision.

The historian Tage Lindbom argues that the unions were, in general, positive towards apprentice regulation, but disliked the specific content of the proposal. However, it is unclear which proposal this refers to, the motion and the parliamentary statement of 1895 that were sent out in the consultation, or the 1900 report of the committee from the Board of Trade and Commerce. Lindbom states that the interests of the unions – limiting entry into the trades and preventing exploitation – had been neglected. This, in turn, implies that he is discussing the union response to the consultation materials, and perhaps, in particular, the 1893 craft employer draft that was included therein, which did not address the key union issues. The 1893 craft employer draft lacked both a ban on using the apprentices for tasks outside of the trade and limits on the number of apprentices per employer, for example. However, the committee´s proposal of 1900 did, to a larger extent, take the union concerns into account and included both of these regulations. Circulating the 1893 craft employer draft may therefore have damaged the law's chances. When the 1900 report, with its more worker-friendly regulations, was published, the union opposition was documented right next to the proposal.[34]

The political process described above can be interpreted in Thelen's terms: in 1900, Swedish apprentice legislation was contested between craft employers and craft unions, judging from the pattern of disagreement. The position of the industry employers is harder to determine, since their view is not included in the material. The proposal of 1900 was only for the crafts and the large industry employer organisations had not been formed in 1900. There is some indication that, in 1903 the employers in mechanical engineering (VF), were positive towards a law, but doubted its chances.[35]

33 "Årsberättelse," *Handtverks- och industri-tidning*, July 31, 1900a; "Lärlingsfrågans behandling och nuvarande ståndpunkt i Sverige samt i förening därmed betygsfrågan," *Handtverks- och industri-tidning*, August 3, 1900b. Though the craft employers wanted to keep control of the tests: "En lärlingslag," *Handtverks- och industri-tidning*, November 27, 1900c. Lundh (2010), 87–88; Kjellberg (2001), 164.

34 Lindbom (1938), 326.

35 "Lagstiftning eller ej," *Handtverks- och industri-tidning*, October 30, 1903.

The craft employers pushed for implementation of the 1900 proposal, but with increasing resignation. In 1903, one board member said that the public viewed the proposal "as an expression of despicable class legislation"[36] favouring the employers. Meanwhile, *Sveriges handtverksorganisation* (SHO), the national organisation of craft employers, took other forms of action and managed to standardise the diplomas, medals and premiums of the tests to some degree among the local craft associations that performed the tests. However, SHO fared less well with standardisation of execution and content of the examinations. The impact of the tests remains unclear. They were becoming a marginal tradition, but Söderberg argues that numbers alone do not show their significance; the grades and rewards could spur ambition and decrease the risk of apprentices leaving ahead of time. Still, the craft employers, the 1895 parliament and the 1900 report saw them as insufficient.[37]

While apprentice legislation was being debated, collective bargaining agreements, sometimes with training regulations, became more common. Due to the union opposition to the law, collective bargaining seemed, to some, a more realistic way to regulate training. The minister of finance was reported to have said so in 1904. There were similar opinions among the craft employers, though most were hoping for a law. The employers in mechanical engineering, *Sveriges verkstadsförening* (VF), showed some interest in collective bargaining on training, but after one failed attempt in 1904–1905 they seem to have favoured one-sided employer regulations.[38]

As a result, and despite the lack of progress on a political level regarding apprentice legislation, regulation of training, by a different route, that is, through collective bargaining, expanded, albeit from a very low level. By 1909, apprentice rules were found in 316 collective bargaining agreements; 199 had very limited rules, and 117 were slightly more ambitious. However, widespread systematic regulation existed only in 10 areas, all of them of craft origin.[39] Still, collective bargaining had become a way to systematically regulate apprenticeship.

36 Minutes, central board, April 6 1903, A1:1, Sveriges handtverksorganisation (SHO), Riksarkivet (RA).

37 Sveriges handtverksorganisation, *Handlingar vid Sveriges handtverksorganisations ordinarie årsmöte i Kristianstad den 29–30 juli 1907* (Kristianstad: Föreningen nya boktryckeriet, 1907), 42–43; Minutes, annual meeting, 1905, A3:1, SHO, RA, 11–12; Minutes, annual meeting, appendix M, 1906, A3:2, SHO, RA, 13–14; Minutes, annual meeting, appendix A, T, U, 1906, A3:2, SHO, RA; Sveriges handtverksorganisation (1907), 5–7, 88; Sveriges handtverksorganisation, *Handlingar vid Sveriges handtverksorganisations ordinarie årsmöte i Norrköping den 27–28 juli 1906* (Kristianstad: Föreningen nya boktryckeriet, 1906), 23–25; Söderberg (1965), 204, 268–69, 272.

38 Minutes, annual meeting, 1906, A3:2, SHO, RA, 13–14; Sveriges handtverksorganisation (1907), 6–7, 42–46; Henning Elmquist, *Åtgärder för ordnande af lärlingsväsendet inom det svenska handtverket: En sammanfattande redogörelse* (Kristianstad: Sveriges handtverksorganisation, 1906), 18; *Handtverks- och industri-tidning* (1903); Jan O. Berg, *På spaning efter svensk modell: Idéer och vägval i arbetsgivarpolitiken 1897–1909* (Enebyberg: Berg Bild Rum & Färg Förlag, 2011), 123–24, 131–34, 143. In the craft employers' view, the minister supported a law, but worried about its effectiveness: "Lagstiftning eller organisation," *Handtverks- och industri-tidning*, October 23, 1904a; "Cirkulär," *Handtverks- och industri-tidning*, January 22, 1904b; "Sveriges målaremästareförening," *Handtverks- och industri-tidning*, February 19, 1904c.

39 *Betänkande med förslag till lag om vissa lärlingsavtal I: Allmänna grunder* (Stockholm: Isaac Marcus' boktryckeri-aktiebolag, 1911), 14–15, 18; *Förslag till lag om vissa lärlingsaftal* (1909), 54–60.

The second enquiry – divided employers, silent unions

In 1904 the craft employers in SHO began to call for a new draft of an apprentice law for the crafts with mandatory contracts, a skill-based license for those who trained apprentices, a ban on poaching apprentices, mandatory tests, and set forms of arbitration and sanctions. They thought it likely that the union opposition had subsided, since training was now covered in collective bargaining. Hence, they took the union support for one form of regulation (collective bargaining) as support for a completely different form of regulation (legislation). Perhaps rightly so, as Lindbom argues that the main thing for the unions was the content, not the form, of the regulation. In 1907 a new enquiry was launched, still with the caveat from the 1895 parliamentary decision – no impairing of the freedom of trade. The committee consisted of J. F. Nyström from the organisation of craft employers (SHO), the chairman of the national, peak-level trade union, *Landsorganisationen* (LO), Herman Lindqvist, and a lawyer.[40]

In 1908, the employers within mechanical engineering (VF) stated that the need for an apprentice law for *industry* was undeniable: there was a shortage of skilled workers, Sweden had trouble competing internationally due to its low skill level, and the unions showed insufficient interest in regulation through collective bargaining. The 1907 committee for a *craft* apprentice law did not heed VF's call.[41]

The 1907 committee presented their report on an apprentice law in 1909. The report included a complete draft of a law, which covered 53 listed craft trades. In the draft, the maximum indenture was four years and written contracts were mandatory, but the tests were voluntary. The craft association would not oversee the tests, nor retain any influence over the new state agencies (with equal representation of employers and workers) that did. Apprentices would have an explicitly stated right to unionise. The craft employer representative, Nyström, submitted a reservation on two points, one of which was a major issue – he wanted mandatory apprenticeships for young workers. In his view, all young workers in the 53 listed craft trades ought to receive training.[42] A consultation was then conducted on the 1909 draft, Nyström's reservation and the appeal from the employers within mechanical engineering for an apprentice law for industry. It was a diverse set of proposals to consider.[43]

The craft employers in SHO objected to many of the specific regulations of the 1909 draft; the four-year maximum indenture was considered too short, the test ought to be mandatory, the craft association ought to have more influence, the apprentices ought not to have unionisation rights, and the employers' costs if an apprentice fell

40 Sveriges handtverksorganisation (1907), 42–46, 108; Centralorganisationen för svensk industri och handtverk, *Handlingar vid centralorganisationens för svensk industri och handtverk årsmöte 1905* (Stockholm: Vårt lands boktryckeri, 1905), 1–3; "Förslag till remiss av ärendena," minutes, annual meeting, appendix F, 1907, A3:3, SHO, RA; Söderberg (1965), 248; Lindbom (1938), 326.

