Education, state and citizenship

Edited by Mette Buchardt, Pirjo Markkola and Heli Valtonen
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Contact:
NCoE NordWel
Department of Political and Economic Studies
Section of Social Science History
P.O.Box 54 (Snellmaninkatu 14A)
FIN-00014 University of Helsinki
http://blogs.helsinki.fi/nord-wel/

Director: Pauli Kettunen, Department of Political and Economic Studies, University of Helsinki
Vice-Director: Klaus Petersen, Centre for Welfare State Research, University of Southern Denmark
Coordinator: Heidi Haggrén, Department of Political and Economic Studies, University of Helsinki

Cover: Katriina Rosavaara
Layout: Graafinen Suunnittelu Timo Jaakola Oy

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Introduction: Education and the making of the Nordic welfare states

METTE BUCHARDT, PIRJO MARKKOLA AND HELI VALTONEN

Education, equality and citizenship in Nordic societies have received international attention long before any PISA studies.¹ The question of equality, in the sense of gendering aspects of work and education was explicitly noted by the Danish professor of political economy and finance, N.C. Frederiksen in his book *Finland. Its public and private economy*, published in 1902. The importance of education was further highlighted in a concluding chapter “The government of Finland and its future” in which he wrote:

In the schools, as in other spheres, women hold very important positions in Finland. Their right to dispose of money earned, also of property at marriage or on coming of age, is not peculiar to Finland; but there is hardly any country where women make similar efforts to obtain education and work. Women of the higher classes do as much as those of their lower classes. The first lady obtained access to the University in 1870; in later years more than one-fifth of the younger students are women. It is not yet usual for women to hold high official positions, although they may be elected members of schoolboards and committees of public assistance, but they work in every department, and in many positions for which they are better adapted

¹ The editors wish to thank all contributors in this volume for the smooth co-operation. In particular we are grateful to Ólöf Garðarsdóttir who helped us not only with the Icelandic references but also with the Nordic history of education in general.
than men. They are found in greater numbers than men in the banks and public treasuries as cashiers and accountants, and in the post and telegraph offices. In the country the postal officials are mostly women, and half of the teachers in the public elementary schools are women.²

The Danish professor argued that the role of women was to indicate the high level of modernisation in the remote Northern European country—not even an independent state at that time. Well-educated women who worked “in many positions” were used—among other progressive features—to witness that Finland deserved its position on the political map of Europe. On the other hand, the programme of the women’s movement in Finland was not that different from the Danish one. Women in Professor Frederiksen’s own country were also very active in making efforts to ‘obtain education and work’. Among the issues promoted by the Danish Women’s Society (Dansk Kvindesamfund) were women’s right to education and work.³ Moreover, concern for education and citizenship actualised at the turn of the 20th century not only in the Nordic countries but in the western world in general.

This volume explores the history of education in the Nordic countries in relation to state and citizenship. If citizenship is understood as “a set of practices—juridical, political, economic and cultural—which define a person or through which persons define themselves as competent members of society”, as Bryan S. Turner has suggested⁴, schools and other educational institutions become crucial arenas on which citizenship is constructed. Having this in mind, this volume studies the ways in which competence was defined, constructed and constituted within the field of education and how various understandings of citizenship and competence were intertwined.

² Frederiksen, Finland, 287–288. In fact, all the details presented by Professor Frederiksen were not quite correct. For example the issue of married women’s property rights was not solved; wives had only a right to dispose their own earnings. Married women were under male guardianship until the Marriage Act of 1929. The reason why it was not usual for women to hold high official positions can also be found in the legislation. It was first in the 1920’s when women gained a right to positions in the civil service. Pylkkänen, Trapped in Equality.
⁴ Turner, ‘Contemporary problems’.
Some aspects of the development of the educational systems in the Nordic countries are particularly emphasised. First, this volume pays attention to professionalisation, knowledge production and citizenship in the making of modern societies and gradually expanding welfare policies. The chapters address the development of higher education as well as popular education in relation to developing democratic welfare states. What has been the role of the educators in higher education, the knowledge elites, in developing democracy and in schooling citizens? What are the ways in which teacher education and educational sciences as well as vocational education and civic education have shaped citizenship, identities and competence in the modernising states? To be more precise, we ask how the educators of future citizens were educated and how their identities were shaped. Moreover, the volume discusses how educational institutions have aimed at educating civil servants in the professions and the so-called semi-professions.

Second, this volume explores the educational ideas and practices around Lutheran Christianity in relation to the education of future citizens. While some chapters address the historical role of churches in popular education, some other chapters analyse how the role of religion and the ways of teaching religion were developed and changed along the way to democratic and secular (welfare) states.

Mass education in the Nordic states

The Nordic countries share a long interrelated history of conflicts and compromises, comparisons and co-operation, resulting both in similarities and differences in state-making, nation-building and social institutions. The concept 'Nordic model' has often been used to refer to the welfare state, but it can also refer to economic policy (the Nordic economic model), politics (the Nordic political model), industrial relations (the Nordic model of labour relations) and to education. Sometimes the Nordic model is conceptualised as a model with five exceptions whereas some other studies emphasise differences between East (Sweden and Finland) and West (Denmark,

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5 Hilson, *The Nordic Model*; Telhaug, Mediås & Aasen, 'The Nordic Model in Education'.
6 E.g. Christiansen & al (eds.), *The Nordic Model of Welfare*. 
Norway and Iceland). In the case of education both conceptualisations seem to be relevant, depending on the aspects of education and schooling under study. Each country has followed its own, yet inter-related, entangled and interdependent path in educational reforms.

Until the early 19th century the educational systems were disjointed all over the Nordic countries. Popular education was mainly organised locally by families and supervised by local clergy. The Swedish Church Law of 1686 and the Danish-Norwegian School Act in 1739 put responsibility on the clergy for the education of their parishioners. This was connected to confirmation education, the aim of which was to teach the common people the rudiments of learning, i.e. Christianity, ability to read basic religious texts and less often also writing. Confirmation was made compulsory in Denmark (as well as in Norway and Iceland) since 1736, and in Sweden (and Finland) more or less compulsory education before the first communion was provided since the 1740’s. On the level of legislation there was an obvious ambition to establish schools in Denmark and Norway whereas in Sweden home education was preferred. Although some forms of schools were arranged, a large majority of the Swedish and Finnish children received instruction from their parents, relatives or neighbours. Moreover, home education kept its central role in the Icelandic popular education.

The development of public primary schools in the 19th century indicated changed notions of educational standards. Denmark and Norway were first to reform their educational systems in the early 19th century. In Denmark popular primary schools (almueskolen) were founded in 1814, and the Norwegian primary school act dates from 1827. Sweden followed in 1842, obliging every parish to found at least one elementary school (folkskola). Similar legislation was passed in 1860 in Norway (almueskoleloven, establishing rural common people’s schools) and in 1866 in Finland (elementary school

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In the Icelandic case a new education act was introduced in 1880 where individual households were required to teach children to write, together with basic skills in arithmetic. The central goal of these reforms was the development of popular education in rural parishes. The concern for rural areas was obviously justified, because the rural and urban childhoods differed remarkably. By the end of the 19th century, most children in towns attended school whereas rural children were often taught in church-based ambulatory schools or in home education provided by parents.

The Danish school reform of 1814 implied the principle of compulsory education whereas in other countries the introduction of popular primary schooling and compulsory education were more or less separate. Compulsory education was introduced in Sweden in 1882 and in Iceland in 1907. In Norway, elementary school was made a compulsory school for all children in 1889 education acts which did not allow a separation of pupils in the first five grades. In this context, the Finnish law on compulsory education was passed relatively late, in 1921. Despite there being laws, in practice compulsory education was not fully realised until after the WWII. Moreover, for instance in Denmark, Finland and Iceland, compulsory education did not mean compulsory schooling although in practice most of the children were to receive their primary education in schools.

A central issue on the road to developing a comprehensive school system aimed for the whole population was the question about access to secondary level education. As an important step in the process the classical learned schools were reformed. In Finland, the 1843 school reform had changed the trivial schools into preparatory schools and grammar schools, supplemented by upper secondary schools (gymnasium). They offered a classical and modern line. In Sweden the law for the higher school (läroverket) from 1849 introduced a more practically oriented line, which meant that the gymna-

9 Stugu, ‘Educational Ideals and Nation Building’; Jalava, Kansanopetuksen suuri murros; Sandin, Hemmet, gatan, fabriken eller skolan.
11 Tuomaala, ‘Kamppailu yhteisestä koulusta ja oppivelvollisuudesta’; Rinne & Kivirauma, ‘The Historical Formation’, 71; Richardson, Svensk utbildningshistoria; Stugu, ‘Educational Ideals and Nation Building’. For Iceland, see Garðarsdóttir in this volume.
sium contained a Latin line and a so-called real-line, without the classics.\textsuperscript{12} In both countries, learned schools and elementary schools (\textit{folkskola}) were initiated as two independent institutions, but during the 20th century some compromises were made and after three or four grades in an elementary school a pupil could apply to a grammar school.\textsuperscript{13}

In Norway and Denmark the introduction of the so-called middle school became a way to create an organic connection between \textit{folkeskolen} and the learned school. A Norwegian model with a middle school was established in 1869, and the school laws in 1889 continued this development by bringing together the different school types on the primary level in order to form a common school for all children. Until the mid-20th century the Norwegian school system consisted of mandatory elementary school (\textit{folkeskolen}) after which it was possible to study at a secondary school, \textit{realskolen}, and then continue at an upper secondary school (\textit{Gymnas}).\textsuperscript{14} In Denmark the Latin schools were replaced by a four years middle school in 1903, followed by the choice of either a one year so-called Realskole or by the Gymnasium, the later providing access to the university. The idea was that the Gymnasium should be possible to reach also from the Folkeskole.\textsuperscript{15} As in Sweden, for instance, the Social Democrats and the Liberals were the main political architects in this reform, the first of several during the century aimed at mass education also on the secondary level. Also in Sweden, a middle school was introduced in 1909, providing an alternative route to enter an upper secondary school. In Iceland, a school reform of 1904 followed the Danish model. The only Latin school in Iceland was altered into a grammar school, the emphasis on the classics was diminished and the school was divided into a lower and an upper section.\textsuperscript{16}

Until the second half of the 20th-century vocational training and secondary education directed towards university were divided into separate sys-

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{14} Dokka, \textit{En skole gjennom}; Dokka, \textit{Fra almueskole}; Dale, ‘Dannelsesprogram og enhetsskole’.
\item \textsuperscript{15} Skovgaard-Petersen, \textit{Dannelse og demokrati}.
\item \textsuperscript{16} Florin & Johansson, ‘Dår de härliga’; For Iceland, Ármannsson et. al. \textit{Saga Reykjavikurskóla}, 70–84.
\end{itemize}
tems. In all the Nordic countries, both lower vocational and college-level vocational education began to develop in the 19th century, expanding in the 20th century, especially after World War II, until the 1970’s.\textsuperscript{17} Since the 1970’s the division between vocational training and the higher secondary level education seem to be blurring. In Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Iceland vocational training is today included in the high school system, in the form of vocational high school lines in the Swedish gymnasium and in Denmark in the form of a technical gymnasium, although shorter vocational training programmes also continue to exist.\textsuperscript{18} In Finland, the access to higher education has been widened in two ways. Entrance examinations, in which universities select their students, are open to secondary vocational education graduates; moreover, vocational schools provide optional upper secondary school courses leading to the matriculation exam.\textsuperscript{19}

In 20\textsuperscript{th} century modernising societies, the increasing demand for a qualified labour force could be used as an argument for the responsibility of the society to take part in the expenditure of education that lasted longer than the previous mandatory schooling which was quite short until the post-war period. By 1949, mandatory schooling in Sweden was extended from six to seven years. Until the 1950’s, most Finnish children finished their mandatory education by the age of 13; the new school Act in 1957 expanded the age span from seven to sixteen years. According to the Iceland school Act in 1936, schooling was mandatory for children from the age of seven to the age of fourteen; in 1946 it was extended to the age of fifteen. In Norway, correspondingly, mandatory education in the early 1950’s lasted seven years, from the age of seven to fourteen years of age. In the 1960’s the Norwegian compulsory school was expanded to nine years, covering the age span from seven to sixteen years. Similarly in Denmark mandatory education was expanded to nine years in 1972.\textsuperscript{20}

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{17} For Finland see Klemelä, \textit{Ammatikkunnista ammatillisiin oppilaitoksiin}; Klemelä & Vanittaja, ‘Ammatillinen koulu’.
\bibitem{18} \textit{National summary sheets}, 4–5; Iván, ‘Upper Secondary School Reform in Norway’, 197
\bibitem{20} Holmesland, ‘The Comprehensive Schools’, 252; Guttormsson & Garðarsdóttir, ‘Íslenskr barnakennaringar 1930 og 1960’; Today comprehensive education lasts ten years in Iceland and Norway, from the age of six to sixteen years.
\end{thebibliography}
Although some educational reforms aiming at a comprehensive system of popular education were tried out during the 20th century, the Nordic educational systems remained strongly segregated on the basis of social status and to some extent gender until the comprehensive school reforms in the second half of the century. For example in Finland and Sweden, the former system forced the children or their parents to choose between a lower and higher level of education at the age of eleven or thirteen years at the latest.\footnote{For Finland, see Rinne & Kivirauma, \textit{Koulutussellista alaluokkaa etsimässä}; Jauhiainen, ‘Työväen tyttöjen kasvatus naiskansalaiseksi’; Florin & Johansson, \textit{Där de härliga}.} Thus, the post-WWII era spelt an age of major school reforms in all the Nordic countries. Comprehensive schools were introduced in the 1960’s and 1970’s, with the Swedish establishment of a comprehensive school of nine years as the first in 1962. With these reforms, the old dual systems with elementary schools and grammar schools were replaced by a compulsory schooling of nine years, providing similar basic education for the whole age group, often followed by upper-secondary schooling. However, just to give an example, as late as in the early 1970’s almost half of the Norwegian age group 16–17 was entering the labour market as workers or apprentices.\footnote{Frønes, \textit{The Transformation of Childhood}, 21–22.} It was not until the 1980’s and 1990’s that the vast majority of youth spent their days in secondary or vocational schools.

Changes in educational systems, as those pointed to above, have usually followed a pattern in which responsibility is moved from the church to the state or municipalities, and this has usually happened in the context of nation-building. In this respect, however, breaks with the past have not always been abrupt, partly because the Lutheran churches have had a significant role in the Nordic national projects. Here we can also find some national differences. In Denmark, in spite of the educational reform, the Lutheran church still kept some tasks within the school system. Between 1814 and 1933 there was a combined state/municipal and church control. The parish priests were members of the school commissions in the municipalities. Moreover, responsibility for the supervision and control of the teaching and schools was included in the visitations of the bishops.\footnote{Reeh, \textit{Debatten om afviklingen}, 165–182.}
sibility for arranging schooling shifted from the church to the state and municipalities, when the National Board of Education was established in 1869, even though the circles near the church still had a say on the matter of education and schooling. Many of the authorities in the field of education were trained theologians and often also ordained clergy of the Lutheran church. A similar trend took place in Sweden, where for instance the function of the bishop appointed as an overseer formally disappeared with the grammar school reform in 1905. Responsibility for school matters on the elementary level was finally removed from church to civil authorities in 1930 for rural school; in urban schools it had been made possible already in 1909.24

Regarding the governance of school institutions, the removal of power from the church to state and municipal authorities was a long and multifaceted process, as described by Faye Jacobsen, Kotilainen and Buchardt in this volume. This is also pictured in the fact that today religion as a school subject is still taught in all the Nordic countries, but in different models with regard to the role of the church and the religious character of the content. The Icelandic, Danish and Finnish models still uphold different types and degrees of relation to confessions, including the Lutheran church, and for instance Finland offers an alternative school subject, ethics (elämänkatso-mustieto) to children without a religious affiliation. In Sweden and Norway the connection to the Lutheran church has been removed, and has not been replaced with connections to a wider range of religious communities, as is for instance the case in Finland. This should also be seen as a different solution to the religious element of the question of how to handle diversity in the Nordic educational systems, which during the 20th century has increasingly formulated aims about offering education on equal terms regardless of the background of the students.