41 "Lärlingsfrågan," *Verkstäderna*, December 15, 1908, 252; Kommerskollegium, *Kungl. Maj:ts och rikets Kommerskollegii underdåniga utlåtande öfver det af särskildt utsedda kommitterade den 14 januari 1909 afgifna betänkande med Förslag till lag om vissa lärlingsaftal* (Stockholm: Isaac Marcus boktryckeri-aktiebolag. 1910), 6; Sveriges handtverksorganisation, *Handlingar vid Sveriges Handtverksorganisations 5:te ordinarie årsmöte i Stockholm den 11–12 juli 1909* (Kristianstad: Kristianstads läns tidnings A-B tryckeri, 1909), 86–87.

42 *Förslag till lag om vissa lärlingsaftal* (1909), 2–4, 97–98, 105, 129–31.

43 Among others, 57 craft associations, the board of SHO, VF and CA and nine unions, replied. Kommerskollegium (1910), 4.

ill were too high. In a newspaper article, the craft employers were accused of being negative and conservative. The board of SHO defended their members, stating that one-third of the members (and the board) supported the draft (with minor changes). What was 'minor' was open to interpretation, but the draft did not receive strong support from the craft employers. Some SHO members supported expanding the law to industry, but the board did not want an industry law to delay the craft law. The employer organisation of the building trades and crafts, *Centrala arbetsgifvareförbundet* (CA), mostly agreed with SHO, but was even more critical of what they saw as too much worker influence and they supported extending the law to industry.[44]

The employers within mechanical engineering (VF) treated the 1909 draft as an apprentice law for industry. VF agreed with the craft employers in SHO and CA that the four-year maximum indenture was too short, that apprentices should not have unionisation rights and that the employers' costs for sick apprentices were too high. The employers within mechanical engineering, however, wanted *less*, not more, regulation of examinations and even questioned the apprentices' right to voluntary tests. VF also rejected Nyström's suggestion of mandatory training.[45]

The national organisation of the unions (LO), did not respond. Very few labour unions did, only nine in total, most likely due to the on-going general strike. However, in 1913, LO stated that at that point they were in favour of the 1909 draft, but not the new version. The few unions who replied to the 1909 consultation were all in favour of the 1909 draft and sought very few revisions. The advancement of skill was worth the cost. However, there was a wide gap between them and the employers. The unions did not support the craft employer representative Nyström's suggestion of mandatory training. Furthermore, while the craft employers wanted a maximum indenture of five year, a few of the unions emphasised that the four-year maximum was enough. Two unions wanted guarantees for the apprentices' right to abstain from work during strikes and lockouts, while the employer organisations were against even the apprentice's right to join a union. Only the non-socialist union, *Svenska arbetareförbundet*, agreed with the employers' opposition to apprentice unionisation, arguing that it would force the apprentices to choose between their masters and their unions. Three unions supported expanding the law to industry, the rest ignored the question. At least one union wanted a limit on the ratio of apprentices to skilled workers.[46]

In summary, the craft employers were divided internally and wanted substantial revisions. Engineering industry employers demanded a law for industry and, read in that light, the 1909 draft needed major revisions. To further complicate the picture,

44 "Styrelsen för Sveriges Handtverksorganisations yttrande öfver lärlingslagförslaget," *Handtverks- och industri-tidning*, July 8, 1909a, 348–53; Sveriges handtverksorganisation (1909), 75–84, 86–88; "Lärlingsfrågans ordnande," *Handtverks- och industri-tidning*, July 22, 1909b, 376–7.

45 Sveriges handtverksorganisation, *Handlingar vid Sveriges Handtverksorganisations 6:te ordinarie årsmöte i Sundsvall den 30–31 juli 1910* (Kristianstad: Kristianstads läns tidnings A.-B. tryckeri, 1910), 86–91; Kommerskollegium (1910), 21–24, 26–27. For some earlier indications of what rules VF may have sought for training see: *Handtverks- och industri-tidning* (1903); "Verkstadsföreningens förhandlingsordning," *Handtverks- och industri-tidning*, September 22, 1905.

46 Preserved summaries from four unions: Compilation of statements on the 1909 draft, FIaa 919, Kommerskollegium (KK), RA; Kommerskollegium (1910), 4, 21–23, 30; "Utlåtande över av därtill utsedda kommitterade utarbetat förslag till lag om lärlingsväsendet i vissa yrken, Landsorganisationen i Sverige," received January 10, 1914, FI aa:919, KK, RA, 1–9.

the revisions that the engineering industry employers sought were not in line with those proposed by the craft employers. The content of the law was, in Thelen's terms, contested between the crafts and industry. From what little we know the unions were mainly positive. The material warrants caution, but it seems that the roles were reversed in comparison to the 1900 report. Then, the craft employers supported the draft, but the unions opposed it. Now, the employers were divided, and opposed much of the 1909 draft, while the unions favoured it. It seems then, that there was an element of class conflict over the content of apprentice legislation. Clearly, there was no unified support behind the 1909 draft, but almost all of the replies deemed a law to be necessary, even if they did not support the specifics.[47] There was agreement on the *need* for a law, but strong disagreement on the content.

In 1910 the Board of Trade and Commerce summarised the consultation and, based on that, suggested revisions generally in line with the wishes of the craft employers in SHO, such as a five-year maximum indenture, stronger rules against poaching and a removal of the question of unionisation from the law. They also agreed with SHO that a law for industry ought not to delay the craft law. Unlike SHO, the Board for Trade and Commerce suggested voluntary tests and saw the employers' responsibilities for sick apprentices as reasonable.[48] At that point, however, the work on an apprentice law for only the crafts ceased and attention turned towards a combined law for both the crafts and industry.

The third enquiry – mostly criticism

The request from the employers in mechanical engineering (VF) for an industry apprentice law bore fruit and led to an enquiry into a combined craft and industry law. Major changes in the 1913 draft of an apprentice law, compared to the 1909 draft included mandatory training for young workers (with extensive exceptions), mandatory tests and a long trial period. Instead of a list of trades, the law would cover any manufacturing trade where a minimum of two years of training was needed (with a maximum of four years). The apprentice was to be allowed to be absent for no more than five days in a row without leave or due cause. The right to unionise was not explicit.[49]

All employer organisations wanted revisions. The craft employers in SHO felt the draft aligned more with the interests of industry and sought stricter rules, fewer exceptions to the mandatory training and a shorter trial period. The craft employers also emphasised the importance of the anticipated vocational schools. Söderberg claims that the schools by now were more important to SHO than the apprentice law, but there is not much evidence to support that. SHO still wanted a law, just not this one. The large, industrial employers in *Svenska arbetsgifvareföreningen* (SAF) and the craft employers in CA (in a joint statement with other employer organisations), were, surprisingly, in favour of mandatory tests and did not object to mandatory apprenticeship for young workers. This stands in sharp contrast to the later position of SAF, as an avid opponent of apprentice legislation, in the 1920s. Regarding the

47 Kommerskollegium (1910), 5.

48 Kommerskollegium (1910), 7–9, 22–23; Sveriges handtverksorganisations (1910), 75.

49 *Förslag till lag om lärlingsväsendet i vissa yrken* (Stockholm: Isaac Marcus' boktryckeri-aktiebolag, 1913), 5–6, 9–10, 16.