Equal access to education
In the course of the 20th century, the Nordic educational policies turned more explicitly towards equality as a leading principle. Equal access to edu-

cation, both in terms of class, gender and geography, gained more attention among politicians and educational authorities. Also equal rights and access to education for religious and cultural minorities have been debated throughout the century. Early promoters of the egalitarian ideas on enlightenment and education were N.F.S. Grundtvig’s followers, who established folk high schools around the Nordic countries since the 1840’s. These institutes gave men and women access to education regardless of their social background or previous studies.\(^{25}\)

Gender equality, in particular, was on the agenda of the women’s movement since the 19th century. In addition to primary school education, women saw their educational opportunities expand in the 19th century with the increase in grammar school teaching, the strengthening of the co-educational idea, and the development of women’s vocational and higher education across the Nordic countries. Secondary and grammar school teaching aimed at girls expanded, and the idea of a common education for girls and boys was expanded to include grammar schools, which in turn reduced the differences in the education provided. Underlying the expansion of co-education were the various types of school that had developed alongside the classical grammar school: girls schools and grammar schools with a modern curriculum had gradually eroded the traditional educational model founded on a social order determined by class and gender.\(^{26}\)

The new co-educationally oriented non-classical grammar schools and the girls’ grammar schools represented an important institution from the viewpoint of women’s education. In Finland, in particular, the proportion of women completing grammar school courses compared with men completing equivalent courses rose rapidly. Already in the 1910’s, girls made up over 50% of all grammar school pupils.\(^{27}\) In Sweden, private grammar schools for girls remained important until the 20th century; municipal middle schools

\(^{25}\) Korsgaard & Wiborg, ‘Grundtvig—the Key to Danish Education?’; Högnäs, ‘The Concept of Bildung and the Education of the Citizen’.

\(^{26}\) For Finland, see Hakaste, *Yhteiskasvatuksen kehitys 1800-luvun Suomessa*; For Sweden see Nordström, *Pojkskola, Flickskola, Samskola*.

and some grammar schools were the first to accept both male and female students since 1905. In Iceland, the first *kvennaskóli*, ‘women’s school’ was established in the 1870’s. In Denmark girls were granted access to the public gymnasia in 1903 and in Iceland in 1904. However, already in 1859 Danish women were entitled to undergo the elementary teacher’s examination, which had to take place on private institutions until 1918. One of the pioneers in girls’ education was Nathalie Zahle’s teachers’ college for women.

Some regional Nordic differences can be found in the understanding of equality between urban and rural areas. This was an issue under change from especially the end of the 19th century, when industrialisation gradually started to decrease the share of primary production both in terms of GDP and labour input. It also meant increasing migration from the countryside to the growing cities, although a major part of the populations of the Nordic countries continued to earn their living either from agriculture and forestry or from fishery. However, for the level and curricula of primary education in the 19th century, there were big differences between rural and urban schools in Denmark, Norway and Iceland—also with regard to hours of instruction and curricular content. Until the 1950’s part-time schools were common in rural areas. In Denmark it was not before the 1958 Educational Act that the formal educational requirements were made identical in rural and urban areas; in Norway separate school laws for urban and rural areas were followed until 1959. Only the introduction of full-time schools in rural areas established the idea of schools as children’s primary place of learning and schooling. On the level of legislation, Sweden and Finland treated their urban and rural areas equally, making no major difference between rural and urban schools, albeit in Finland a nationwide curriculum for rural elementary schools was given in 1925 whereas urban elementary schools were

28 On the women’s schools in Iceland, see Halldórsdóttir, *Núttimans konur*.
30 In Iceland most children in rural areas were enrolled in ambulatory schools for a few weeks each year; as late as in 1940 one third of all Icelandic children went to ambulatory schools. Guttormsson, *Farskólahald í sextíu ár*, 207–222.
31 For Norway, Stugu, *Educational Ideals*, 115; For Denmark, de Coninck Smith, *The struggle for the child’s time*, 149.
not regulated as strictly. In practice, however, rural schools were not as well resourced, and many exceptions and exemptions were made in rural areas. In Sweden exemptions for part-time schooling in rural areas were given until the 1940’s, but in general full-time schooling increased rapidly since the 1920’s. Moreover, very elementary ambulatory schools were still arranged in remote rural areas by the time almost every child in urban areas attended primary education.

As in many other western countries, from the 1950’s onwards the Nordic school systems were strained by the large age groups born after the war. Educational institutions especially at the secondary and higher level formed a bottleneck, which required substantial enlargement. Attempts to solve these problems, together with a renewed emphasis on the societal significance of education and schooling, led to an expansion of educational systems throughout the western world. In Finland, for example, there was a significant growth in the number of grammar schools, vocational schools and institutions of higher education. Moreover, the reforms promoted geographical equality. In higher education alone, nine such institutions were established between 1950 and 1970 in Finland, many of them in northern and eastern parts of the country. A similar tendency can be found in Sweden where, for example, the Umeå University was established in 1965. In Norway, the expansion started already in 1946 when the University of Bergen was established. In 1968 access to higher education improved further, when the University of Tromsø was founded and Norges tekniske høgskole and Norges Lærerhøgskole were merged into the University of Trondheim. In Denmark the foundation of Aarhus University in 1928 meant that it was now possible to perform university studies outside the capital, and for instance the upgrading of the teachers’ in-service training institution Danmarks Lærerhøjskole to higher educational institution, which was completed through a law passed in 1963, meant that teachers could now complete a degree on the masters level. Similar developments were observed in Iceland where the Teacher’s Training College was transferred to a university level in

1971; in 2008 it was integrated into the University of Iceland. Geographical equality was further enhanced in the 1980’s when a new university in Akureyri was opened.33

**Education, professionalisation and the state**

The emergence of nation states and the rise of bureaucratic governance, which increased a demand for education and expert training in several fields of society, have been connected to professionalisation. Universities, in particular, had a critical role in the training of civil servants and other experts for the needs of the state.34 These needs became even more evident in the 20th century, when constructing the welfare states in the Nordic countries: social engineering became a central tool in the process, which shifted societal power increasingly from politicians to social engineers (experts) who had high knowledge resources, acquired through education.35 Along this process, education systems were tuned not just to train experts and specialists for the demands of the administration, but to be of use for the state in other ways as well, i.e. to educate citizens and to raise the “level” of the citizenship and to benefit the economy and business by training a skilled labour force and specialists. In this volume, the role of education and knowledge acquisition related to citizenship is discussed, especially by Kettunen, Kaarninen and Valtonen.

Like other social sectors, the educational systems have also been shaped by increasing professionalisation36. The professionalisation of the teaching occupations has been dated to the early 1960’s in Western societies, and at least since the 1960’s teaching has been seen as a profession or a semi-profession37. The first half of the 20th century was the era of the emergence of

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35 Bertilsson, ‘The welfare state, the professions and citizens’; Svensson, ‘Knowledge as professional resource’; Lundqvist & Petersen, ‘Experts, knowledge and the Nordic welfare states’.
mass education in most of the Western countries. It was also the time of pre-professional teachers, who were described as enthusiastic people who knew their subject matter and knew how to get it across, and who were able to keep order in their classes. The rapid increase in the number of teachers improved women’s chances to enter the profession, as is noted by Garðarsdóttir and Junila in this volume. In the 1960’s and 1970’s the status of teachers was improved, when the autonomy of teachers increased in many countries and the knowledge base in teacher education became more academic.38

The increasing demand for theoretical knowledge replaced the emphasis on practical skills in teacher education. In the Nordic countries, like other countries as well, the professionalisation of teaching has been closely related to teacher education and its developments. In Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden the primary teacher education in the 19th century took place in teacher seminaries, which did not require a degree on secondary education from their students. Similarly, upper secondary school (gymnasium, gymnas) teachers were educated mainly in the universities. In the 20th century the interest to raise the education level of primary school teachers was actualised, leading to different kinds of solutions in the shape of teacher education reforms. For example, in Finland eventually all teacher training from nursery school teachers to adult educators transferred from other educational institutes to the universities. The actual transformation occurred between the 1970’s and 1990’s; in the 1970’s all class teacher training was transferred to the universities, and since the mid-1990’s nursery school teachers have received their education at the universities or, in some cases, at the polytechnics.39

Educational systems and the history of the welfare states

Education, schooling and knowledge production as aspects of the Nordic welfare states deserve scholarly attention for several reasons. A good quality of mass education is a crucial element of equal citizenship in democratic so-

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39 See Erixon, Frånberg & Kallös (eds), The Role of Graduate and Postgraduate Studies and Research.
cieties; moreover, educational systems define social relations and influence the implementation of social justice in modern societies. Education policy can also be seen as a powerful agent of social change. In this volume we suggest that studies in the history of education and knowledge production contribute to a better understanding of the multi-layered historicity of present welfare states and welfare policies. Education policies have not been negotiated and constructed in a societal vacuum. This is clearly indicated by Sem Fure in her article on the role of Norwegian educational elites during the Nazi occupation. On the contrary, social change and educational reforms are interrelated phenomena and changes in educational systems are often linked to issues of citizenship, equality and justice.

Nevertheless, educational systems on the one hand and the welfare state on the other are quite often discussed separately. A historiographical tradition in Nordic welfare state research has emphasised social security, social policy and labour relations, whereas a broader understanding in which educational systems, health policies and housing conditions, among others, would be included, seems to be less common in historical and social science studies. However, the massive international research effort in the 1980’s, resulting in a multi-volume publication *Growth to limits*, is a good example of early comparative welfare state studies, and although the emphasis is on social security systems, education is by no means ignored. Yet, in the assessments of achievements and shortcomings, some national reports still seem to give less space to education than other reports. The appendix, including an overview and key statistics on education in the countries compared, indicates that the large-scale comparative project conceived education as an integral element of the welfare states. Also Anne-Lise Seip’s comprehensive studies in Norwegian social policies and health policies include the role of

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43 For instance the German and Finnish reports: Jens Alber, ‘Germany’, 79–83; Alestalo & Uusitalo, ‘Finland’, 236.
44 Flora, *Growth to limits 4*. 
policies towards children and the impact of the educational system in this respect.45

The more recent ambitious project to write the Danish welfare history in six volumes refers to international comparisons in its choice to rely on the narrow definition of the welfare state, i.e. to concentrate on social security, social protection and social services. Another alternative would have been to apply a broad definition of the welfare state in which education policy, health policy and housing policy would have been included.46 The narrow definition is in line with a vast body of previous research47; however, a growing interest towards education in relation to welfare policies is discernible. There is a tradition to discuss education as part of a wider frame of social spending, thus combining education and social welfare.48 Knowledge-intensive economies, educational gaps and the impact of social inheritance in current societies, among others, raise new questions about the role of education.49 During the recent years, Gøsta Esping-Andersen, among others, has paid attention to education and children50; thus possibly bridging the traditional gap between welfare state studies on the one hand and education or school studies on the other.

In the field of the history of education, often in the disciplinary intersection with the sociology of education, the relation between state formation and the development of national education systems has traditionally been a central issue.51 Also the question of the development of the welfare state in relation to the development of mass schooling has been the topic of interest for the historians of education. In a Nordic context, relatively wide scholarly

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47 For example, Esping-Andersen, Three worlds of welfare capitalism; Baldwin, The Politics of Social Solidarity; Åmark, Hundra år av välfärdspolitik.
48 Lindert, Growing Public.
49 Esping-Andersen, ‘Towards the Good Society’, 3, 56,
50 Esping-Andersen, ‘Education and Equal Life-Chances’; Esping-Andersen, ‘Childhood investments and skill formation’; Esping-Andersen, ‘Child Care and School Performance’.
51 E.g. Archer, Social Origins of Educational Systems; Green, Education and state formation; Ramirez & Boli, ‘The political Construction’. A theme issue of a leading journal in the field, Paedagogica Historica, is devoted to new perspectives on the old debate on the history of education in relation to state and society, vol 49, nr. 1 2013.
attention has been paid to the development of a united school for primary and lower secondary education. In a Danish and Norwegian context especially the role of social democracy and the educational expertise that was mobilised in the heyday of social democratic educational politics during the 20th century is a topic directly linking the educational system to the historical development of the welfare states.52

The Nordic model of education, in particular the possible similarities between the Nordic educational systems as they developed under the social democratic welfare policies in the 20th century, has been of interest to researchers. The Finnish scholar Ari Antikainen defines the Nordic model of education as an attempt to construct a national educational system on the foundation of local values and practices, but also as subject to international influences. As common characteristics for the Nordic education model he detects values such as equity, participation, and welfare as its major goals, and the publicly funded comprehensive school system as the main form of this ideal model.53

The aim of this volume is to explore new dimensions and research questions which occur when two interrelated but often, for practical reasons, separated historiographic traditions are brought together. The contributions indicate that the authors’ research interests in the development of the Nordic educational systems bring to the fore new aspects of the Nordic welfare states. New perspectives in the history of education and knowledge add to the rethinking of the history of the Nordic welfare states and the other way around. The authors find several advantages in understanding the development of the educational system—of educational institutions and educational thought—as part of the development of the welfare states and welfare state mentalities. This volume does not claim to provide final answers on the role of education in the Nordic welfare state history; rather it attempts to put focus on potential unexplored areas for new research.

52 Kolstrup, Velfærdsstatens rødder, Kruchow, 'Socialdemokratiet og folkeskolen', Nørgaard, 'Fra Vanløse til Esbjerg', de Coninck-Smith, For barnets skyld, e.g. 33–35; Dale, De strategiske pedagoger; Volckmar, 'Knowledge and solidarity'.
53 Antikainen, 'In search of a Nordic Model of education'. See also Telhaug et al., 'The Nordic model in Education'.
On the basis of presentations of research in the history of education and knowledge in different Nordic contexts from primary school to university level this volume addresses the ways in which studies in the development of educational institutions and educational thought in the Nordic countries can enlarge the scope of welfare state history. This is done by focusing on how, in different periods between the mid-19th to the mid-20th century, the educational system aspired towards schooling into citizenship, towards educating the future citizens of the state and towards developing understandings of citizenship and the forms of state.

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Vocational education and the tensions of modernity in a Nordic periphery

PAULI KETTUNEN

Introduction

“As economic life put increasing demands on those active in it, it became important to raise the level of education.” This is how the education and training reforms in Finland between the World Wars are explained in Suomen taloushistoria (The Economic History of Finland).\(^1\) It has been easy to portray vocational education and training as responses to the needs and problems created by technological progress and industrial modernisation. Vocational education combines the needs of production processes and the needs of workers. It is, by its very nature, above any conflicts of divergent interests and has nothing to do with power.

It is not enough to refer to the inherent logic of economic and technological change when trying to understand the development of vocational education. This is clearly indicated in studies on Finnish vocational education focusing on political and cultural contexts and differences in national practices and trajectories.\(^2\) Nevertheless, the simplistic form of functionalism appearing in historical textbooks and general overviews reflects something important in the development of vocational education as it explains vocational education inside the grand narrative of modernisation.

Vocational education developed as answers to different questions that were often posed and justified as if they were automatic outcomes of social

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1 Ahvenainen & Vartiainen, ‘Itsenäisen Suomen talouspolitiikka’, 186.
2 Heikkinen, Lahtökohtia; Kaarninen, Nykyajan; Klemelä, Ammattikunnista; Anttila & Suoranta, Ammattia.
transformations. It is critical to recognise the power inherent in defining a question: struggles on the right answer to a given question tend to conceal the power of posing the question itself. The history of vocational education in the 19th and 20th centuries can be seen as a history of answers to questions that actors, in different ways and with different vocabularies, conceived as being part of a modernising nation-state society.

In this chapter, I will focus on Finland in the first half of the 20th century and examine a few different ways of advocating vocational education as an answer to social and political questions. Motivating my approach, I first discuss the general characteristics of the modernising nation-state society as the framework of defining these questions and answers. With support from this discussion, I then clarify the choice of three empirical cases. In all these cases vocational education was associated with a political agenda, combining economic rationalisation, social integration and individual disciplination, and the political agency of social groups in varying kinds of middle position.

Rationalisation, integration, disciplination

When “the space of experience” and “the horizon of expectation” were structured by modernisation, social and political questions were defined in ways that touched on the relationships between the modern and the traditional. Both the modern and the traditional were provided with two faces. The modern included the continuous breaking of the existing structures, on the one hand, and the continuous making of rational order, on the other. The traditional, in turn, appeared, on the one hand, as a continuous and harmonious community that was dangerously disintegrated by modernity at the same time as, on the other hand, it appeared as irrationality that had to be overcome through modern efficiency and progress. We can recognise a widely shared political and cultural orientation that, in its many conflicting variants, combined the will to rationalise the world of traditional irrationality with concern about the destruction of the traditional community.

3 Previous, longer versions of this study are Kettunen, ‘Millaisiin kysymyksiin’ (2001) and ‘Vocational Education as an Answer’ (2010).
4 Koselleck, Vergangene, 331–335.
5 Featherstone, Undoing, 147–148.
Rationalisation was linked with the inventing and modifying of traditions. The most important form of “invented traditions” is nationalism, the ideology of the making of the nation, an “imagined community”.6 Modernisation and the construction of the nation-state were widely adopted in 19th-century Europe as overlapping horizons of expectation. They overlapped especially in the concept of society and in the defining of social questions and relationships between the social and the economic.

Within the framework of modernising nation-state society (the circle in Figure 1), intellectuals, experts, entrepreneurs, politicians and the leaders and activists of popular movements defined questions from two intersecting perspectives: as issues of rationalisation and as problems of maintaining, creating and restoring social cohesion. Questions concerning people as subjects7 were raised at the intersection of these two perspectives. In connection with these questions, norms and criteria associated with age, gender and social class were constructed in order to define and assess the positions and capacities of people as actors in the market, in production, in the family and in the national community.

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7 Foucault, ‘The Subject and Power’. 
A particular crossing of temporal and spatial dimensions appears important in how the modernising nation-state society in the Nordic countries was conceived as the framework for social problems and solutions. The elite groups that were active in nation-building processes consciously adopted the distinction between what later became referred to as centre and periphery. In varying ways, they did so also elsewhere in European peripheries. This mode of thought was preconditioned by and contributed to how different parts of Europe were integrated in expanding capitalism. It included a self-definition of the nation in spatial and temporal terms as well as a mode of defining social problems and solutions and, thus, political tasks.

In a country like Finland, which was small and, even by Nordic standards, late to industrialise, international comparisons came to play a particularly prominent role. From the latter half of the 19th century onwards, such comparisons became integral in the way the educated elite analysed society and defined socio-political tasks. The outside world provided a framework of external preconditions and constraints, hopes and threats, impulses and alarming ideas, models and warning examples, points of reference and boundaries of the possible.

It was a question not only of imitating the more developed countries but also of deliberately attempting to anticipate social problems by taking on board experiences from “more civilized” countries, above all from Germany, and to a somewhat lesser extent from Britain and, in matters relating to labour efficiency, the United States. It was considered important to learn from both the solutions and the mistakes of these countries so as to be able to exploit what have been called “the advantages of backwardness.” One may characterise this mode of thought and action as an avant-gardism of the intellectual elite of a peripheral country. It also resulted in contradictory tendencies: either in emphasising the backwardness of Finnish society or in overestimating the speed of its modernisation. Typically, a long time lag began to appear between the first definitions of a problem and its solution, and the concomitant practical consequences and applications. This can be

8 Petrusewicz, ‘The Modernisation of the European Periphery’.
also seen in the history of Finnish vocational education.

Many ideas and impulses were transferred to Finland via Sweden, but it was only since the 1930’s, and especially after World War II, that Sweden was looked at as itself representing the forefront of modernisation. Nevertheless, contacts to Sweden, a part of which Finland had been before 1809, and the positioning of Finland in the Norden came to play an important role for the “comparative imagination”\textsuperscript{10} that was constitutive of the nation as “imagined community”. Promoted by intra-Nordic communication in different fields of social knowledge since the late 19th century, ‘Nordic’ came to represent an active future-oriented peripheral perspective towards the varying centres of modernity.

Instead of giving a general historical overview of vocational education in Finland or a comparative account of Finnish peculiarities, I will focus on a few different argumentations giving vocational education a role in economic rationalisation, social integration and the shaping of individual agency. In all three cases, groups in some kind of middle position in the social hierarchy play the main role: urban artisans, industrial foremen and supervisors, and those doing so-called “intellectual work”.

This selection is far from representative with respect to the occupational structure of Finland. In 1910, three quarters of the population earned their living in agriculture and forestry, and as late as in 1940 the proportion was about 60 per cent\textsuperscript{11}. The choice of cases cannot be justified by claiming that issues of economic efficiency, social cohesion and individual self-discipline did not touch agriculture, or that agriculture was not included in the field of vocational education. Modernisation was not considered identical with industrialisation and urbanisation in the Finland of the first half of the 20th century. Just before World War II, in the late 1930’s, the country was, in the view of many contemporary reformers, a permanently rural-dominated, rapidly modernising society\textsuperscript{12}. Agricultural modernisation was promoted by means of education and enlightenment for men and women, and there

\textsuperscript{10} Sluga, ‘The nation and the comparative imagination’.
\textsuperscript{11} Manninen, Selvitys.
\textsuperscript{12} For example on the views of Alvar Aalto, see Nupponen, Arkkitehdit, 81–82.
were organisations promoting the rationalisation of work and production. Many occupational branches outside of agriculture are also bypassed in what follows. For example, it would be necessary to consider trade, health care and teaching in order to discuss the gendered structures of vocational education and working life. And, not least, it is important to keep in mind that in the time discussed here, the overwhelming majority of the occupation-ally-active population learned their skills in everyday practices of life and work and not by formal vocational education.

Still, the chosen cases help to highlight important aspects of the modes and prerequisites of defining some particular issues as problems that vocational education could solve. They lead to the discussion of the relationship between modernity and tradition, and in all these cases the multi-faceted intertwining of knowledge and power is apparent. The three cases also illustrate how vocational education, in response to questions of economic rationalisation, social cohesion and individual discipline, has reinforced some basic institutional principles of the modernising nation-state society. I am making heuristic use of the theoretical elaborations of Mary Douglas in claiming that market, hierarchy and community are such institutional principles. The motivation for vocational education in the following cases came from different concerns associated with each of these principles. In the first case it was about artisans in the market, in the second it was about supervisors in the industrial hierarchy, and in the third it was about “intellectual work” in the national community.

**Artisans in the marketplace**

Historians interested in the petite bourgeoisie have criticised the old stereotypical conception of linear development in which artisans are portrayed as losing the battle against industrialisation and economic modernisation. The battle for artisanship and skilled work could be successful against industrial rationalisation, or in finding the means to adapt to it. The case of Jalmari

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14 Teräs, “Työssäoppiminen ja työelämän murros.”
16 Grossick & Haupt, 'Shopkeepers, Master Artisan and the Historian'; Fink, Mittelstand.
Kekkonen (1878–1948) gives reason to ask whether such a battle could even play an active role in industrial modernisation, in Finland and elsewhere. Kekkonen was a key figure in laying the groundwork for vocational education in Finland from the first decade of the 20th century until the 1930’s. He was a spokesman for artisanship and Taylorism. Before the First World War he was active in importing both Mittelstandpolitik and scientific management to Finland.

In 1911, Jalmari Kekkonen, an architect by training, began his service in the National Board of Industry as the inspector of vocational schools for handicrafts and industries. There were about 45 schools of that type in Finland and about 3,300 students. Before his two decades in the inspector office, he had already been active in the field, not only as an industry school teacher but also by mediating and translating ideas and innovations from abroad.17

Frederick Winslow Taylor’s The Principles of Scientific Management (1911) was translated by Kekkonen and published in Finnish in 1914. Soon afterwards he also translated Arbetets vetenskap (The Science of Work). This was written by Professor Jakob Johannes Sederholm, a Finnish Swedish-speaking geologist who was one of the first in the Nordic countries, and even in Europe, to import Taylorism.18 Kekkonen saw scientific management not so much as a solution to problems in a large-scale industrial work organisation but more as a way of enhancing the ability of handicrafts or small-scale manufacturing enterprises to survive in competition. Before publishing these translations he had already written extensively on the importance of rational planning and accounting for success in one’s craft or occupation.

In 1910 Kekkonen published an article about the “middle-class movement” in a periodical for handicrafts and small-scale-manufacturing entrepreneurs. He noted that the movement had become prominent in Central Europe, and also to some degree in Scandinavia. The middle class consisted of the groups falling between “speculating big capitalists” and the “revolu-

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17 Kettunen & Turunen, ‘The Middle Class, Knowledge and the Idea’; Heikkinen, Lähtökohtia.
18 Kettunen, Työjärjestys, 11–41.
tionary proletariat”, and was threatened by the struggle between these two forces. These middle-class groups—on the one hand independent artisans, small-scale manufacturers and shopkeepers, and on the other hand “so-called free professionals” including lawyers, doctors, engineers, teachers and civil servants—each had not only their own interests but also a common “class interest”, which was essentially different from the interests of the capitalists and the proletariat. The objective of both “capitalism” and “democratic socialism” was to achieve domination of one class over the others. The “rational middle-class policy”, in contrast, was oriented towards the interests of the whole and the rights of everybody.19

Thus, for Kekkonen, the defence and modernisation of handicraft enterprises was a major problem and solution of social and political integration. Kekkonen had become acquainted with middle-class policies in 1909 while travelling in Central Europe and Scandinavia on a grant from the government. In 1911 he took part in the third international middle-class congress in Munich, organised by the international middle-class organisation, which maintained its headquarters in Brussels. The congress focused especially on the problem of the “industrial middle class”.20 The international middle-class movement, or “petit-bourgeoisie International”, was mainly a project of Social Catholics, a group of Belgian Catholic intellectuals being the most active. In Belgium the question des classes moyennes had assumed a particularly well-recognised status, including a special office in state administration.21

It was not only the long-term effects of industrialisation on handicrafts but also the current political situation that lay behind Kekkonen’s interest in the middle-class question. Linked with the revolutionary turmoil in Russia in 1905–1907, mass politics and the labour movement had made a breakthrough in Finland. The most democratic representative system in Europe had suddenly replaced the old political system of estates. Even though limited by the authority of the Russian Emperor, from 1906 the Parliament of Finland (eduskunta) was based on universal suffrage that even included

19 Kekkonen, ’Keskiluokka-liike’.
20 ’Mittelstandsforderungen’; ’III:s kansainvälinen keskisäätykongressi Münchenissä’.
women. In one of the most rural countries in Europe the labour party gained proportionally stronger support than in any other country. For all practical purposes the concept of the working class in the Finnish labour movement was extended to embrace far more than industrial waged workers, including not only proletarian rural people but also groups in some kind of “middle” positions in the social structure. Thus, in many rural communities artisans had a crucial role in organising and leading the labour movement. In Kekkonen’s view, the middle-class movement would be a social force for depoliticisation. The middle-class policy was something to be kept absolutely separate from party politics.

Education and training were core issues in the “rational middle-class policy”. In his article on the middle-class movement in 1910, Kekkonen wrote that education towards “more rational” management was the first item on its agenda. Independent artisans and owners of small factories had to be trained in order to improve their managerial and technical skills.

The training as such included promoting the integrative capacities of the middle class, capacities that were based on the essential role of work in the social order. The rights of members of society were associated with work. Work as the basis of the social order connected Mittelstandpolitik with other arguments for vocational training. Kekkonen shared the concern of many about the devastating effects of idleness at a time when working-class children in towns and industrial communities no longer had to attend elementary school but were still too young to have a full-time job. In 1905 he had made a study tour in order to learn how this problem had been solved by means of continuation schools and vocational education, especially in Germany. Thus, criticism of the social effects of the increasing amount of industrial waged work resulted in the promotion of vocational education not only as a means of encouraging independent work among artisans, but also as an institution that, in fact, would contribute to the normalisation of waged work through the regulation of the living of working-class families.

22 Alapuro, Suomen synty; Suodenjoki, Kuriton.
23 Kekkonen, ‘Matkakertomus’.
As a result of his study tour to Germany, Austria, Hungary, Switzerland, Belgium, Denmark, Norway and Sweden in 1909, Kekkonen and his companion Isak Saha, a goldsmith, made plans for founding an institute of economic and technical training and advice for artisans. Gewerbeförderungsanstalten in Germany and Austria, Office des classes moyennes in Belgium, and Fagskolen for Haandværkere og mindre Industridrivende in Denmark served as models for the plan. As to the motivation to undertake this project, Kekkonen wrote that in all civilised countries any “rational state economy” had an interest in securing the survival of the middle class between the “Lumpenproletariat” and the big capitalists.\(^{24}\)

The study tour and the resultant plans of Kekkonen and Saha were initiated in national meetings of artisans and small-scale manufacturers. These meetings were a form of co-operation between the local societies that had been founded in towns as compulsory organisations when the guild system was abolished in 1868. This official interest organisation came to be a major forum and actor in matters pertaining to vocational training. In the last decades of the 19th century, in other words before Kekkonen became active, the field of vocational education was largely defined in terms of the defence of artisan skills and production, but the defence was based on a vision of modernising handicrafts and market production.\(^{25}\) The leading figures of the organisation, especially the cane manufacturer Viktor Julius von Wright, put this question in the context of the much wider project of popular education. The solution of the educational problem was also sought in providing active support and leadership in the foundation of workers’ associations—before the labour movement adopted socialism.\(^{26}\)

The educational project of artisans and small-scale manufacturers resulted in the founding of Ammattienedistämislaitos, the Institute for Occupational Advancement, in 1922. It was owned by a private foundation but received regular support from the government, and its administration was based on corporatist representation of the interests of small-scale industry,

\(^{25}\) von Wright & Kekkonen, \textit{Maamme}.
agriculture, national central organisations of employers and workers, the University of Helsinki and the City of Helsinki, among others. In addition to attempting to fulfil the original aims of von Wright, Kekkonen and others, *Ammattienedistämislaitos*, for example, contributed to the rationalisation of agriculture by means of guidance and education. Its activities were gradually also extended to cover the problems being faced by large-scale manufacturing industries. In this context—and this is my second case—arguments for vocational training linked industrial hierarchies, company communities and the national community.