1913 draft, the employers within mechanical engineering (VF) were more critical than SAF and rejected both mandatory training and tests. The industry employers in *Sveriges industriförbund* approved of mandatory training, but not of mandatory tests. The major employer organisations all agreed that the obligations of the employers were too costly, that the employers' rights ought to be more extensive and that five days absence was unacceptable, but they also agreed on the need for legislation.[50]

The secretariat of LO, the national organisation of the unions, was very negative and saw hidden industry employer motives behind the rules, arguing that the industry employers just wanted access to cheap labour. LO sought a return to the 1909 draft, covering only the crafts. A social democrat, in a reply to the consultation, also saw the expansion to industry as a way for industry employers to hijack the law for purposes other than skill formation. However, one member of the secretariat of LO submitted a reservation against this very negative view of an apprentice law for industry and argued that an apprentice law was needed for both the crafts and industry.[51]

Despite the criticism in the consultation on the 1913 draft, the work on revising the proposal did not officially cease, within the Board of Trade and Commerce the work continued. The unions were seen as the main opponents and the aim of the revision was to appease them, which required limiting the law to the crafts. The work was delayed and a different official enquiry on apprentice legislation, brought on by the vocational school reforms, was launched before the revision of the 1913 draft was finished. And so, the idea of an apprentice law was not abandoned at this point, but later enquiries into legal regulation of apprenticeship were brought on by the changed circumstances created by the existence of a national system of vocational schools that were supposed to complement apprentice training. For the schools, the unregulated training posed a problem that the new enquiry was meant to fix. However, none of the later enquiries led to legal regulation of apprenticeship either.[52]

While the 1913 attempt at achieving legal regulation of apprenticeship failed, a more modest form of institutional change succeeded. In 1918, the state, prompted by the craft employers in SHO, started to support (some) training financially, initially 50 apprentices per year. The state also gave support for rewards for skilled apprentices and instituted state premiums for the same purpose. SHO and its members, imbued with (very limited) parapublic authority, oversaw and co-managed parts of these new institutions. Unlike apprentice legislation, the limited state support does not appear to have been controversial.[53]

50 Yttrande av Styrelsen för Sveriges handtverksorganisation över förslaget till lag om lärlingsväsendet i vissa yrken, Sveriges handtverksorganisation, 1914, FIaa:921, KK, RA; Söderberg (1965), 248–49, 332; Yttrande från Svenska arbetsgifvareföreningarnas förtroenderåd, February 25, 1914, FIaa:921, KK, RA; Sveriges verkstadsförenings utlåtande öfver förslaget till lag om vissa lärlingsaftal af år 1913, January 22, 1914, FIaa:921, KK, RA; Nilsson (2010), 91.

51 Utlåtande över av därtill utsedda kommitterade utarbetat förslag till lag om lärlingsväsendet i vissa yrken, Landsorganisationen i Sverige, January 10, 1914, FIaa:921, KK, RA, 1–9a–e; Förslag till lärlingslag, Östen Undén, October, 1913, FI aa:921, KK, RA.

52 P.M. angående behandlingen av 1913 års förslag till lärlingslag inom Kommerskollegium och Socialstyrelsen, October 26, 1921, FI aa:921; SOU 1924:41, *Utredning med förslag till lag om lärlingsväsendet i vissa yrken: Avgivet av Kommerskollegium och Skolöverstyrelsen* (Stockholm: Kungl. Boktryckeriet & P. A. Norstedt & Söner), 9–13.

53 Government bill, no. 206, 1917; Parliamentary communication, no. 7, 1917, 20; Carl Ljunggren, *Hantverkets stora problem* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1922), 63.

Conclusions

The picture that emerges from previous research into the turn of the twentieth century history of Swedish vocational training is one of relatively continuous opposition to legal regulation of apprenticeship from industry employers and trade unions. The craft employers have been seen as the only supporters of apprentice legislation. This has so far been the answer to the question of why Sweden, unlike many other European countries, did not get an apprentice law in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. The results of this investigation into agreement and disagreement in the political demands of the key actors add nuances to that picture in several ways.

My investigation has shown that, during the investigated period, the actors to a large degree agreed that there was a need for legal regulation of apprenticeship. One clear exception to this general agreement on the need for apprentice legislation was a relatively large minority of the 1895 MPs, who saw the 1890s' institutions of apprenticeship (voluntary tests and the free mutual agreement), as sufficient to regulate training. However, the majority of the MPs sought some form of apprentice legislation. Moreover, between 1890 and 1917 craft, employer and worker organisations in general saw a need for change and all of them, at times, saw legislation as an alternative.

However, there was strong disagreement on the *content* of the proposed apprentice laws. The craft employers pursued legal regulation of apprenticeship, often suggesting mandatory tests and a five-year maximum indenture. Some of the craft employers also sought mandatory training for youths and skill-based license for those who trained apprentices. Costly responsibilities and unionisation rights for apprentices were seen as unacceptable by all employer organisations.

The question of mandatory tests and training was a dividing line among the employers. The 1895 parliamentary decision was intended to encourage voluntary tests. Its caveat—not to impair freedom of trade—remained throughout. The engineering industry employers in VF agreed that the test ought to be voluntary in both 1909 and 1913. VF wanted a law, but none of the drafts pleased them. In 1913, SAF, representing large-scale industry employers, surprisingly, did not object to mandatory training or tests, though they had other objections. *Industriförbundet*, also representing industry employers, was in favour of mandatory training, but against mandatory tests. The craft employers in SHO were strong supporters of mandatory tests and for the most part approved of mandatory training, but that was not as important to them as the tests.

Another dividing line ran between employers and unions. Both sides showed interest in legislation, but the desired content varied widely. The unions wanted to limit entry into the trades, prevent exploitation, and ensure the right to unionise. For the most part, they also wanted the law to be limited to the crafts. On the other hand, there was agreement on mandatory contracts, sanctions against breach of contract, and that more apprentices ought to take the tests.

Unlike previous research, my investigation has shown that none of the actors involved in the political struggle over apprenticeship were avid opponents to legislation during the investigated period. This, in turn, reveals that the positions of the actors in the Swedish case have been more fluid than previously thought. For example, the employers in large-scale industry, represented by SAF, were more positively inclined toward apprentice legislation in 1913 than in the 1920s. In general, between

1890 and 1917 the support of the actors seems to be contingent upon the content of the proposed laws, rather than any fixed opinion on the suitability of legislation as a means of regulating apprenticeship.

In a European perspective it is interesting to note that in line with Thelen's identification of key actors, employers in two knowledge-intensive sectors, crafts and mechanical engineering, both demanded legislation for their respective areas of the economy, though the rules they sought differed widely. The interest in legislation in 1913 of the employers within SAF is less expected, as they are not generally seen as representing knowledge-intensive industries to the same degree. In a sense, apprentice legislation in Sweden was contested between crafts and industry (as in Germany) *as well as* between employers and unions (as in Great Britain). It is clear that the class conflict, which according to Culpepper and Thelen is detrimental to regulation, was very much present in Sweden. Employers and workers never agreed on the content of the drafts and the unions mistrusted the motives of the industrial employers in particular. Three things may have hindered the chances of a law further: (1) the decision to conduct a consultation, including the 1893 craft employer draft, *before* the 1900 report, (2) the 1909 general strike coinciding with one consultation and (3) the Swedish state's unwillingness or inability to support a law, unless there was a pre-existing coalition. The third point is a difference compared to the German case, where the state chose to support the craft employers by passing apprentice legislation that favoured them.