**Supervisors in the industrial hierarchy**

At the end of the 1920’s *Ammattienedistämislaitos* started arranging lecture courses for foremen in the manufacturing industry. The programme covered non-technical topics such as psychology applied to work, business economics, accident prevention and labour legislation. These two-week courses were arranged in co-operation between the institute and the employer organisations. After World War II, in 1946, the employers founded a special institute, the Institute of Industrial Management or *Teollisuuden työnjohtoopisto*, for supervisory training.

More than in other areas of vocational education, it was in the employers’ interests to keep control of supervisory qualifications in their own hands. This was obviously the case at the time of the leftist turn in governmental politics and the simultaneously increasing power of the trade unions in the middle of the 1940’s. The founding of the Institute of Industrial Management in 1946 was a sign of the fact that the value of training skills of leadership was clearly recognised - not only from the standpoint of production alone but also that of the entire seething contemporary national community. However, manufacturing employers found the supervision of workers problematic even before World War II.

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27 Kantele, *Ammattienedistämislaitos*.
28 Kettunen, ‘Työnjohdon valta ja tieto 1900-luvun alkupuolella.’
In quantitative terms, the increase in the non-technical training of foremen in the 1920’s and 1930’s was very modest. The fact that this kind of training began at all was nevertheless an indicator that their position in the industrial hierarchy was defined as a problem.

For the employers the question of supervision meant concern over the authority of supervisors vis-à-vis workers, and their loyalty towards their employers. Most foremen and supervisors were former workers who had been promoted to supervisory positions only on the basis of practical experience. It is true that the annual numbers undertaking a study programme at one of the (mostly state-owned) technical schools (teollisuuskoulu, after 1942 teknillinen koulu) increased from 170 in 1925 to 431 in 1935, but this did not solve the dual problem of the authority and loyalty of the foremen who were in immediate daily contact with the workers. They were often unable to help employers in “developing closer relations between them and their workers”, as the employer organisation of the wood-processing industry justified its first lecture course for supervisors in 1929.

It was no accident that the qualifications of supervisors in the manufacturing industry were actively discussed in Finland at the end of the 1920’s. This issue was on the agenda of international “movements” such as the rationalisation movement and the industrial peace movement. Both were concerned with, among other things, finding the means of intensifying labour processes and preventing industrial conflicts at the same time. The model for the supervisor courses in Finland was adopted from Sweden.

Nevertheless, this issue was also taken up by Finnish manufacturing employers in an effort to systematise their domestic policies. The aim was to combine paternalism and individualism in their labour relations and to exclude the trade unions. These repressive and ideological policies were remarkably successful after the late 1920’s in the paper-mill communities in particular. This was partly attributable to the political crisis at the beginning

30 Sosialisia erikoistutkimuksia 11, 27.
31 Höyrykoneesta tietotekniikkaan, 182.
of the 1930’s when the legacy of the “white” victory in the Civil War of 1918 became manifest in the right-wing radical Lapua movement. The policy was built on the ideal of both the “reliable worker” and the “reliable supervisor”, and was mainly directed by the large firms of the wood-processing industry. It also led to the founding of private vocational schools for training “reliable” key groups of workers in some firms, organised collaboration on vocational training, and courses for supervisors.\footnote{Kettunen, ‘Työväenkysymyksestä henkilöstöpolitiikkaan’, 292–297.}

Supervisors, and not only those who had been through technical school, began to show an interest in improving their status and distinguishing themselves from the workers on the basis of education and special qualifications. It was also in the interests of engineers and representatives of higher technical education to incorporate the competence of defining supervisor qualifications into their professional profile. From the latter perspective, the training of supervisors involved not just an improvement in status but also the formal limitation and differentiation of the power sphere of traditional foremanship. In giving their support, engineers and technically-educated supervisors were defending their own particular interests by campaigning for an organisation in which each function included specific claims to knowledge. The idea was that the common interest—and social harmony—would be served not through a compromise between conflicting interests but in the functional effectiveness of the organisation itself.

This kind of functionalism was one way in which the industrial hierarchy could not only be justified as a technologically-based, objective condition, but was also combined with the idea of community. In this connection some technicians developed solutions to the “social question”.

Bertil von Alfthan (1884–1963) set forth such a programme in his pamphlet on “social policy and industrial management”, published in Swedish and Finnish in 1919, immediately after the Civil War of 1918.\footnote{von Alfthan, Socialpolitik / Yhteiskuntapolitiikka.} Von Alfthan had studied engineering in Dresden and written his doctoral thesis (1912) on the most economic diameter of water pipes. He had made a study trip to the United States and Canada, and had got work experience in factory
management in St. Petersburg and in Juankoski, a remote Eastern Finnish industrial community, where his father had owned a wood-processing factory and also faced workers’ collective action against the paternalist power.36 In his pamphlet in 1919 Bertil von Alfthan asserted that the best way to tackle the roots of social tensions and unrest was to create “a new industrial middle class”.

The main threat to social harmony was located in the worker intelligentsia, von Alfthan maintained. This minority was talented and capable of performing various supervisory tasks involving planning, control and administration, but it did not get the chance to do so. Under these circumstances the worker-intellectuals were frustrated and easily fell prey to agitators. A solution was immanent in the very dynamics of industrial progress, however. The main cause of the problem was that the industrial organisations and forms of management had lagged behind economic developments: there was too much manual work and too little administration and brain-work. Increasing economic efficiency would result in social harmony, in which each person fulfilled a function corresponding to his or her talents. This would also be true for the majority of the working class of that time, for whom manual labour was “a natural vocation”. Von Alfthan believed that in the long run differences between the “interesting” work of engineers and “exhaustive and monotonous” manual work would disappear. In any case, the central social process in the creation of social harmony was the formation of a new middle class, and at its core would be those who were educated in vocational, commercial and technical schools.

Von Alfthan was convinced that the rationalisation of work processes and firms would open the way for the rationalisation and scientific government of the whole society. This confidence was shaken by the economic depression of the 1930’s, not only in Finland but elsewhere in Europe and America. He turned more towards Germany, where talk of a new combination of rationalisation, hierarchy and community was being heard. He was

an active member of several small Nazi groups in the 1930’s and during World War II\textsuperscript{37}, and at the same time he was also active in introducing new methods of rationalisation, especially time and motion studies, into Finland\textsuperscript{38}.

It has to be noted that the economic and social structure of Finnish society did not provide any broad basis for middle-class policies that would have rested on old middle urban groups as in Kekkonen’s thought or on new ones as in von Alfthan’s programme. After the Civil War of 1918 such visions of social harmony were much less attractive than a view that relied on the broadening of the land-owning peasantry. According to this latter vision, it was crucial to build barriers limiting the influence of the urban proletariat on the rural people, and to contain the political threat posed by the conflicts in industrial waged-work relations. The role of education and the educated was crucial and problematic in the making of such a national community. The third step in this historical excursion brings us to the defence of “intellectual work” as a context in which arguments were developed in favour of vocational education.

**Intellectual work in the national community**

Finnish historians have traditionally pointed out the ideological links between the educated groups and the agrarian people. The building of these links has been seen as an essential part of the ideology of the educated elite in the nation-building process during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and it has been concluded that the educated nationalists were successful in teaching Finnish people to place a high value on education. In the 1920’s and 1930’s the “mental atmosphere” of Finland was, according to Eino Jutikkala, “dominated by the independent peasantry and university-educated”\textsuperscript{39}.

Some facts about the political controversies in the 1920’s and 1930’s seem to contradict this account. Bitter conflicts emerged between the political representatives of the farmers and of the educated groups. One of the

\textsuperscript{37} Ekberg, \textit{Führers}.

\textsuperscript{38} von Alfthan, \textit{johdatus}.

\textsuperscript{39} Jutikkala, “Ensimmäinen tasavalta” (1919–1945), 196.
issues over which the deepest conflicts arose concerned the salaries of civil servants. However, as an ideological ingredient of the nation as “imagined community”, the links between the independent peasantry and the educated were a crucial part of the political and cultural reality. These links formed a particular element in Finnish nationalism that could be activated in ideological opposition to the conflicts of interest between various groups outside of the working class. This happened, for example, with the rise of the right-wing Lapua movement, the dominant power in Finnish politics for a while at the beginning of the 1930’s.

The search for national unity on the basis of an alliance between the university-educated and the “people”—a concept often associated with the rural community and notably with independent freeholders—was one way of presenting the interests of educated groups as the interests of the national whole.40 Renewing the 19th century Fennomanian tradition, a prominent strategy was to speak in the name of the people against the “non-national” forces, meaning those defending the Swedish language and those advocating socialism. The argument was characteristic of the nationalist student movement, and it appeared in the fervent struggle on the language relations at the University of Helsinki.

However, there was a more concrete way of anchoring the interests of educated groups to the common good of national community. It was the advocating of “intellectual work”.

The status of intellectual work was no new theme in the 1920’s and 1930’s. Yrjö Koskinen (Georg Zachris Forsman), a leader of the Fennomanian movement, had tackled this problem in 1874 in a series of articles in which he placed the “labour question” on the agenda of Finnish politics. “In all countries with old civilisations we hear the complaint that an intellectual proletariat has been formed, while the wages of manual labour are at least partly increasing.” Behind this complaint there lay, in Koskinen's view, the primarily positive fact that the improved education of ordinary people had narrowed the gap between them and those who were active in intellectual

40 Alapuro, State, 203–218.
functioning. It was also a matter of excessive aspiration to posts involving intellectual work, however, which had become too attractive because intellectual work had been allied with the state. It was possible to use the state in order to get privileges, such as the creation of still more, often unnecessary, posts. In the long run, however, the state could not afford to preserve these privileges and an “intellectual proletariat” would arise, causing “unforeseeable perils for society”. Another dangerous tendency arose from the alliance of intellectual work and capital, which changed manual work in a way that suppressed and prevented the development of workers’ intellectual abilities.41

As a matter of fact, it was not the late-19th-century Finland that Koski-nen was describing. A basic idea in this series of articles was that the leaders of a peripheral country could and must anticipate social problems and develop their solutions on the basis of knowledge about the most advanced countries. Complaints about the proletarianisation of intellectual work became a “real” issue in Finland half a century later, after the years of rapid inflation during and after World War I. The concept of intellectual work was then employed in an institutional setting as a result of the foundation of the Union for Intellectual Work (Henkisen Työn Yhtymä/Unionen för Intellektu-ellt Arbete) in 1922.

In the advocating of intellectual work the salaries of civil servants were a matter of concrete interest. However, the concept could be used not only to motivate the claims of civil servants but also to settle the conflict between the educated and the “people”. The majority in the Parliament, which made decisions on salaries, consisted of representatives of manual work, in other words the labour parties and the Agrarian Party. Those who were active in intellectual work had to organise in order to demonstrate the real value of their social functions, which was to be found not only in the intellectual nature of their activity but also in the fact of it being work.42

“Intellectual work” was not an easy concept. Related to “people” it signified an effort to merge into the masses and, at the same time, it was used to

42 Kettunen & Turunan, ”The Middle Class, Knowledge and the Idea”, 80–84.
make social distinctions. On the one hand it was stressed that intellectual work was on a par with manual work, motivated by the same work ethic, and that intellectual workers had lost their independence in much the same way as waged workers had. On the other hand, however, it is easy to reason that behind the emphasis on intellectual work there lay a discontent with the blurring of distinctions between educated classes and ordinary people, be it in terms of economic or cultural status.

A major debate about distinctions and loyalties arose in the early 1930’s. The topic had been discussed earlier, yet now the concern about “the overflow of students” was elaborated into governmental policy plans that also included motivations for vocational education as an answer to this problem. International inspirations were once again intertwined with domestic concerns. The excess of students was widely discussed in Europe during the Great Depression, not least in the national unions of intellectual employees and in their international federation.43

At the end of the 1920’s, the number of those completing high school and matriculation in Finland was about 2,000 and at the end of the 1930’s about 2,700, corresponding to to less than three and less than four per cent of the cohort respectively. An overwhelming majority of this group continued their studies at universities, the University of Helsinki being by far the largest university despite the organising of university-level schools in technical and business studies and the foundation of Swedish and Finnish universities in Turku. In comparison with other European countries, the social base of Finnish university students was already quite broad in the 1920’s—although very far from reflecting the social structure of society—and nowhere was the proportion of female students so high, over 40% at the University of Helsinki in the early 1930’s. At the same time, the prospects for the younger educated generation were seen to get worse. This was a gendered experience. Those raising the problem of “the overflow of students”, including, not least, the leadership of the University of Helsinki, were concerned not only about the excessive number of students but also the excessive portion of women.44

44 Kaarninen & Kaarninen, Sivistyksen; Strömberg, ‘Ylioppilastulvasta sääntelyyn’.
In 1934, when the debate was at its height, the government of Finland established a “Committee against the Overflow of Students”, with a remit to study the reasons for and the social consequences of what was considered to be a rapid growth in the number of students.45

In addition to the exclusive interests of the educated groups, and as their ideological legitimisation, the agenda also covered the problems that Yrjö Koskinen had anticipated in 1874. Preventing the proletarianisation of the educated classes was an urgent social need because the educated poor were seen as potential leaders of revolution.46 On the other hand, it was also important to guarantee opportunities for the social advancement of those who represented the threat previously identified, for instance, by von Alfthan: those who were too talented to be doomed to stay in the position of manual workers.

The Committee against the Overflow of Students proposed not only restrictions to the access to university but also the opening of new routes for “practical” and “technical” learning. They were supposed to provide attractive alternatives to going through nothing more than the elementary school (kansakoulu / folkskola, “people’s school”), which was long after the Second World War the most usual formal education of workers and farmers, and, still more, to the route that after the primary stage of kansakoulu / folkskola lead to the secondary school (oppikoulu / läroverk) consisting of the lower stage called keskikoulu / mellanskola and upper stage of lukio / gymnasium and, further, to university. The committee found it important to develop forms of practical and technical education on the basis of keskikoulu / mellanskola in order to diminish the attraction of lukio / gymnasium and university.

In this context, vocational education was given the function of institutionalising a social hierarchy on the basis of education, and securing the role of intellectual work as the brains of a national organism.47 In practice,
access to university for those having passed the gymnasium and matriculation examination was not restricted before World War II, and the routes to practical and technical learning were planned in more detail by commissions other than the Committee against the Overflow of Students. In any case, compatibly with the thinking expressed in its proposals, the hierarchy of education was also clarified in the late 1930’s and early 1940’s in practical and technical learning. The status of higher technical education (Teknillinen korkeakoulu) as part of the academic Bildung was strengthened at the same time as the lower levels were conceived of as vocational derivatives of a basic education that was lower than gymnasium and matriculation.48 Vocational education was a way of giving a “vocational sense” to the hierarchy of general education.

Concluding remarks
The cases examined above highlight some different ways in which the perspectives of economic rationalisation, social integration and individual disciplinaion were included in the motivation of vocational education in Finland in the early 20th century. They were interrelated and overlapping perspectives in the framework of social thought that was dominated by modernisation as the horizon of expectation, coloured by threats and hopes. The problems that vocational education was to solve concerned some basic institutional principles of modernising a nation-state society, notably market, hierarchy and community, and the relationships between them: this was illustrated in cases concerning artisans in the market, supervisors in the industrial hierarchy, and intellectual work in the national community.

The reinforced legitimacy of an education-based social hierarchy and the quest for a national community directed by intellectual work were mutually supportive, and both supported the central role of school. It is true that vocational education, being mainly under the Ministry of Trade and Industry, was administratively separate from the general education in primary and secondary schools, which was under the Ministry of Education.

Nevertheless, the form of school, as well as the central role of the state and the municipalities, had been emphasised in the plans for vocational training since the late 19th century, and these principles also guided the building of the comprehensive national network of vocational schools in the 1950’s and 1960’s. Apprenticeship training was stipulated in the 1922 bill, but this practice had gained a firm foothold only in some specific areas such as the printing industry.

In the Finnish plans for educational reform in the 1930’s, the notion of society as the national community was connected with the notion of society as a hierarchical functional whole. World War II gave a new impetus to this combination, and in the post-war years of reconstruction, reparation and continuing economic control there was still obvious justification for this mode of thought. Indeed, it also played an important role within the labour movement. Society was an object of planning, which would ensure that national tasks and needs were fulfilled by making the functions of society and the capabilities of individuals compatible. These functions were conceived in the terms of rationalisation, and included the creation of a hierarchy based on the control of knowledge. This hierarchy was seen, even by the labour movement, largely as a given in work organisations, a technologically determined condition. It is a view that was questioned less in Finland than in Norway, Sweden and Denmark, where trade unions had higher capacities to define working life issues as problems of democracy.\textsuperscript{49} Vocational education and training was supposed to help the labour force to adjust to the hierarchical organisation of production.

Vocational education was, no doubt, also a means of upward mobility within the hierarchy. However, the vision of upward social mobility from generation to generation was linked above all with higher general education, especially the gymnasium, as the means of access to “intellectual work”. The principles of equality and democracy were brought into the discussion about educational reform with remarkable political urgency compared with the pre-war period, but there was strong continuity in the arguments. The

\textsuperscript{49} Kettunen, \textit{Suojelu}, chapters 11 and 12.
notion of social equalisation was connected with the opening of the doors of higher general education to the “talent reserves” among the lower social classes and in peripheral regions. In the 1970’s the primary school reform abolished, at that level, the division of educational routes based on the historical divide of manual and intellectual work, and thus new preconditions were created for integrating the development of vocational education into the discussion on educational and social equality.⁵⁰

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Citizenship and national identity: 
Faith as an innovative force in elementary-school teaching from 1850 to 1920

ANETTE FAYE JACOBSEN

The church and faith are often presented as the antithesis of the development of the modern sense of citizenship. Yet the history of the Danish elementary school in the 19th century shows that, to a significant degree, the Christian movements and traditions were the source of inspiration for national and popular mobilisation. The school also promoted this mobilisation, thereby contributing to the development of democracy and citizenship. The same religious currents led to the period’s most fundamental and extensive reforms of educational ideals and teaching methods. This proved to be a process that was stimulated from ‘bottom up’—by the ordinary teachers.

With a small number of exceptions, faith and religion is a topic on which very little light is shed in the history of Danish schools. This may be surprising, since it is well-known that religion defined the key educational goals of elementary schooling in the 19th century, and that the role of the teacher as preacher was sustained long into the 20th century.

In the Danish school-history tradition, the ‘secularisation’ of the primary and lower secondary school has, to a great extent, been taken for granted. As a rule, it has merely been noted that religion and ecclesiastical influence played a very significant role in the elementary school of the 19th century, and that both influences gradually petered out from the end of the 19th and into the 20th century. On the other hand, there has been an almost complete

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1 Nørr, Det højere; K.E. Bugge, Vi har.
lack of interest in changes and developments in the religious aspects of the school's objectives, the aims and means of different subjects, the pedagogical theory and the didactics, as well as the learning achieved on a day-to-day basis.

Dichotomous tradition

One explanation is probably a consequence of the future-oriented narrative that has dominated educational research in various guises. There are a number of examples from the history of Danish schools of how, as one side of a dichotomy, religion and the church are considered to be the conservative and/or traditional forces; with the ‘modern’ or ‘progressive forces’ as the dichotomy’s other side. A case in point is Den danske skoles historie (History of the Danish School) (1984), published as a sequel to Joakim Larsen’s major three-volume work with the same title. Here, the Social Democrats’ schools policy is described as a battle against religious instruction’s ‘suppression and disciplining of the children’. Another example is found in Et folk kom i skole (Schools for the People), which depicts the teachers’ and modernist school campaigners’ battle to reduce the dominance of the church. A third is the focus on a reform-oriented teacher training college that challenged the ‘one-sided religious intellectualisation’ of the time, in Dansk læreruddannelse 1791–1991 (Danish Teacher Training 1791–1991).

Most of the above examples are from the 1980’s, when Marxism’s influence was still significant, and the conflict between progressive and reactionary forces in history was a recurring theme. An international example of this approach, which is still cited frequently, is Andy Green’s comparative history of education, entitled Education and State Formation (1990). Here, the state is in opposition to the church in the battle for education, and from the 1600’s and down through the centuries, via the public elementary schools, the state’s secular, national aims triumph over the church’s religious teaching systems. Green, among others, cites Prussia as an example of how the state

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is the secular force that may well use Pietists and other devotees of religion in the educational system, but does so in order to quench its own thirst for power.\(^5\)

The dichotomous approach to history is also continued in more modern depictions of cultural history, in which secularisation is seen as the result of the advance of modern science, suppressing the influence of religion.\(^6\) The history of ideas also presents this dichotomy in terms of the special interest in the Enlightenment philosophers who supported a radical break with the biblical view of mankind, in order to secularise education.\(^7\)

A dichotomous presentation may present certain technical narrative advantages in the way that it pairs off contrasting phenomena. Furthermore, the development trends that are presented often serve to explain that same development. When phenomena such as progress/modernism are pitched against reaction/tradition, the former are bound to win, in the long run at any rate. This makes a certain degree of determinism unavoidable, as will be seen.

Another explanation for the marginalisation of religion from school history may be that historians have been interested in tracing the antecedents of what is known today. Since the secularised school is the current reality, the main focus has been on its proponents and the ensuing trends. This method also entails risks in an academic historical context, however, as it gives precedence to the diachronic, at the expense of the synchronous, perspective: there is a risk of losing sight of the more complex, contemporary context.

The excluding view

A concrete example of this focus on the antecedents of secularisation in Danish school history is the interpretation of an opinion survey of the members of the Danish Union of Teachers in 1909, involving just over 3,500 teachers.

The teachers were asked whether they would like the bishop, the dean and the vicar, respectively, as the ‘default’ school inspectors. For all three

\(^5\) Green, *Education*, 111–130.
\(^7\) Slagstad, Korsgaard & Lovlie, *Dannelsens*, 22.
questions, a substantial majority of respondents were opposed to the idea. The teachers were then asked more broadly whether they wished the church to be guaranteed representation in the local inspection of primary and lower secondary schools. In this case, a (small) majority responded in favour.\textsuperscript{8} The figures are thus by no means clear-cut. The curious aspect is that, many years later, the figures are construed by three different historical authors as the teachers’ wish, in 1909, to abolish inspection of schools by clerics\textsuperscript{9}—and moreover by a couple of the authors as a strong wish.\textsuperscript{10} On the other hand, none of the three historians has anything to remark about the response data which shows that a majority actually wanted to retain the church’s role in inspection (albeit in a reformed structure).

All three depictions can be said to reflect two aspects:

Firstly, there is a ‘shortening’ of the processes by which the primary and lower secondary school and its representatives move away from the church. This is because the opinion survey results are unilaterally interpreted as a wish for secularised inspection. However, a closer study of the actual context at that time (simply a matter of reading the entire opinion survey results) reveals a more ambiguous picture that shows how, in 1909, most teachers were not prepared to generally abolish the role of clerics in the inspection of schools.

Secondly, the data’s ambiguity is not investigated more closely because the focus is on the dichotomy of secular versus ecclesiastical inspection. This ignores the complexity of the teachers’ view of the role of the church in school matters: the question regarding inspection was about getting the teachers into the system, rather than pushing out the church.

Religion as an object of research

In contrast to Danish studies of the history of education, Swedish research in this field presents an abundance of studies, including a number of key monographs that depict the influence of Christianity and its various inter-

\textsuperscript{8} Folkeskolen, 1909, 302.
\textsuperscript{9} Olsen, Skolestyrets, 191; Skovgaard-Petersen, Dansk, 624–25; Reeh, ‘Debatten om afviklingen af det gejstlige tilsyn i folkeskolen’, 166.
\textsuperscript{10} Olsen, Skolestyrets.; Reeh, ‘Debatten om afviklingen af det gejstlige tilsyn i folkeskolen’. 
pretations on the Swedish elementary school,\textsuperscript{11} the content of religious educational materials and the ongoing inter-relation with pedagogical theory and broader educational goals,\textsuperscript{12} and the secularisation processes affecting the primary and lower secondary school, as well as the higher levels of the school system.\textsuperscript{13}

Aside from the more specialised school history, it is clear that, within the social sciences, there is a growing interest in the role and significance of religion. There is an unmistakeable tendency for research to move away from the vigorous juxtaposition of modernism and enlightenment on one side, and religiosity on the other.\textsuperscript{14} There is thus ample inspiration for new studies of the role of religiosity in pedagogical and school practice, and of secularisation in historical change processes.

Religious inspiration for pedagogical change

I will concentrate on some insights on the first aspect, i.e. the role of religiosity in pedagogical and school practice, and how they can contribute to a new and different understanding of the development of the Danish elementary school to that presented hitherto. In contrast to the normal dichotomy between a conservative, religious position with reciting of the catechism, rigorous obedience and a negative view of mankind burdened by original sin, on the one hand; and the reform-oriented, secular pedagogical approach with versatile learning goals and a positive view of the child on the other; my contention will be that the most important pedagogical reform theory and practice in the Danish elementary school of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century was subject to religious inspirations and developed as the result of compromises between ecclesiastical and parliamentary politicians, against the background of demands from very significant groups of teachers.

The key pedagogical issues that characterised the 19\textsuperscript{th} century have often been attributed to the Grundtvig-Kold inspired ideas of the so-called Free School (private independent schools based, among others, on N.F.S.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[12] Melander, \textit{Etisk}.
\end{footnotes}
Grundtvig’s Christian reform thinking which later became extremely influential in all spheres of Danish religious, cultural and educational life. In *Skolen i Danmark* (Schools in Denmark) (Haue, 1986), which is an upper-secondary school book by some of the key names in Danish school history, the following is stated on the subject of the free schools: ‘It was a revivalist school, a human workshop, where the children were allowed to be outspoken and full of eagerness to learn.’ Yet this merely establishes yet another dichotomy, where the other side of the coin is the ordinary elementary school. This is reinforced by the above citation, which is in marked contrast to the description of the children’s life in the common school system, where ‘a lot of them were afraid of school’.15

However, some of the significant pedagogical reform ideas and initiatives were already prevalent and enshrined by the authorities before Kold and the free school movement became a significant factor in the Danish school landscape. To a great extent, they drew their inspiration from religious movements, which also characterised Christen Kold: these were the pietistic-influenced layman revival movements that flourished in rural environments in many regions of the country in the mid-19th century.16 Some examples of this will be presented below.

**The school’s aims**

In the elementary schools of the second half of the 19th century three areas were subject to significant upheavals: the teaching goals, the method, and the view of the child. In all three areas there was particular focus on religious instruction. It was the main subject in the common school and for this reason drew great interest. As stated in the legal instruments of 1814, the purpose of the common school was to teach the children to be upstanding Christians and good citizens of the state. This purpose stood firm throughout the 19th century and was not subject to any real disagreement. Questions did arise, however, when it was to be determined what was actually meant by good upstanding Christians. The Pietist revival movements had rather

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15 Haue, *Skolen*, 37 and 35.
different views on this subject to the attitudes prevailing among the repre-
sentatives of the state church.

Throughout the first half of the 19th century, the curriculum for the
teaching of Christianity in the common school was N.E. Balle’s *Lærebo

g i den Evangelisk-christelige Religion indrettet til Brug i de danske Skoler* (Text-

book on the Evangelical Religion for Use in Danish Schools). There were
also Bible stories and hymns, but the most important material was *Lære-

bogen* (the Textbook). The basic Christian truths were deduced in this text-

book. For example, who God is, how he is characterised, how we can know
anything about God, what God does, etc., was explained both with examples
and references to the scriptures. It was such important material that it took
absolute precedence in teaching and was essential knowledge for the pupils
both as Christians and citizens. The role of the school was to ensure a dual
allegiance to both church and society, and the two were not separate enti-
ties.17

Around the mid-19th century, however, Balle’s *Lærebo* was increasingly
undermined by criticism from a very broad range of groups of school cam-
paigners. There was a general widespread mobilisation of school circles in
order to achieve the liberalisation of the requirement to use *Lærebo*. One
aspect was the call for teachers to send in addresses to the bishops with the
request to be able to use Balslev’s textbook and Luther’s Catechism instead of
Balle, or to allow the local teachers and school boards to select textbooks.18

*Lærebo* was also frequently criticised at the many teacher assemblies that
took place in the mid-1850’s19 and in an enquiry debate in the *Landsting*
(Parliament’s upper chamber) on the reform of the textbook material.20

Balle’s ‘scholastical’ (i.e. profound) approach to faith was no longer popu-
lar. In the mid-1850’s, *Lærebo* was discussed at national assemblies of the
leading clerics in the various dioceses.21 A large number of theological ob-
jections could be levied against him, but it was emphasised in particular that

17 Larsson, ‘Religionsundervisningen i svensk skola’, 113–140.
18 *Nordiske Folkeskole*, 371–375.
19 Ibid.
20 *Rigsdagstidende, Forhandlinger paa Landstinget*, 1175–1192.
21 *Tidsskrift for Almueskole og Seminarivæsenet*, 297–309.
the textbook was excessively dogmatic. This made it difficult for the children to learn, and religious instruction became a 'very detrimental, stupefying learning by rote and recitation of *Lærebogen*, as it was claimed during a parliamentary debate. This could be endorsed by most politicians, including the Minister of Ecclesiastical and Educational Affairs himself, C.C. Hall.22

**Collapse of religious unity**

Several of the theological and ideological currents of the time could join forces behind the standing criticism of Balle’s *Lærebog*. The revivalist perception of Christianity was far removed from Balle’s matter-of-fact approach. For the revivalists, it was vital to have a personal experience of God. This had to be achieved through the heart. Each individual had to be touched and swept up by piety and devotion, rather than be drilled in dogmatic systems and objectivised learning. The weight given to the emotional aspects of faith was in harmony with the prevailing Romantically-influenced culture. It was perfectly aligned with the general spirit of the times that there was a need for a new textbook curriculum to replace Balle's rationalism, which most found to be dry and old-fashioned.

These religious trends were further amplified by overlapping interests with the expanding peasant movement and its representatives in the new political fora: in local government and in the *Rigsdag* (Parliament). The old conflict between the pious congregations and the clergy of the state church had clear parallels with the conflict experienced by the peasant movement of that time between the rural commoners and the civil service elite in urban centres and the capital (Copenhagen). For the peasants’ political representatives in the *Rigsdag*, it was a matter of achieving freedom and co-determination for their supporters on every local issue. It was therefore an obvious political requirement that the schools be allowed to use other textbooks besides Balle’s.