When previous research has tried to categorise Sweden's system of vocational education and training according to different typologies it has either been seen as statist, like France, with a heavy dependence on vocational schools or as a rare case of shifting systems with the period up until 1918 seen as a unregulated model, like the British one. While this study has focused on the question of legal regulation of apprenticeship it has at the same time shown that this was not the only alternative on the agenda at this time and other attempts at institutional change were more successful. Collective bargaining grew and systematically regulated apprenticeship in a few trades. The expansion may have been helped by the fact that the unions did not, to any great degree, try to limit the supply of skilled labour through controlling apprenticeship and that the state took a neutral and passive stance towards the unions. This regulation through (non-central) collective bargaining is a similarity with Great Britain, while the modest state support and the limited parapublic authority of the craft associations and SHO is more in line with a very light version of the German case. Any greater similarities with Germany would have required legal regulation of apprenticeship.

Later on, the vocational schools became the distinguishing feature of Swedish skill system and in that area, a coalition was formed, resulting in the 1918 and 1921 reforms, but very few saw the schools as a substitute for apprenticeship. In fact, the 1918 reform is sometimes seen as one half of an unfulfilled German system. The inability of the actors to agree on, or tolerate, the *specifics* of the proposed apprentice laws hindered the development of the other half.

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Book Reviews

Dissertations

Mattias Börjesson
Från likvärdighet till marknad: En studie av offentligt och privat inflytande över skolans styrning i svensk utbildningspolitik 1969–1999
[From equity to markets: A study of public and private influence on school governance in Swedish education policy 1969–1999]
Örebro universitet (PhD diss)
2016, 249 pp.

This thesis is one of a number of studies in recent years that have focused on the education reforms of the 1980s and 1990s and the profound break they have represented within education politics. It has provided us with a deeper understanding of the policies and political characteristics of this shift, which has been one from centralized control, public influence and aims of equality, towards private influence, individual responsibility, decentralization, deregulation and marketization (see also the thesis by Dovemark, 2004). It was an honour to be invited to act as faculty opponent at the public defence of the thesis and a pleasure to be able to accept this invitation. The same applies with regards to the present review of the thesis.

The thesis takes its theoretical points of departure from Critical Realism and Neo-Marxism. Together with structural and post-structural curriculum theory they have provided a foundation for interpreting and developing an understanding for how relationships between society and the education system are constituted by and constitutive of educational political decisions and educational policies. Interactions between economic, political and ideological structures are important here and are understood in relation to formations of dominant state ideology and as expressions of a balance of power. Education policies are reflections of this dominant ideology. They change in relation to changes in the balance of power.

Six constitutive dominant education ideologies have been identified by the author of the thesis for the post-war era. They are products of the analysis of policy expressions. However, they are also put to use in the thesis as well. Three ideologies are associated with the first three decades of the post-war period and the social democratic era of collectivism, comprehensivism and equality in education and three are associated with the burgeoning neoliberal era from the 1980s, which was characterised by enhanced policies of individualism, effectivity and privatization. The ideologies correspond firstly with an *organism perspective* on education, with reproduction of society as the main goal, an *equivalent perspective*, and an *equality perspective* with a political ambition of attaining greater equality in society as the main goal. These three ideologies have been identified from the first three post-war decades. Relating to the later developments, a *parental perspective* with parental influence as the main goal, a *market perspective* with efficiency, school choice and the introduction of private schools as the main goals, and a *client perspective*, with increasing influence for clients as the main goal are identified. The identification of the six ideologies forms the response to the first research question in the thesis, namely, which ideological perspectives can be identified in education policy documents during the 1900s?

Subsequent to their identification the six ideologies are then turned back on recent policies to form the main analytical instrument in a thorough examination of official inquiry reports, government depart-

ment reports, government bills, and acts of parliament. This analysis was divided into three steps corresponding to three further research questions. These questions are: Which problems are dominant in education policy documents between 1969 and 1999? Which of the six ideological perspectives can be identified in education policy documents 1969–1999 and how does the impact of these perspectives change? What are the implications of these changes for public and private influence on school governance? Particular attention is given to the evidence for and against public and private influence on school governance.

During the 1950s and 1960s, the main goal of Swedish education policy was identified as aiming toward an integrated public school system under national government control, within which social class was expressed as intended to have less of an impact on education access and results. In the 1970s, an integrated public school system had been established but social inequities in schools were still being reproduced. Social reproduction prevailed and became the main frame of reference and was seen to require a rigorous government response, including targeted measures for disadvantaged pupils. These measures were seen to be ineffective however, with this then leading to an increasing scepticism regarding state governance and its attempts and possibilities to equalize the school system. Subsequently, in the late 1970s and the early 1980s, increased interest in and successive demands for greater decentralization and increasing individual influence and responsibility in education began to emerge and the dominant view in education policy changed regarding the ability of the government to solve problems in the school system. Two different reform proposals were developed. These were the reform proposal for market governance and the reform proposal for client influence. In the 1990s they became the dominant view and a national expression of a globally promoted solution to what was broadly accepted (politically and in common sense) as the problem of inefficiency, inflexibility and centralization of welfare solutions in education and the public sector. A centralized school system was described as too inflexible in a world characterized by constant social change and globalization.

The main result identified in the thesis is thus that there has been a profound transformation in Swedish education policy, from a dominance of public influence, with aims for strong state control and national equivalence, to a dominance of private influence and individual choice. This applies according to the thesis moreover, even though the equality perspective also continued to have some influence. Between them was a transitional period, where educational policies were characterized both by goals of public and private influence at the same time. During this period the equivalence perspective was increasingly challenged by client- and market perspectives, but the demands for client influence and marketization did not have sufficient strength to produce a complete change of education policy. This period has been described as one of habituation for the individualization, and privatization of education implied by market reforms in the third period, after which there is a dominance of private influence on the school system (also Beach 2010). During the first half of the 1990s there is an emphasis on a deregulated market. During the second half of the 1990s the emphasis is on regulated market governance, through state governance by results.

At the close of the thesis, and in conclusion, the shift in policy that has been identified from the results is discussed in relation to economic, political and ideological developments and a hypothesis is constructed that the reform of the education sector can be explained as the result of a combination of previously constructed factors. They comprise an economic crisis that undermined the support for the public sector, a national and global rightward shift in politics, and a weakening of the labour movement and its possibilities for resistance. These developments became vertically active forces that aided the ascendency of market oriented policies and the infusion of neoliberal ideas.

However in addition, and importantly, the thesis also argues that overcoming the resistance among the school bureaucracy and teacher unions for the successful decentralization of schools and education to municipalities in 1989 was of critical importance, as it cleared the pathway for a radical transformation of the Swedish school system later on, that was both contrary to equity in the school system and the aims expressed for the formulated need for decentralization in the first instance. The power and ability of pro-market governments to eliminate opposition is significant here. Sidestepping and undermining the recommendations against marketization as a solution for the problems of efficiency in the public sector is among the tactics that have been used.

Commentary

When commenting on the thesis, the first thing I want to say is that I found it to be an interesting and compelling read that is based on an extensive and thorough critical and analytical reading of over forty years' worth of key political texts in the education field, including every major commissioned report in the comprehensive school sector, or of relevance to that sector. There is little criticise the thesis for in this sense, except perhaps to say that it may have been too extensive in its broad coverage to be able to attain analytical depth in relation to some major issues. To say so would however be at least partly unfair. The thesis makes a strong critical analysis and draws well supported conclusions, but these could have been bolder I think. For instance, if I had written this thesis, and I would have been proud to do so, I might have chosen a title like 'Globalising Capitalism, its Agents and the Problem of Education and Class Inequality', to which I would have added part of Börjesson's present title as an under-title; specifically 'Private Influence in the Policy Transformation from Equity to Market Choice'. The full final title would then have been: 'Globalising Capitalism, its Agents and the Problem of Education and Class Inequality: Private Influence and the Policy Transformation from Equity to Market Choice'.

This title I feel would have thoroughly well encapsulated the thesis content and its main claims and findings, but it would also have allowed for two more things. First a more focused analysis on the more specific social class interests involved in the policy transformations that are considered, together with a clarification of who promoted the transformations and how. Secondly, it also introduces a very important global perspective. This is important in my view. The thesis concerns the restructuring of education and its effects in Sweden, one of the Nordic countries that are constantly internationally upheld as iconic in terms of education justice and equity, and that is being used at present to launch anti-democratic education reforms from in other countries – based on the exporting and global marketing of a school concept that is itself a product of importing and refracting neoliberal principles into and in the former and extensive comprehensive education system in the first place. Interestingly then, Swedish education is being used as a model for the globalisation of equitous privatisation after, as the thesis also makes clear, (a) the ambition for equity has been turned over and (b) despite these ambitions never having been proven to have been very successful (see also Berhanu 2016a; 2016b; Salokangas, Chapman and Beach 2016)

The breadth of the analysis in terms of the historical scope of the policy evaluation is perhaps what troubles me most. This is however and odd thing to say perhaps. But my feeling is that due to the extensive scope of the national political text analysis the thesis didn't have space to attend in analytical detail to important international convergences and consistencies. An example of this is that although the thesis alludes to similar policies of conversion to the ones described; and in similar relatively short time periods; in countries like England and Wales, Spain, Portugal, Ireland and Finland, it is unable to examine what these developments have led to, and how these developments may also be reflected in the Swedish situation. The education systems in the named countries have been restructured

with the help of similar policies to those that have been identified as operating in Sweden by the thesis, to *private-economically productive* systems that are increasingly reflecting a dominance of and commitment towards capitalist interests, with noticeably negative effects on equality and particularly the education standards of the poor.

I would have liked to have seen more about international developments such as these, particularly as the thesis also illustrates that exactly such consequences (and warnings about them) were denied, disguised, avoided and evaded by market proponents, despite them also having even been highlighted and discussed in significant inquiry commission reports; such as those of the Democracy Commission in the late 1980s. What could have also been added is that it is with the help of this evasion and denial that welfare services, such as education, which were established on the basis of previous agreements between Capital and Labour and from common goods accrued through taxation finance have been transformed. What could also have been added then is that these agreements were rapidly broken by capitalist enterprises with help from right leaning (or just fearful) governments, as a means of turning the former common and consensus model of education into a source for the generation of new entrepreneurial values, private interests and corporate profit. I would have liked to have seen a little more made of this point.

Particularly the point about this conversion having been made possible by the complicity of an elected state government is a very important one I think. What it identifies is that this government has thus contributed not to the protection of any sense of common interest in education, but rather clearly and distinctly to its exploitation in private economic interests. As the thesis also points out the case to be, this means in fact that this elected government has thus become a key intermediary in the conversion of public assets to private capital, by which means, neoliberal restructuring has also then become a de facto new bureaucratic archetype for redesigning the (welfare) state and social welfare as a finance-driven form of economic governance and reform that preys on and feeds off public developments and common wealth.

Three interrelated processes of socialization, habituation and commercialization have been identified internationally in this conversion (Beach 2010). These are identifiable in the thesis but the criticism stops there in relation to most of them. The issue concentrated on instead is policy as text in a way inspired by Critical Discourse Analysis but not drawing specifically on the developments recently, within that tradition, of the specialized analysis of just specifically political texts (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2013). This focus is found in the research of people like Jane Mulderrig, in studies not dissimilar to those Börjesson has undertaken. Examples are: Mulderrig (2011); (2012), and (2015).

This critique of policy developments that was obstructed by the broad scope of the analysis is for me one of critical significance. As the thesis points out, neoliberalism is a form of governance that exhibits a clear political retreat from previously politically expressed efforts to establish social equality and democracy, in and by comprehensive public service education provision. But the way right leaning governments and their supporters (commissioned or otherwise) actually exploited (emotional, social, symbolic and material) investments in these developments was not discussed in depth, and nor was the conduct of restructuring just exactly in the wake of the formal post-eighties collapse of socialist alternatives and the disappearance of their threat to capitalist hegemony and the interests it works in. These are points I would have liked to have seen the thesis engage in. These points are that the neoliberal colonization and exploitation of the public sector institutions, with education as an example:

- Has taken place as a global phenomenon at a particular (and common) historical juncture, and this may be more than a mere historical coincidence
- Has taken place with the collusion of concrete governments and their repre-

sentatives, advisors and members: often with little political opposition even from the so-called political left
- Has been dependent on an established infrastructure of people, places, artefacts and practices that has been extensively supplied and developed by public funding that are now being increasingly 'privatized', liberalized and exploited in ways that have gained broad political support even from groups who are clearly disadvantaged by and through the processes concerned
- Is taking place just precisely at the time when the former fear of socialism by capitalists; and the threat of a socialist hegemony; has disappeared.

Having made these small criticisms, I have to acknowledge nevertheless that although the thesis isn't able to obtain leverage on these points, it does still make an important and significant contribution to critical education policy scholarship. The quality of the work is good and the production of the thesis is timely. In the current global context of education, Sweden's comprehensive education system is, as stated earlier, often understood to offer equality of access in relation to social class and gender, and inclusion to migrants, asylum seekers and recently settled new nationals and their children in an internationally remarkable way. But as Börjesson's thesis makes aptly clear, although the history of the system was one that displayed some formal ambitions of these kinds at the political level, these were both internally inconsistent and contradictory (Berhanu, 2016a), and the system has undergone extensive changes since then, from which the falling general levels of performance, increasing social class differences, threats to democratic values and equivalence between schools, and the commodification of and surplus value accumulation from the education field, that important commissions such as the Democracy Commission warned of, have all developed.

Through the production and successful defence of this thesis Mattias Börjesson adds his name to the list of critical authors addressing the influx of neoliberal forms of governance in our national education system. However, when saying this Börjesson was also very clear that it must also be recognised that the welfare State project in the Nordic countries, including Sweden, and particularly perhaps most obviously in relation to education fields, was never fully completed and that as elsewhere, it was full of compromises, with this being as apparent in relation to education policies as elsewhere, and that this incompleteness was then also fundamentally seized upon by market proponents to support the need for change that was then propagated by right leaning governments and their agents as part of a collective political retreat from the aims of equity and inclusion. Moreover, as the thesis importantly notes, preparedness for change had already been politically inserted previously. The preparations were activated as soon as the idea of educational equity and equivalence was no-longer considered to be necessary as a means to assure a capitalist hegemony.

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Monographs

Petter Sandgren
Internatskolorna: Att fostra en elit
Stockholm: Atlantis Bokförlag
2015, 298 pp.