Around the mid-19th century there was thus a broad body of opinion in favour of reforming religious instruction. But it is also clear that it was

difficult to reach agreement on the means. The very foundations of the elementary school were under siege, and perhaps also the entire fabric of society. The textbook was the only common curriculum that all children had to learn, regardless of status, gender, location and type of school. The revivalist movements had been undermining the state’s religious unity for decades, and the freedom of religion laid down in the Danish Constitution had legitimised this activity. Now, a new framework for civic fellowship had to be found, with the school as guarantor. With the introduction of democracy, this had to be a form of national compromise between all the interests that had a legitimate right to make their views on the issue known. Ecclesiastical circles still had this access, although the new system’s elected politicians were now also involved. There were also the school campaigners, who did not have any direct channels of influence, however, but who in the first half of the 1850’s managed to mobilise some very large groups to attend national assemblies. New periodicals were also published, and energetic, self-appointed activists sought to exert pressure on the government and the Rigsdag to reform the school’s goals. In practice, religious instruction was the key issue discussed in the major school debates of the time—together with pay and working conditions.

Religious lowest common denominator

In 1856, an important result of the many wide-ranging negotiations was that Balle’s Lærebog could be replaced by C.F. Balslev’s Luthers Katekismus med en kort Forklaring. En Lærebog for den ukonfirmerede Ungdom (Luther’s Catechism with a Brief Explanation. A Textbook for Children Before Confirmation). Locally, however, this required the vicar and the teacher to agree, and that a majority of fathers (heads of families) were not opposed. A cautious approach was required.

Balslev’s textbook was a type of lowest common denominator for the many different theological demands that could be made when an alterna-

23 Tegborg, Folkskolans, 25.
24 Skolens Reform.
25 Departementsstidende 1856, 947–52.
tive to Balle was to be found. There were two aspects of Balslev that made it attractive. First of all, it was approximately 30 percent shorter than Balle, in terms of the number of pages. This was not unimportant, since it meant that 30 percent less teaching time could be spent on religious dogma. The dogma as such was one of the key problems, according to many teachers and other school campaigners, who were not necessarily particularly interested in the theological subtleties of the various interpretations of the scriptures. The dogma had to be learned by rote and as such represented the ‘stuff of reason’ that could have a dampening effect on the devotion to the faith that everyone agreed should be encouraged in the children.

In addition, Balslev’s textbook was structured to follow and explain Luther’s minor catechism. The catechism enjoyed widespread goodwill, also in revivalist and Grundtvigian circles, as it was close to what was considered to be the core of Christianity. Balslev was seen as an opening to a different aim of instruction in Christianity, i.e. different from the system-oriented, rationalist provision of knowledge that many critics believed was the true purpose of learning Balle by rote. The new Balslev textbook was described as more sincere in tone, and at the national assembly in Roskilde it was emphasised that in this respect Balslev’s textbook was reminiscent of ‘Pontoppidan’s explanation’ of Luther’s catechism26—the textbook from the heyday of Pietism, which had been greatly treasured within the early revivalist movements.

**Dogma and catechisation**

In 1856, the permission to use Balslev’s textbook, I contend, made a vital contribution to reforming the common school’s educational goals. The reduced emphasis on systematic dogma paved the way for the more religious, subjectivist expression of faith, which the revivalists and the Grundtvigians represented, but which also had widespread support in the intellectual thinking of the time. To grasp the full scale of the criticism of the dogma, its special catechistic method must be considered. Catechisation

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26 *Tidsskrift for Almueskole og Seminariiøvesenet*, 301.
was developed to ensure the best possible teaching of religious dogma and commanded a very special position in the pedagogical system far into the 19th century. At all teacher training colleges and colleges of education the textbook used was *Lærebog i Pædagogik og Didaktik udarbeidet især med Hensyn til det danske almueskolevæsen* (Textbook in Pedagogy and Didactics Prepared Especially for the Danish Common School System) by G.P. Brammer, the Bishop of Aarhus, and a former teacher training college principal. The catechistic method was the topic considered in greatest detail in the general didactics. It was allocated 40 pages and featured a very refined questioning technique that, via extremely precise questions and a series of follow-up questions, would guide pupils to an ever-deeper understanding of the material. In Balle's and Balslev’s textbooks this instruction method was developed especially to inculcate the key Christian truths in the children.

In the second half of the 19th century, the method was increasingly discredited, however. It came to be seen as a tool of rationalism, due to its strongly analytical form. Its approach to the Christian doctrines thus became exercises in deriving logical conclusions to the premises laid down. Christen Kold was one of the most ardent critics. He presented the problem of catechisation primarily as a religious issue, since it wished to prove things that could not be proved. There were also weaknesses in the religious didactic: it sought to develop reason in children who had not attained the required degree of maturity.  

School campaigners who advocated more scope for secular subjects in elementary schools also criticised catechisation on religious grounds. One of the most active debaters, C.F. Christens, wrote in the periodical *Skolens Reform* (School Reform) that it was the suppression of ‘religiosity to make the moral and religious concepts the constant focus of attention and continual consideration. The use of religious instruction as the sole, or at least the dominant, educational method thus seems *indefensible from the viewpoint of religiosity itself.*’ (Christens’ own emphasis). The child cannot handle abstract concepts such as virtue, justice, original sin and atonement, Chris-

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tens stressed. Children live in the 'simple world of intuition and emotions'. Instead, 'sincere religious sentiment' should be stimulated via other spheres that were more suitable than the dogmatic material. According to Christens, it was not least via additional natural studies and history that pupils could develop their sense of religion.  

Usually, however, the textbook material and catechisation were criticised on the basis of what was emphasised as the normal practice, which was that the pupils learned the textbook by rote and then recited it at school, without understanding what they had 'learned'. As from the mid-19th century, this criticism was heard wherever teachers and school campaigners met. Instructions warning against rote learning were also issued by the Ministry of Ecclesiastical and Educational Affairs in 1854. In Sweden, equivalent instructions against mechanical catechism instruction were issued in 1865. This is considered to mark the start of a new era in the history of the Swedish elementary school.

Parables as method

There was widespread aversion to the overall complex of Christian dogma as it was presented in Balle's Lærebog, combined with the catechisation method to which it was linked in teacher training. However, there was a constructive solution to the problems which also enjoyed very broad support: the teaching of the actual stories from the Bible. The Christian stories and parables from the Old and New Testaments had everything that was needed to stimulate the pupils' feelings, imagination and religious devotion. As Christen Kold wrote in his small thesis Om Børneskolen (About Children's Schooling) from 1850: 'Oral repetition of Bible stories (...) is the means to nurture and develop the child's religious nature.' He was not alone in holding this opinion in the 1850’s, as it was a view that was widely held in school circles. In the major school debates it was frequently cited as general experience that teachers could retain the children's attention with stories from the Bible.

28 Christens, 'Om Skolens', 102–103.
29 Departementstidenden, 1854, 219.
30 Melander, Etisk, 49.
31 Kold, Om Børneskolen, 16.
Even the old established pedagogical authorities, who were considered to be conservative stalwarts, adhered to this popular view. Jens Jensen, head of the Jonstrup Teacher Training College, who had great veneration for Balle’s *Lære bog* (of which he had published his own explanation), admitted ‘that especially the Biblical stories are gaining a more significant position than before’.\(^{32}\) In its review of instruction in Christianity, G.P. Brammer’s *Lære bog i Pædagogik og Didaktik* (Textbook in Pedagogy and Didactics) also emphasised that Bible stories should be the first material used. Brammer’s book was the basic textbook at all teacher training colleges in Denmark up to the closing decades of the 19th century. It was stated that: ‘This teaching method (i.e. the Bible story) is the most natural (…); and moreover, their (the children’s) imagination is easily unleashed by historical depictions.’\(^{33}\) Brammer was not otherwise opposed to either dogmatic religious instruction or Balle’s *Lære bog*, but he was a realistic man who was familiar with the moods and sentiment of his time.

The oral, revivalist, invigorating and engaging story became the 19th century’s perhaps most important didactic breakthrough for the common school. It has often been attributed to Christen Kold and the Grundtvig-Kold independent schools. For Kold and his most dedicated followers, the story virtually became the sole teaching method. Kold anchored the actual story in a tradition that for centuries had provided a backbone of myths and fairy tales to the life of the common man. Moreover, in refined circles these expressions had been suppressed with scorn and derision, he added. For Kold, the pedagogical aim was part of the higher political pursuit of the overall interests of Danish rural communities.\(^{34}\) This was also appropriate for as long as the support for the story as method was common well beyond the free school environment. Indeed, it was almost a fixed mantra in teacher and school circles throughout the second half of the 19th century when identifying which aspects of elementary school teaching really could and should be improved.

\(^{32}\) *Tiidskrift for Almueskole og Seminariivæsenet*, 105.

\(^{33}\) Brammer, *Lære bog*, 387.

\(^{34}\) Kold, *Om Børneskolen*, 8.
Revivals and psychology of experience

By appealing to the child’s fantasy and imagination, the narrative method also contributed to the revised objective that was developed for religious instruction in the common school, which was to address the child’s religious sentiments at the child’s own level. This more individually-oriented principle was related to the revivalist perception of faith, to which parallels can be seen in Sweden.\footnote{Melander, \textit{Etisk}, 98.} However, it was also a good match for the didactic development that accelerated at the end of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, based on the new psychology of experience.\footnote{Melander, \textit{Etisk}, 124–125; Heegaard, \textit{Om Opdragelse}, VII.} In the pedagogical-didactic textbook that replaced Brammer’s in teacher training colleges in the last decades of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, the imagination is praised as a wonderful tool in the service of the educator, which ‘gives him access to regions of the child’s soul that are beyond the reach of the educator that relies solely on intellect’.\footnote{Heegaard, \textit{Om Opdragelse}, 113.}

This development of teaching aims and methods culminated with the Sthyr Circular, which for the first time in the history of the elementary school laid down a more detailed structure for the teaching of the individual subjects. Regarding religious education in schools, it is stated that the Christian spirit must ‘develop the children’s sense of religion and make religious feelings a vital force to lend empowerment to the moral life. The key aspect of teaching is, therefore, the personal influence that a teacher who lives his own life on a sound Christian basis can exercise on the hearts and minds of the children’. This aim was to be achieved by telling Bible stories to the youngest pupils, combined with hymns based on stories from the Bible. Luther’s Catechism was added at the intermediate level, while church history and the dogmatic ‘children’s theology’ were not added until the senior level, based on the authorised textbooks, which were still Balle and Balslev.\footnote{\textit{Circulære}, section on Religion.}

The language used in the Sthyr Circular is influenced by a conflux of different currents: the Natural Romantic\footnote{Bugge, \textit{Vi har}, 26.} and revivalist emphasis on categories such as ‘feelings’ and ‘heart’, and especially ‘life’, as well as the modern,
psychologically-oriented pedagogical approach, where the senses (the first stage of cognition), the feelings and the intellect, respectively, were the three key ingredients in the general rules of upbringing.\footnote{Hansen, \textit{Opdragelseslære}; Heegaard, \textit{Om Opdragelse}.}

New view of the child

The new aspect of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century’s religious instruction was thus both a subjective, i.e. individualised, understanding of Christianity; and a pedagogical approach that gave weight to supporting this particular aim via the story as method. The view of the child also changed. However, this was a change that emerged \textit{indirectly}, first and foremost via the requirements made to adjust teaching materials and methods to the child \textit{per se}. The demand for less dogma, and more Bible stories, reflected not only a new view of religion, but also, as already stated, a pronounced wish to address the child’s emotions and imagination. It would stimulate the child’s religious commitment, but this also implied that the child’s special affinities should be taken seriously, as the child had to be met at his or her own level.

This reflected a different attitude towards children and their upbringing to the pedagogical approach that was dominant at most teacher training colleges and that was propagated particularly in P.G. Brammer’s \textit{Læreborg i Pædagogik og Didaktik}. Brammer did not focus especially on children, but took the ‘human being’ as his starting point. The book’s introduction stated that ‘pedagogy is the science of the education of the human being’. Yet this science did not include a psychological interest in the human being as such. In a brief section on the ‘psychological knowledge of children’ he therefore merely describes how the teacher must note the pupils’ different inclinations and environment, and the section closes with a review of the four classical temperaments: the sanguine, the choleric, the melancholic and the phlegmatic, which can indicate the child’s inherent life of the soul. On the other hand, the text says nothing about any differences between child and adult psychology.\footnote{Brammer, \textit{Læreborg}, 100–111.}

Brammer devoted a few sections to a critical review of the pedagogical
‘schools’ of the last 100 years, but pedagogy was not his real mission. His own educational goals were clear and required no further discussion. People had to be guided to the destiny ordained for them, which was a duality, and namely ‘to be citizens of the world and to be members of God’s Kingdom’.42 The real challenge, on the other hand, was to guide human beings on the right path to God. His textbook therefore gave pride of place to the didactic: the methods, but not the aims.

Yet more and more teachers took a different view of their work with the children. As stated, they preferred to push the arduous, frustrating catechisation into the background and to present their pupils with material that both they, and the teachers themselves, could handle more easily. Kold writes that he had only ever encountered one man who mastered catechisation, and that was Bishop G.P. Brammer himself. Kold believed that only especially gifted men could achieve the analytical skill and speed that was required.43 This was a new view of the child that became more and more prevalent: children should meet Christianity in their own universe, which differed from that of the adults. Children thus became a special category of human being, requiring different types of instruction to adults. This instruction could also draw on the Romantically-influenced pedagogues’ view of the special nature of the child.44

Later in the century, these perceptions of the child’s special nature were reflected to a degree in the pedagogic philosophy, as in the case of Sophus Heegaard. In his textbook for teacher training colleges, human development was described as a series of prescribed changes whereby the child could develop into a mature individual.45 There was nothing romantic about Heegaard’s view of the child, which was based on physiology and psychology in the scientifically-inspired version of his time. Yet the perception of the child as a being with the potential for inner development was in harmony with the teachers’ wish to engage with pupils at their childlike level.

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42 Brammer, Lærebog, 1.
43 Kold, Om Børneskolen, 15–16.
44 Brammer, Lærebog, 8.
45 Heegaard, Om Opdragelse, 3.
Religion shows the nation the way

It was not only religious instruction as such, however, that sustained the renewal of the 19th century theory and practice of education in schools, and the religious inspiration also applied to the cultivation of the national dimension in the elementary-school curriculum. This is yet another field where it has been customary to take a dichotomised approach to history: in the juxtaposition of the national with the religious in the battle to determine the school’s educational goals.46 In contrast, I will show how religion played a major role, in terms of both content and discourse, in determining the school’s awareness of the national dimension.

Pursuant to the assumption of a dual allegiance to church and society in the pre-secularised society, it is my theory that an equivalent dual allegiance to church and nation was developed when the building of the nation got under way in the second half of the 19th century. In the elementary school, this was manifested in several ways: religion and the history of the Fatherland had a common origin, namely God; just as the purpose of teaching in both fields was to promote fervour, love and morality. Storytelling was the most important method, and the mother tongue in particular bound the Fatherland and faith even more tightly together. Religion and nation possessed parallel mobilising forces that contributed to creating identity, self-awareness and a sound outlook.

God’s control of the world and history

In school history studies, the development in the school curriculum is often described on the basis of its subsequent division into subjects.47 In the common school of the 19th century there was no such division, however, before the Styhr Circular required a timetable of lessons in history and natural science, in addition to the existing compulsory subjects: religion, writing, reading and arithmetic, as stated in the 1814 legal instruments. Before 1900, ‘a brief account of the history and geography of the Fatherland’ was thus part of ‘Reading’ as it was specified in 1814.