In August 2013 the oldest, still active Swedish Boarding School, Lundsberg was at the forefront of Swedish national media. Behind the interest were reports of deeply humiliating forms of hazing. These incidents also form the prelude to Petter Sandgren's study of how this form of boarding school was exported from England over the seas, within the Empire as well as outside it. The case of Sweden is devoted a particular attention. As the author shows, the export was not executed in any easily identifiable one-way direction. The formation of the originally British form of elite boarding schools in Western Europe and USA was rather the result of intricate webs of exchange between different countries. England did not only serve as an exporting country, but was also in turn inspired by other countries. Sandgren hereby not only aims to give a more comprehensive historical perspective on the phenomenon, but also to avoid the pitfalls of what Ulrich Beck has referred to as methodological nationalism. The ambition is thus primarily to complement the hitherto more common national perspective.

The material on which the author draws is extensive; apart from memoirs and letters from the initiators of the boarding schools, he draws widely on fiction, arguing that it was an essential source of inspiration when the boarding schools first started to spread. A clear indication of this is the event that he has chosen as his point of departure for the analysed expansion: the publication of Thomas Hughes' *Tom Brown's Schooldays* in 1857.

In mapping how the system spread within the British Empire and back and forth between different states outside the Empire, particularly between England, France, Germany, Switzerland and USA, Sandgren makes an important empirical contribution. The expansion, he argues, drew on two different boarding school models: the "traditional Eton-Rugby model" and the progressive "Abbotsholme/Be-

dales-model" (the two latter were themselves founded in the late nineteenth century).

Common for both models was the strong emphasis on physical training. However, in what concerned the content of teaching and methods used they differed. In contrast to the traditional methods in the "Eton-Rugby model", with their emphasis on classical languages, the "progressive schools" tended to emphasise placing the pupil in the centre of the teaching process. The latter also tended to stress modern languages at the expense of the classicist ditto. Both tendencies, argues Sandgren, have been highly present in the Swedish boarding schools; indeed, Lundsberg could in relevant respects be considered to have been one of the most progressive schools – in what concerns the aims and the teaching methods – in Sweden between the first and second world war. More important than these differences were, however, the shared emphasis on letting the pupils, at the time primarily boys, bring up each other. In virtue of the global perspective applied, he convincingly shows how this dimension imbues most of the boarding schools analysed in his study.

The empirical findings and reflections presented in the study are generally well situated within relevant fields of research. In combination with the vast array of themes on which Sandgren touches, this gives a very solid impression. An issue that nevertheless leaves me slightly puzzled is the contextualisation of the self-governance in disciplinary questions. When discussing this, the author relates to other studies within the field of masculinity studies, but he does not in one word mention initiation rites in other contexts (such as, e.g., in criminal gangs, or the insemination rites from older to younger men within certain tribes). The absence of this is all the more surprising since the ritual dimension is a recurrent theme in the study.

The disposition of the book enables the author to weave together the global perspective with the more specific Swedish case, smoothly shifting from the former to the latter. An elucidating example of this is how he in the concluding chapter skilfully manages to synthesise the two perspectives in a historically well contextualised reflection over the current exportation of boarding school brands over the world.

The book is a popularized version of Sandgren's dissertation, and it is planned to become the first part of a trilogy over elites in modern Sweden. In light of this overarching aim, the convincingly argued idea that the Swedish boarding schools have been pivotal in the fusion of the "older" money with the upper stratum of the financial bourgeoisie during the turn of the century seems particularly relevant. As the author argues, a robust, nationally rooted network has been and still is a crucial aspect of the reproduction of the elite. In the forthcoming two volumes it will be interesting to see how the results here presented will be related to changes in other upper strata of society. More specifically, I am thinking of those that for their positions have depended on educational merits and primarily are operating in the cultural and educational sphere – not at least in light of the thorough changes that the educational system has underwent the last 40 years.

A related question is how the overarching theme could be related to the devaluation of and increasingly anxious relation to the culture within the contemporary Swedish bourgeoisie, an issue addressed in for example the recently published anthology *Varken bildning eller piano*. A hereto related issue, on which some authors in the latter study touches, is the self-images of the bourgeoisie and how the term itself ought to be considered in relation to the more passive – and presumably politically telling – denomination "middle class". A thorough analysis relating the Swedish case to the different comparative studies in this field would seem to fit neatly with Sandgren's transnational project. Whether or not these issues will be followed up, the empirical findings and proposed interpretations in this study are perfectly justified in themself. For anyone interested in historical and sociological perspectives on educational issues, Sandgren's book will certainly be of interest.

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Joakim Landahl
Politik & Pedagogik: En biografi över Fridtjuv Berg
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Joakim Landahl, docent i pedagogikk ved Institutionen för pedagogik och didaktik ved Stockholms universitet, har skrevet en omfattende biografi over Fridtjuv Berg, hans liv, ideer og virke. Fridtjuv Berg (1851–1916) var folkeskolelæreren som ble ecklesiastikminister i Karl Staaffs første regjering. Berg engasjerte seg bredt i ulike samfunnsspørsmål og var en omstridt mann. I ettertid er hans navn kanskje aller mest knyttet til rettskrivningsreformen av 1906 og ikke minst til tituleringen "bottenskolans far". Biografiformatet evner å fange kompleksiteten i Bergs liv og viser hvilken betydning en enkelt aktør kan ha å si for den skolehistoriske utviklingen.

Boken er delt i tre, der første del tar for seg Bergs oppvekst i Finspång og debut som lærer. Allerede her våkner hans gryende pedagogiske og politiske interesse. I bokens andre del har Berg flyttet til Stockholm, og Landahl viser hvordan den relative beskjedne Berg tar stadig mer plass i det offentlige ordskiftet. Han engasjerer seg i Sveriges allmänna folkskolelärarförening og blir en aktiv skribent i *Svensk Läraretidning*, samtidig som han publiserer lærerbøker og kommer inn i riksdagen som liberal politiker. Tredje del tar for seg Bergs innsats som ecklesiastikminister i Karl Staaffs to regjeringer. *Politik & Pedagogik* kom ut i forbindelse med 100 års markeringen av Bergs død i 2016, og ble finansiert av Lærarstiftelsen, der altså Berg var en av frontfigurene på begynnelsen av 1900-tallet.

Boken bygger på et omfattende kildemateriale. Landahl hadde i utgangspunktet tenkt å skrive en avgrenset artikkel om Bergs begravelse som kollektiv minnepraksis. På leting i det svenske riksarkivet fant han imidlertid et enormt slektsarkiv over familien Berg som, etter eget sigende, nærmest forpliktet ham til å skrive en biografi om denne spennende, men halvt bortglemte mannen. Den bærende ideen i Bergs pedagogiske og politiske virke var ideen om en felles folkeskole for alle barn, en idé han fremmet allerede som 16 åring i 1867 og som han videreutviklet og publiserte i boken *Folkskolan såsom bottenskola: Ett inlägg i en vigtig samhällsfråga* i 1883. Dette viktige dokumentet er blitt stående som et høydepunkt i Bergs karriere og regnes som selve grunnlagsdokumentet for den svenske grunnskolen. Det unike kildematerialet har gitt forfatteren tilgang til Bergs omfattende publikasjoner i aviser, tidsskrift og bøker, og ikke minst til den omfattende brevvekslingen, til sin far og sine brødre, til sin ektefelle, til venner og kolleger, og til meningsfeller og meningsmotstandere.

Som norsk leser av denne boken har jeg latt meg fascinere og imponere over Fridtjuv Bergs omfattende virksomhet. Berg ble i 1905 utnevnt til svensk ecklesiastikminister i Karl Staaffs første regjering. Det var første gang en folkeskolelærer ble tilkjent denne rollen. Ecklesiastikministeren var på denne tiden minister for både kirke, folkeskole og høyere utdanning. Utnevnelsen var kontroversiell av flere grunner. For det første var det i Sverige på den tiden et skarpt skille mellom den akademiske eliten i høyere utdanning og folkeskolelærerne, og den akademiske eliten hadde liten tiltro til folkeskolelæreren som målbærer og forvalter av utdanningspolitiske spørsmål. For det andre hadde Fridtjuv Berg ved flere anledninger talt for å minske kirkens innflytelse over folkeskolen og redusere kristendomsundervisningens omfang, og dermed påkalt seg presteskapets vrede. Og for det tredje hadde Berg inntatt en tilbakeholden posisjon i spørsmålet om Norges ønske om å gå ut av unionen med Sverige, og ble dermed stemplet som for norskvennlig og for lite nasjonalistisk i den opphetede unionsdebatten. Berg satt som utdanningsminister i Karl Staaffs regjering i to perioder, 1905–1906 og 1911–1914.

Bokens første del tar for seg Bergs oppvekst i det industrielle Finspång, kjent for sin framstilling av kanoner. Faren, Anders Berg, var en markant folkeskolelærer og en autoritær far som krevde mye av sine barn,

spesielt når det kom til skole og utdanning. Fem av de åtte barna utdannet seg til lærere, Fridtjuv inkludert. Biografien forteller om et konfliktfylt forhold mellom far og sønn, der Fridtjuv stort sett hele livet følte seg underlegen og undertrykt av sin far. Brevmaterialet gir et unikt innblikk i Fridtjuv Bergs utvikling fra usikker og tvilende læreraspirant til aktiv samfunnsdebattant, pedagog og politiker. Det er særlig i Bergs brevveksling med sin kommende lærerektefelle Mina Kåberg (giftet seg i 1883 etter å ha vært kjærester siden 1874) at han gir uttrykk for sine sårede følelser overfor faren og sin usikkerhet rundt sine første famlende forsøk som skribent, og ikke minst sine tanker om pedagogikk og læreryrket. I det hele tatt gir brevmaterialet kjøtt og blod til Landahls biografi.

Etter endt folkeskole ble Berg sendt til Norrköping for høyere utdanning. Karaktermessig gjorde han det svært godt, men ble snart syk av reumatisme og måtte hoppe av studiene. Den tiden han da fikk til rådighet nyttet han til selvstudium og engasjerte seg i utdanningspolitiske spørsmål. Etter oppholdet i Norrköping startet han opp studier i Stockholm, men gav seg etter noen få måneder. Han følte seg mistilpasset og hjemløs i møtet med høyere utdanning og akademia, men ikke hjemløs i søken etter ny kunnskap. Selvstudium viste seg å være tingen for unge Fridtjuv. Det eneste han trengte var tilgang til et godt bibliotek. Hans vitebegjær og engasjement var grenseløst.

Bokens andre del tar for seg livet i Stockholm og Bergs transformasjon fra anonym folkeskolelærer til aktiv politiker. Selv om han aldri studerte ved universitetet fikk han innpass i studentenes foreningsliv og ble særdeles aktiv der. Det er i Stockholm Berg videreutvikler og publiserer sine ideer om "folkeskolan såsom bottenskola", engasjerer seg i lærerforeningen, skriver sine første lærebøker og jobber aktivt for spredning av barnelitteratur. I denne perioden engasjerer han seg også sterkt for 8-timersdagen, og argumenterer for den ut i fra barnets perspektiv.

Bokens siste del tar for seg Bergs innsats i regjering, som ecklesiastikminster for to regjeringer. Berg evnet ikke å realisere ideen om "folkeskolan såsom bottenskola" da han kom i regjeringsposisjon. Tiden var ennå ikke moden for det i Sverige. Derimot fikk han på plass en rettskrivningsreform i 1906 (stavningsreformen). Berg hadde siden slutten av 1800-tallet engasjert seg i rettskrivningsstriden i Sverige, og da han ble minister brukte han all sin kraft på å innføre en forenklet og mer lydbasert stavning motivert ut i fra pedagogiske hensyn. Rettskrivningsreformen fra 1906 er gjeldende den dag i dag.

I følge Landahl er det "folkeskolan såsom bottenskola" som er den bærende ideen i Bergs pedagogiske og politiske virke helt fra starten av, men han maktet altså ikke å realisere ideen som statsråd. Ideen om en felles grunnskole for alle barn ble ikke fullt ut realisert i Sverige før i 1962. Som nordmann er det betimelig å nevne at Norge så tidlig som i 1889 fikk en felles lov for by- og landsfolkeskolene og at all høyere utdanning fra 1896 skulle bygge på de fem første årene i folkeskolen. Norge var i europeisk sammenheng tidlig ute med å realisere ideen om en felles skole for alle samfunnslag. Landahl forklarer denne noe sendrektige realiseringen av en felles grunnskole for alle samfunnsklasser i Sverige med en utbredt oppfatning om at folkeskolen ennå ikke var god nok. Dette kommer også tydelig fram i mange av Bergs tekster og prioriteringer som utdanningspolitiker. Det var en rekke andre faktorer som først måtte på plass, så som endringer i skolens innhold og læremidler, bedre lærerutdanning og – det som Landahl omtaler som "bottenskolans antites" – Bergs argumentasjon for nødvendigheten av å segregere "kriminelle" og vanskapte barn i egne institusjoner. Også i Norge var en opptatt av at folkeskolen som en felles skole for alle måtte gjøres kvalitativt bedre, men dette arbeidet gikk hånd i hånd med den lovmessige utviklingen om at all videre utdanning skulle bygge på en felles folkeskole. En viktig grunn til at denne prosessen forløp ulikt i Norge og Sverige er at folkeskolelærerne i Norge i siste halvdel av 1800-tallet hadde opparbeidet seg en sentral rolle i det politiske livet, og at det i

Norge var et langt mindre konfliktfylt forhold mellom at den akademiske eliten og folkeskolelærerne. Tvert imot jobbet også den akademiske eliten der for folkeskolens sak. Slike betraktninger fra en norsk leser "utenfra" viser at boken på flere måter burde kunne gi et godt grunnlag for komparative analyser av den samtidige skolepolitiske utviklingen i de andre nordiske landene.

Denne anmeldelsen evner ikke å favne alle sider ved Fridtjuv Bergs liv og virke, men jeg håper den er tilstrekkelig som motivasjon til selv å lese denne spennende biografien. Landahls bok burde være relevant for alle med interesse for skole og utdanning, også utenfor Sverige. Den er velformulert og en fryd å lese. Den grafiske formgivningen er delikat og oversiktlig. Tidslinje, oversikt over Bergs interpellasjoner til Andra kammaren i Riksdagen, Bergs egne tekster, navneregister og et utbredt noteapparat er greie hjelpemidler for å holde styr på og finne fram i Bergs omfattende virksomhet. Boken gir et godt innblikk i svensk skolepolitisk utvikling i siste halvdel av 1800-tallet og overgangen til 1900-tallet. Skulle jeg ha noen innvendinger måtte det være at boken tidvis er noe gjentagende på grunn av sin tematiske inndeling og at omtale av enkelte begivenheter inngår i flere av de behandlede temaene.

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Edited collections and series

Jens Erik Kristensen & Søs Bayer (eds.)
Pædagogprofessionens historie og aktualitet 1. Kamp og status – de lange linjer i børnehaveinstitutionens og pædagogprofessionens historie 1820–2015
Köpenhamn: U Press
2015, 327 pp.

Søs Bayer & Jens Erik Kristensen (eds.)
Pædagogprofessionens historie og aktualitet 2. Kald og kundskab – brydninger i børnehavepædagogikken 1870–2015
Köpenhamn: U Press
2015, 239 pp.