46 Korsgaard, 'Den store krigsdans om kirke og folk', 56.
47 Nielsen, Skolefag; Lauring, Folkeskolens bøger 1770–1990; Nielsen, Samfund; Aller, Børns.
However, a lot of history was taught in the common school of the 19th century, i.e. as biblical history. All schoolchildren learned about Palestine’s (early) history, and most schools had a map of the Holy Land on display. Attention was also paid to world history, since as G.P. Brammer wrote in his textbook for teacher training colleges: ‘Biblical history imparts the first knowledge of world history to the pupils.’ Brammer emphasised the key aspect of history teaching as follows: ‘This science presents a revelation of God’s management of the human race, a treasury of experience (...) and popular recollections which are powerful in awakening and nurturing the human spirit and devotion to the Fatherland.’

It is obvious that Brammer’s linking of God’s control of the world with historical development was toned down towards the end of the 19th century. Bible studies at the theological faculty, and the study of historical sources by historians, vaguely influenced the primary and lower secondary school universe. In 1898, a lecture given by Professor J.C. Jacobsen of the theological faculty was printed in the journal of the Danish Union of Teachers. Jacobsen stated that the idea that the biblical texts were given by God directly had to be abandoned and that this should influence teaching, so that the Bible was no longer to be used as an infallible description of the world and the history of humanity.

In Sophus Heegaard’s *Om Opdragelse* (On Education), which replaced Brammer’s textbook at some teacher training colleges towards the end of the century, there was also a clear separation of religious studies from the other subjects, just as Heegaard inveighed against the confusion of truth and myth in the depiction of the history of the Fatherland as wonderful heroic sagas. However, in a review of contemporary school history textbooks, Vagn Oluf Nielsen concludes that the critical new scientific thinking probably did not leave any particular mark on actual teaching in practice.

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49 *Folkeskolen* 1898, no. 22 and no. 23.
50 Heegaard, *Om Opdragelse*, 246–47.
Religion as knowledge and faith

How should one now measure and assess a process that is as multi-facetted and ramified as the secularisation of the Danish elementary school? I have benefited from the definition developed by Hanne Sanders in her studies of the revivalist movements in Denmark and Sweden, in which she describes the difference between a religious and a secular society by establishing that the former perceives religion as knowledge, while the latter regards it as a belief, or faith. In other words, in a religious society there is no distinction between facts and religiosity, just as faith is not a personal, existential question, but a firmly anchored element of the society’s shared culture in the broadest sense. This means that religion also permeates the production of politics, ideas, attitudes and knowledge.

As described above, Sophus Heegaard’s book is a good example of the execution of a separation of faith and knowledge. It is also a good example of how this attitude was unusual and gained no response from the teaching circles at which it was directed. When the first edition of the book was published there was no mention of it in the journal of the Danish Union of Teachers, or in the leading pedagogically-oriented periodical, Vor Ungdom (Our Youth). It was not until the second edition of the book, to which Heegaard had added a new foreword describing his conversion to Christianity, that the book received a—major—review in Skoletidende (The School Times), edited by the brothers P.A. and J.R. Holm, who were extremely influential in elementary school circles. The interesting aspect is that most of the review was devoted to Heegaard’s conversion to Christianity, which the reviewer welcomed enthusiastically, especially since the book might otherwise have been of ‘fatal significance for the Danish school’.

The earliest secularised voices in the Danish elementary school world belonged to a small group of university academics based on the field of philosophy who, like Heegaard, could hold important posts as advisers to the Ministry of Ecclesiastical and Educational Affairs on issues of pedagogical principle, not least as heads of the teacher training colleges’ corps of ex-

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52 Sanders, Bondevækkelse, 16.
53 Skoletidende 1883, no. 9, 129–135.
aminers. Yet they did not have much clout. This can be deduced from the documents that set out the framework and content of the general practice in schools. Some examples will be provided here, with focus on the relation between faith and knowledge, as it was expressed in school legislation and practice in the first decades of the new century.

Framework and practice

The previously mentioned Sthyr Circular that appeared in 1900 laid down the formal requirements of the subjects’ aims and content up to the school reforms of the 1930’s. The provisions concerning religion and history have many parallel elements. Both subjects first and foremost have educational objectives with an emotional dimension. The children’s religious senses and sensibilities must be developed in religious studies, while in history lessons, a strong imagination and a sincere and vibrant passion for our country and people must be nurtured. In the descriptions of both subjects, awareness and understanding are subordinate concerns. Neither of the two subjects appears to be influenced by the more recent, university-oriented, critical scientific currents.

In the more concrete descriptions of the curricula, no distinction is drawn either between what we today would segregate as myth and history: the Bible was to be studied for its presentation of history, followed by more recent ecclesiastical history. In history, the sagas were to be read, as well as ‘selected tales of the ancient and modern history of the Fatherland (for example Thor and the Giants, Balder and Loke, Skjold, Vermund and Uffe, Rolf Krake, Regnar Lodbrok, Ansgar, Gorm and Tyra,’ etc.). The saga characters and the gods are listed side by side with actual people in history. In the same way, the most used religion and history textbooks from the early 20th century present stories of saga characters and events in the same way as historical material, in one unbroken presentation.54 It was also very common to find the Bible stories referred to as historical events.55

54 Helms, Danmarks; Nielsen, Danmarkshistorie; Nielsen, Samfund, 199–200, 206.
55 Nielsen, Bibelhistorie; Balslev, Bibelhistorie; Ministry, Betænkning, 117.
Legal requirements and textbooks naturally do not tell us much about actual practice in the classrooms all over the country. Day-to-day teaching varied just as much as the teaching corps (combined with other variables). However, closer study of the books used and the examination provisions applying at Danish teacher training colleges could tell us what baggage the new generations of teachers had to take with them. Many student teachers have undergone (parts of) Heegaard’s *Opdragelseslære*, with its secularised view of faith and knowledge. Yet there are indications that the major theoretical pedagogical textbooks were not considered to be particularly useful for a relatively inexperienced teacher. This was the opinion of Joakim Larsen, at any rate. He was a contemporary of Heegaard, a Frederiksberg school principal and chairman of the Danish Union of Teachers for a number of years. According to Larsen, Heegaard was therefore ignored by the teacher training colleges, and his work was replaced by a much shorter textbook by Cl. Wilkens.

In 1912, the handbook *Hvorledes skal jeg undervise?* (How Should I Teach?) appeared. It was to address the apparent great need among teachers for practical guidance, among other things because ‘Pedagogy instruction at our teacher training colleges has (…) had to be limited to the repetition of general theories’. The book was written by a large number of the best known pedagogical practitioners of the time and received an extensive and very positive review in the teachers’ journal, *Folkeskolen* (The Primary and Lower Secondary School). The subjects of history and religion were considered in five and six articles, respectively, by different authors. However, it is characteristic of all contributions that the university’s critical methods were not incorporated.

The closest we come to a discussion of this new approach is in the first article on history, where there is the admission that ‘We have to bow to the results of the critique. Yet it is by no means given that every new perception (…) is a proved result’. First, one had to hear what the ‘counter-critique’ had

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57 Wilkens, *Grundtræk*.
58 Aagesen et al., *Hvorledes*, 5 (Foreword).
59 *Folkeskolen* 1912, 591–592.
to say, and then one’s teaching could be adjusted. The sagas are cited as an example: ‘They are swept out of history if not by the critique, then by its eager proponents, who in pursuit of misguided realism banish them to the world of fairy tales (...) The oldest sagas give life to the realistic pre-history we can learn about at our historical museums.’\textsuperscript{60} Here a little credit may be given to the modern views, but only grudgingly, and the other contributions do not give any mention at all to the possibility of a schism between faith and knowledge in religion and history.

This is not to say that the Styr Circular or the, in total, nine contributions on religion and history teaching in \textit{Hvorledes skal jeg undervise?} were conservative or old-fashioned. The Circular was praised for its new perspective that ‘breaks down the old walls and brings light and air to our work’\textsuperscript{61} and the handbook was considered to present the teaching experience of the leading men and women of the school world.

The achievements considered to be major landmarks for the primary and lower secondary schools lay elsewhere than in the academic field. The elitist, academic dogmatic teaching and its methods had finally been successfully challenged. The 19\textsuperscript{th} century’s long battle against dogma and catechisation had achieved full official support in the Styhr Circular. Especially in the subjects of religion and history, the children’s commitment, emotional involvement and imagination were valued, and the story was the preferred teaching method for the youngest and intermediate-level pupils. This meant that factual knowledge, such as wars and the line of royal succession in history, and Christian dogma in religion, were assigned to a subsidiary position and, with the backing of ministerial recommendations, the much maligned learning by rote could be restricted.

This unified the elements extending back to the revivalist depictions of Christianity, and the oral folklore traditions, with new aims for the common school. These considered the formation of the children’s identity, as Danish and Christian, to be considerably more important than their intellectual skills. It was to a far greater extent left to the types of school higher up in the

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\textsuperscript{60} Hedelund, ‘Fædrelandshistorie’, 304.
\textsuperscript{61} Dehn, ‘Det styr’ske cirkulære og historiefaget’, 84.
educational system, in the newly-established intermediate schools, as well as in the upper-secondary schools, to be instructed and inspired by new developments at university level. The purpose of the primary and lower-secondary school, as it was reformulated around the turn of the century via the Sthyr Circular, was first and foremost renewed through the internalisation of religiosity, in combination with the national revival. At the same time, these fundamental educational goals ensured that the primary and lower-secondary school was designed first and foremost for pupils without strong intellectual aspirations and traditions. At the beginning of the 20th century, when faith and knowledge were still closely linked in the world view of most school professionals, the secularisation of different educational courses of study was a more elitist project.

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Religion, education and social cohesion: Transformed and travelling Lutheranism in the emerging Nordic welfare states during the 1890’s–1930’s

METTE BUCHARDT

Cultural Protestantism and liberal theology, also called neo-Protestantism, which originated from German universities where it was a dominating tendency in the late 19th century, became an inspiration among university theologians in the Nordic countries, especially from the 1890’s until the 1930’s. From this inspiration, Lutheran theologians began approaching the relationship between religion, culture and society in new ways. As such, their societal and cultural engagement in the social question and the question of education, for instance, was transformed. New concepts and ideas in relation to education and religion were being exchanged across the Nordic states—e.g. between Denmark and Sweden—through networks of transnationally acting scholars and their networks outside of the university.

This chapter analyses the Nordic liberal theologian involvement in debating and prescribing the purpose of state schooling and specific forms of education with regard to specific school subjects and teaching methods. The questions asked concern how understandings of Christianity and religion were transformed in this involvement, as well as what perceptions of the state and its challenges regarding social cohesion and social and cultural diversity and cohesion appeared.

Research in Nordic welfare state history has pointed to the necessity of investigating the elements of Lutheranism in the Nordic welfare states and the Lutheran influence on their emergence, and that in such explorations it is needed to differentiate between the many forms of Lutheran practices and ideas in order to grasp their possible impact on the welfare state model and on the development of welfare state mentality in its many layers.2 Some of these layers can be found in relation to the development of the educational system, which was a central arena for reorganising and negotiating the relationship between religion and the state in the period under investigation.

In Northern Europe as well as in the US in the late 19th and early 20th century, educational questions were framed in close relation to the social question;3 challenges from migration movements from rural to urban areas, growing industrialisation and poverty. For the Nordic states, challenges were also arising while on the road to democracy and parliamentarism, with the liberal and the social democratic parties playing an increasing role politically. Both in Denmark and Sweden there was a growing demand for school reforms and pedagogies that could meet such challenges.4 In this context, education and the upbringing of future citizens by the state became an important setting for the renewed societal and cultural involvement from the liberal theologian circles. It is my thesis that an exploration of their ideas and activities can contribute with important aspects of knowledge to the understanding of the transformed relationship between religion and the state in the Nordic welfare states. What I am exploring is not the direct relationship between the welfare states as they were explicitly formulated in the Nordic countries from especially the 1950’s, but a contribution to the exploration of the multiple historical layers behind the emergence of a recognisable welfare state, i.e. an investigation into some of the layers behind the forming of the educational system as a core state institution for social distribution, as well as the symbolic development of mentalities and the possible meaning of Lutheranism in this context.

3 For a historical epistemological analysis of the relation between the social question and education: See e.g. Popkewitz, Cosmopolitanism, e.g. 19f, 51ff.
4 Skovgaard-Petersen, Dannelse; Moberger, 'Religionsenhet' I, II.
This chapter is a work in progress—a sketch for ways to explore these layers and the possible benefit of such an exploration, through a methodology where two collaborating theologians and historians of religion, namely the Swedish scholar and later Archbishop Nathan Söderblom (1866–1931) and the Danish scholar Edvard Lehmann (1862–1930) are used as the empirical focal point. Both were, in addition to their engagement in the young and upcoming academic discipline that later became known as comparative religion studies, active popular writers and active in public debate. Focus will be placed on their pedagogical involvement, discussed in relation to their broader social and cultural ideas; more specifically, on their involvements in questions regarding education for the whole population in the new democratic state.

The source material consists of contributions to public debate by the two scholars, their lectures, popular science books and articles, handbooks for teachers, text books and instruction manuals for teachers, editorial work, applications for positions, etc. Their letters, especially the ones exchanged between the two, are also an important source.\(^5\)

The chapter argues that the liberal theologians’ educational and pedagogical involvement represents a new form of Lutheranism in the question of the relationship between society, the state and religion, a theme that was highly debated in the emerging Nordic welfare states.\(^6\) They aimed at humanising, socialising and culturalising Christianity by employing it in different social fields, e.g. the educational field. As such, their involvement contributed to secularisation in the meaning of a growing division between the state and church matters, e.g. in the question of schooling. However, their involvement also contributed to a renewed and transformed sacralisation of the state, through new understandings of the cultural relationship between the state and Christianity.\(^7\)

\(^5\) I owe MA Bo Alkjær, the Royal Library of Copenhagen, gratitude for sharing his overview of the material and his extensive knowledge with me. Moreover, I am indebted to his registration and collection of manuscripts related to Lehmann as well as for our many fruitful discussions. For more on Lehmann’s letters, see Alkjær, ’Iraniker’. About Söderbloms letters, see Runestam, ‘Nathan Söderbloms samling’.

\(^6\) E.g. Tegborg, Folkskolans; Thelin, Exit; Bugge, Vi har religion, e.g. 11–24.

\(^7\) Research on the religion, spiritual and sacred elements in pedagogy has been an inspiration for this interpretation, Baader, Erziehung; Baker, ‘Western’. Also the Danish sociologist of religion Niels Reeh has challenged the secularisation thesis on the basis of reinterpretation of the historical development in the church-school-state relationship regarding the Danish School, e.g. Reeh ‘Towards’.
This chapter also points to the fruitfulness of exploring such questions in a transnational Northern European and Nordic perspective: although the liberal theologian circles worked across and between states, the concepts and strategies sketched out and put to work by actors from those circles resulted in specific contextual forms related to specific states. Inspired by the historian Pauli Kettunen, I will call it a transnational construction of formulations of and answers to national challenges.8

Lehmann and Söderblom as agents of recontextualisation

The disciplinary field of this chapter can be said to fall between transnational welfare state history, church- and theology/dogma history and the history of knowledge and curriculum, especially the Bernstein-inspired tradition of social curriculum history.9

A central theoretical inspiration is Basil Bernstein’s concept recontextualisation which implies viewing educational content as pedagogised forms of knowledge, identities and social structures from other societal fields to the field of education. Curricular forms of knowledge and identities are thus seen as social and societal categories. The question of social transformation of knowledge categories, when transferred to the field of education, thus becomes central to the understanding of the societal and state-related character of schooling.10

In my application of the term however, processes of recontextualisation are not only a matter of transfer and transformation between social and societal fields with a certain relation to state bureaucracy, e.g. the academic field, the church field and the field of education, but also a matter of transfer and transformation of concepts between states and different national contexts. Agents whose activities traverse these arenas become prisms in the methodology I have chosen to grasp these processes.