Impressive efforts on a grand scale have been carried out by Danish scholars in the field of educational history. Following the monumental five volumes on Danish school history (*Dansk skolehistorie*), edited by Charlotte Appel and Ning de Coninck-Smith, there now exist two volumes on the history of Danish early care and education, edited by Jens Erik Kristensen and Søs Bayer. These latter volumes certainly present a valuable contribution to both history of education in general, and the history of early care and education in particular. Even though scholarly interest in this field has markedly increased during the last decade, it remains understudied in comparison to, for example, the history of schooling.

Further studies in this field are, however, easy to motivate. Since the 1990s, early education and care has received considerable policy attention in the OECD countries, and it is a phenomenon of fundamental importance in Western countries such as Denmark. As mentioned in the introduction to Volume 1, about 90 percent of Danish children aged 1–5 attend some kind of care and

education. For a historian, the development of such services also represents a dramatic shift in the approach to education that raises numerous questions. In Denmark, 50,000 preschool children attended care and education facilities in 1968, and that number increased to almost 290,000 in 2013.

These two volumes that explores this fascinating and important development are multi-authored. The first volume, titled *Kamp og status* (Struggle and Status), is collectively authored by Hanne Marlene Dahl, Anette Eklund Hansen, Christian Sandbjerg Hansen and Jens Erik Kristensen. The latter was also responsible for rewriting the entire volume. This first volume outlines the history of the early care and education institutions and professions from the nineteenth century onwards. As the volume's title suggests, the authors employs a conflict perspective that highlights struggles, conflicts and alliances in the history of early care and education. Since the volume positions early care and education both in relation to the family and the school, its chapters are able to tell an encompassing story. The topics range from the history of various institutions to the notions of childhood and issues of poverty, gender, and social politics.

Volume 1 comprises five chapters. Chapter 1 deals with recent changes in the field of early care and education, while the subsequent three chapters are dedicated to the history of early care and education in Denmark. Chapter 2 focuses on the institutions of early years care and education. The reader is thus given a comprehensive introduction to the history of the Danish asylums of the nineteenth century (influenced by the British infant schools among others), nurseries (*vuggestuer*), kindergartens (*børnehaver*), free kindergartens (*folkebørnehaver*), the progressive kindergartens of the interwar period, and the postwar developments of Danish kindergartens towards present day preschool and day care centres. In this context, it may be noted that the Danish word for kindergarten (*børnehaver*) is still used today, unlike the Swedish word *barnträdgård* that lost its appeal after the second world war.

Chapter 3 addresses the role of the state in relation to both the aforementioned institutions and the professions dedicated to early care and education. The chapter commences with an analysis of the relationship between the state and the poor, before examining how the expanding welfare state transformed childcare from targeting only the poor to becoming a right for all children irrespective of their background and socioeconomic status. This chapter ends with an analysis of early care and education in the era of New Public Management and PISA rankings. Chapter 4 explores the staff of early care and education institutions, and discusses issues such as professionalization and the growth of the profession.

Chapter 5 concludes Volume 1 by discussing the general trends in the history of early education and childcare in Denmark. Among other issues, this chapter highlights the changing relationships between families, schools and the institutions catering to preschool children. This chapter also explores the professionalization process of kindergarten teachers, along with the fundamental issue of whether the profession has lost or gained in status.

Volume 2, titled *Kald og kundskab* (Vocation and Knowledge) is written by five authors. Chapter 1 is written by Christian Sandbjerg Hansen, chapter 2 by Anette Eklund Hansen, chapter 3 by Søs Bayer, and chapter 4 by Bjørn Hamre. Bayer and Kristensen has, assisted by Christian Sandbjerg Hansen, conducted the final editing of this volume, and written the introduction and the final chapter.

Volume 2 builds upon the analyses presented in Volume 1, even though it can be read independently. This second volume focuses on the pedagogy of early care and education. Taking the works of Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu as the starting point, this volume examines discontinuities among four periods in terms of dominant discourses and the prominent agents in the field of knowledge (*vidensfelt*) of early care and education.

In addition to an introductory and a concluding chapter, Volume 2 consists of

four chapters. In Chapter 1, the emergence of the field of kindergarten education in Denmark 1870–1905 is analysed through an exploration of the introduction of Friedrich Froebel's (1782–1852) ideas in Denmark, as well as notions of children's natural development, hygiene, and social pedagogy.

Chapter 2 examines the changing kindergarten education of the 1920–1945 period. The analysis presented contrasts the kindergarten pioneer Anna Wulff's Christian and philanthropically oriented Froebelian reception with the views of radical progressive educationalists that advocated the ideas of Maria Montessori, Ovide Decroly, Célestin Freinet, Peter Petersen, A. S. Neill and psychologists such as William Stern and Cyril Burt. This chapter also includes analyses of the Danish reception of Montessori and the work of the Danish Montessori Society that are truly interesting, not the least when compared to, for example, Christine Quarfood's studies of the Swedish reception of Montessori.

Chapter 3 deals with the conflicts of pedagogy of early care and education in the 1965-1985 period. It examines contrasting notions of children's development, along with conflicts between liberatory pedagogy, structural pedagogy, and pedagogy based on development theory. This chapter also delineates the varying perceptions of children, staff and institutions that characterised the period. In Chapter 4, the changes in this knowledge field that took place from the mid-1990s onwards are explored. Changing perceptions of children are discussed, specifically the notion of the competent child and the changing legal status of children, along with the notions of children's social heritage. This chapter also examines the introduction of concepts such as educare and the theory of multiple intelligences into the field of early care and education.

These two volumes are, without a doubt, an important contribution to the field of educational history in the Nordic countries. Their main strength probably stems from the project design. As four authors contributed to Volume 1 and five authors presented their works in Volume 2, their collective expertise allows for a detailed and knowledgeable analysis, whether it pertains to Samuel Wilderspin's influence on nineteenth century Danish asylums or the impact of PISA rankings and OECD reports on the current state of affairs. Due to the multivolume approach, the authors have also been able to combine analyses of details with analyses of the broad outlines of history. Thus, issues that are typically studied separately (such as, for example, the nineteenth century pedagogy of Froebel and the post-war early care and education research), are examined within the frame of a single volume. As a result, a remarkably vivid and comprehensive image of the history of early care and education emerges in these expertly written and well-researched volumes.

Despite presenting rich insights into the history of early care and education, there are naturally themes that could have been developed further. I believe that the volumes would have benefited from a more distinct comparative perspective that places the history of Danish schooling in a wider context of international history of early care and education. When, for example, discussing the development of Froebelian pedagogy in Denmark during the first half of the nineteenth century, the analysis would have benefited from illuminative comparisons to similar developments internationally. I miss references to the vital publications of, for example, Kevin Brehony, Barbara Beatty and Larry Prochner.

Since the emphasis of these works is on describing historical changes, I would also have preferred more thorough analyses of the reasons underlying the changes mapped in these volumes. There is perhaps no need to establish a final explanation, or to identify the main driving forces behind the developments in early care and education. Nonetheless, since the authors were clearly able to perform such an expert analysis, I would have appreciated more comprehensive assessment of, for example, the causes or preconditions that explain the dramatic increase in enrolments from the 1960s and the rise and decline of Froebel's pedagogy in Denmark.

As noted by the authors, works presented in these two volumes do not engage sufficiently with educational practice and gender issues. It is therefore encouraging that two additional volumes will be published in the series. Volume 3, titled *Praksis og materialitet* (Practice and Materiality), will focus on the everyday practices of institutions. Volume 4, *Myndighet og omsorg* (Authority and Care), will specifically address the changing relationships between gender, childhood, and the profession of early care and education. If these forthcoming volumes are as well written as the first two, educational historians have a lot to look forward to.

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Thank you very much for your efforts!