Through Lehmann and Söderblom as agents of recontextualisation between religious academia and schooling, these fields are thus studied as

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8 Kettunen, ‘The transnational.’
9 E.g. Goodson, ‘The social’; Lundgren, At organisere.
10 Bernstein, Social construction; Bernstein, Pedagogising.
transnational fields, but the strategies and forms of knowledge developed by the agents are studied in their national state context as well. As cosmopolitan modern scholars of the time, Lehmann and Söderblom, who worked and published in a range of states and in a range of academic and social fields, seem to be relevant cases for trying out such a methodology.

Definitions of liberal theology

In short, liberal theology can be described as an umbrella term for the search for a new scientific legitimacy for Protestant theology, which, though dating back to the end of the 18th century in its early forms, manifested itself from the mid-19th century onwards as a historical, literary and sociological-scientific turn in academic theology. The theology was characterised by a shift from a theologian emphasis on dogma into formulating Christianity mainly as ethics, and bringing the experience of the human being into focus. In its dominating versions from the middle of the 19th century, this ethicising and humanising of Christianity should however also be understood as a scientificification: Christianity should be understood and academically explored in line with other human living conditions, i.e. as a cultural and historical phenomenon. Viewed in such terms, it was claimed, Christianity would be able to renew itself and be aligned with the present culture and society and its human beings.

In the preface to his much edited Danish version of Das Wesen des Christentums (The Essence of Christianity), the famous lecture series by the German church and dogma historian Adolf Harnack published in 1900, same year as the German version, Edvard Lehmann describes what he sees as “the Theology of our Time” and identifies Harnack—together with the Old Testament professor Julius Wellhausen and the church and dogma historian Albrecht Ritschl—as “the Founder of this Movement.”11 Lehmann also describes historical studies as a central tool to reach the goal of “endow[ing] Christianity with renewed growth and a new cultural legitimacy”:

11 Harnack, Kristendommens, V. (von Harnack from 1914)
“All these Things that stop so many a Feet, when wanting to move closer to Christ, are products of history; they will wither away in time, as they emerged from time; but a historical view can remove them already at this moment, so that the Gospel can move forward even purer.”12

The essence of Christianity—attainable through science—is the gospel of Christ that, once it is freed of its historical and cultural robes, can again be realised in culture. Christianity can become active in the culture and society of the present if studied as history and culture13.

What Lehmann refers to when listing ‘the founders’ was and still is a relatively accepted canon of key figures and sources of reference for both proponents and opponents of the new theology.14 It would be more questionable in a historical and sociological sense, however, to refer to liberal theology as a movement. Nevertheless, it does, to some extent, make sense to describe liberal theology as a landscape of movements, i.e. an academic movement with circles and networks, with academic schools, associations, journals, publishing series, operating between academia, culturally engaged popularisation and socio-political engagements and organisation as well as working across states and with similarities regarding the goals and forms taken. For the purpose of this text, the complex of ideas and practices called liberal theology—though German, and not least Prussian in origin—are described through their reception in Denmark and Sweden, and in this respect Lehmann and Söderblom were central agents of recontextualisation.

This culturally and socially engaged new theology in Denmark and Sweden, where Lehmann and Söderblom were central figures, can be understood as a realisation of the liberal theologian ambition to offer a science-

12 Harnack, Kristendommens, VIII.
13 I here translate the German word ‘Wissenschaft’, corresponding with the Swedish word ‘vetenskap’ and the Danish word ‘Videnskab’, into the English word ‘science’, since it was used as a common term covering humanities as well as the science of nature. As such, the way it was used among liberal theologian is served as an argumentation for that theology by means of the systematic and critical methods used, e.g. in Biblical Studies, had taken a new scientific direction which could match the new results of the other sciences, e.g. as the science of nature and history.
14 See Note 1.
based liberal alternative both to institutionalised Christianity, represented by the conservative circles in the state church, and to the new laymen-centred awakening Christianity, which attacked state church orthodoxy as well as science in both countries. Moreover, it was an alternative to what the liberal theologians saw as a reductionist attitude to religion, represented by liberal utilitarianism and natural science propagators.

A central aim of this liberal theologian ambition was to create better answers to address the social question, i.e. the challenge of social difference and inequality, than the conservatives in politics and in the church were able to come up with. Moreover, the aim was to create plausible alternatives to the workers’ movement and social democracy; alternatives that did not lead to atheism and just as importantly did not threaten the basic social order, i.e. social division and the division of labour in society. During the 1910’s, where the parliamentary importance of the Social Democrats increased, this situation began to change. In the case of Söderblom, as we shall see, the Social Democrats in office now became possible partners of alliance, something which also became the case in Denmark, though later and involving the next generation of historical science-oriented theologians.

From such common features we will look at the more specific national context of the Nordic recontextualisation of liberal theology using Lehmann and Söderblom as the lens, in order to focus on their areas of exchange and on the content of their ideas of a future education, the future state and the role and understandings of religion in this context.

Lehmann and the liberal theology in the Danish context

In a Danish context, liberal theology as a formulated position became visible through the formation of Ny theologisk Forening (New theologian Association) in 1905, where Edvard Lehmann was one of the founders and key public figures. The association also called itself Ny theologisk Forening for fri Forskning og positiv Kristendom (New theologian association for free research and positive Christianity), named after Lehmann’s opening lecture. The formation of the association can be understood as a culmination of a liberal turn which had already been going on for decades around the Fac-
ulty of Theology in Copenhagen. Among the older supporters of the association was the Old Testament scholar and Semitic philologist Frants Buhl (1850–1932); a pioneer in Denmark of so-called biblical criticism in academic biblical studies who was inspired by Wellhausen. The biblical criticism questioned the basic assumptions of time, for instance the assumptions of a direct relationship between the context of the origin of the Old Testament texts and the events they described. In addition, biblical criticism challenged the traditional theologian readings of the bible as well as the approach developed in Pietism and the awakening movements.

Buhl and other scholars from the faculty were involved in public battles in the 1890’s on whether school should start basing religious education on the new scientific results.\textsuperscript{15} Even if it was not a concrete political success at the time, it was the first sign of a so-called historical critical approach that left important fingerprints on the school subject throughout the 20\textsuperscript{th} century. During the 1930’s, a commission with the Buhl pupil and Old Testament scholar Aage Bentzen suggested ground-breaking reforms, but although the most obvious catechetical elements were removed from the curriculum in the School Act of 1937, the historical turn in the Danish RE curriculum was not completed until the School Act of 1975, both during periods with Social Democrats as ministers of education.\textsuperscript{16} In his public statements Bentzen explicitly referred to the efforts made by the Buhl circle;\textsuperscript{17} efforts that continued in the 1900’s, and in which also Lehmann took part.

Söderblom and liberal theology in the Swedish context

In the Swedish context, there had been a milieu around the Stockholm-based publishing series \textit{I religiösa och kyrkliga frågor} (In Religious and Ecclesiastical Questions) from the beginning of the 1890’s. A key figure in the series was the Stockholm-based priest Frederik Fehr (1849–1895), who was inspired by the historically-oriented German biblical criticism. Fehr was a

\textsuperscript{15} Nørr, \textit{Det højere}, 219–226.
\textsuperscript{17} Buchardt, 'Evangeliets', 104.
Ritschl follower and a personal connection of him and of Harnack. Despite the fact that neither Fehr nor his follower Samuel S. Fries (1867–1914), who continued the series after Fehr’s death, achieved a university position, they managed to produce a prolific amount of academic writings: in Fries’ case, this was within Old Testament studies, where he was one of the first in Sweden to take up Wellhausen’s work. During the 1890’s Nathan Söderblom also became a part of the circle and contributed extensively to the journal.

Like in the Danish liberal theologian circles around Buhl and Lehmann, religious education became a field of investment for the Fehr-Fries circle. The Swedish historian of Theology, Björn Skogar, assesses that from the late 19th century and onwards, Fehr’s ideas began to influence important agents and decision-makers, such as Fridtjuv Berg, the politically liberal MP and Ecclesiastic Minister (1905–1906 and 1911–1914), Teachers’ Association leader and school teacher; and Värner Rydén, the school teacher and Social Democrat Ecclesiastic Minister (1917–1919), who became a main figure in the removal of Luther’s Small Catechism from the curriculum in 1919. In the final decision Söderblom also played a central role. In short, Fehr’s reform ideas were to transfer his Ritschl-inspired pledge for ‘a new reformation’ to a field where it could reach the modern cultural human being. He claimed that Christian Ethics should be at the centre of the taught curriculum instead of the dogma which distanced modern man from Christianity. Fehr unfolded this in Undervisning i kristendomen i anslutning till Luthers lilla katekes (Teaching of Christianity in connection with Luther’s Small Catechism, 1894) which received a very positive review from Söderblom in Pedagogisk tidskrift (Journal of Pedagogy). For Söderblom, this was the starting point of an involvement in what became a heated political struggle during the following decades.

In 1893 Söderblom introduced Ritschl to a broader Swedish audience with his translation and elaborated version of Ernest Bertrand’s book on Ritschl’s perception of Christianity. In the preface Söderblom states that the

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18 Skogar, Viva vox, 53, 246.
core of Ritschl’s system is to base all churchly and theological effort on “the historical Christ” and make the personality of Christ “the authority above all other authorities”. Söderblom describes Ritschl as being in opposition to the religious liberals as well as the “orthodox theological currents”, and sees him as an antidote to the “haunted anxiety and diluted broadmindedness” that dominated the church and theology. It is an important point that not only were the religiously conservative church circles considered as being opponents by the historical-scientific theology project, but much of religious liberalism was as well.

Söderblom’s liberal theology between political ideological positions

Söderblom—like Fehr and Fries—may be said to combine, in a quite complex manner, conservatism and liberalism in both a political and religious sense. As we shall see, this can also be said about Lehmann, though in a different way. Besides the Fehr-Fries circle, Söderblom was also connected with Ungkyrkorörelsen (the Young Churchmen), of which he became an inspirer along with others, such as J. A. Eklund and Einar Billing. Ungkyrkorörelsen emerged from 1901—the same year Söderblom became a professor in Uppsala. Many of the leading figures in the movement were inspired by the historian Harald Hjärne, and many of its leaders as well as its “fathers” were Hjärne-pupils and had been members of the conservative student association Heimdal, including Söderblom. Ungkyrkorörelsen pledged for a people’s church (folkkyrko) and for a particular Swedish Christianity under the motto “Sveriges folk—ett Guds folk” (the Swedish people—a people of God). The Swedish church should in that sense become a “culture church”.

21 Söderblom, Ritschls, VII.
22 Söderblom, Ritschls, V, VII. The wording “orthodox” was widely used at the time, e.g. for what the liberal theologians considered as religious conservatism in the church institution, and should in this context not be understood as the same as the earlier so-called Lutheran Orthodoxy in the consolidation period in Northern Europe following the Reformation.
23 Tergel, Ungkyrkomännnen, e.g. 13–14, 116–117; Tergel ‘Ungkyrkorörelsen’, e.g. 349.
24 Brohed, Sveriges Kyrkohistoria, Vol. 8, 26–37; Tergel, ‘Ungkyrkorörelsen’, e.g. 347 & Tergel; Ungkyrkomännnen.
Besides Söderblom's engagement in national and conservative circles, from the beginning of the 1890's he was strongly inspired by the German evangelical social movement and wrote about it in Fehr and Fries' journal, especially *Evangelisch-sozialen Kongress* (Evangelical social congress) that brought the movement together for a time.²⁵ Besides Harnack, this movement was fronted by the social liberal priest and politician Friedrich Naumann, the priest Paul Göhre, who later became a social democrat, and the priest Adolf Stoecker, the key figure of *Christlich-soziale Partei* (the Christian Social Party), whose social conservatism was interwoven with anti-Semitic ideology.²⁶ For instance, after conflicts and a split with Stoecker and his followers in the middle of the 1890's, Naumann and Göhre politically drew nearer to the Liberals and the Social Democrats. Central elements were the magazine *Die Hilfe* (The help) edited by Naumann and the political party *Nationalsozialer Verein* (National-social association) in which Naumann and Göhre were front figures. The party and the circles around it were an attempt to create an alternative to the right wing's lack of will to act on the social question, on the one hand, and the threats, including atheism, to social order coming from the workers' movement and Social Democracy on the other. It embraced the empire and was a strong supporter of colonialism, but from a social-liberal (and in that sense national) point of view. In Söderblom's writings in a Swedish context, e.g. his preface to a selection of Naumann's writings from *Die Hilfe*, he explicitly expressed his sympathy for what he sees as Naumann, Göhre and Harnack's wing of the movement, and thus for the least Conservative and most pro-Social Democratic part of the evangelical social movement.²⁷ Söderblom also published articles which argued that the church should have a more open attitude to Social Democracy.²⁸

²⁵ Söderblom, 'Återblick', 79ff.
²⁶ The party was originally founded in 1878 as *Christlich-soziale Arbeiterpartei*, but changed its name in 1881, due to a lack of success in reaching the working-class population. Stoecker and the party was part of a new politicised anti-Semitic ideological current *Antisemitismus* in the Bismarckian period, see Stoetzler, *The state, the nation, and the Jews*, e.g. 209–210, 215–217. Söderblom describes it as the only strictly formulated difference between the wings of the German evangelical social movement that "Stöcker is anti-Semitic, Naumann wants equal rights for all citizens. It is just a shame that this part of Stöcker's programme is of a purely negative nature," 'Återblick', 85.
²⁷ Naumann, *Hjälp*, i–viii. See also Söderblom, 'Återblick'
²⁸ E.g. Söderblom, 'Kristendomen'.
In 1900 Söderblom authored the introduction to the Swedish version of Harnack’s lectures *Das Wesen des Christentums* (The Essence of Christianity), published in Stockholm the same year as Lehmann’s version was published in Copenhagen. It was also in this year that Lehmann and Söderblom began a correspondence. It was the beginning of a lifelong friendship and an academically, culturally and societally engaged partnership, which—besides their personal connections to the Prussian/German head figures of the new theology (e.g. to Harnack) and their broad European network in the upcoming discipline of history of religion/comparative religion—meant an extra channel of transnational exchange with (diverse forms of) anchoring in the Nordic states.

**Söderblom’s and Lehmann’s areas of exchange**

With a background in philology and theology, in which he graduated from Uppsala University in 1886 and 1892 respectively, Söderblom’s interest in classical Iranian religion brought him to Paris in 1894. While serving as a priest for the Swedish congregation he conducted studies resulting in a doctoral degree in 1901. In 1896 Lehmann defended his dissertation, which also concerned classical Iranian religion. While still a professor in Uppsala in ‘Theological Prenotions’ and ‘Encyclopedia,’ covering what today would be called the history of religion as well as the dogmatics and the philosophy of religion, from 1912–1914 he also served as a professor of History of Religion at the University of Leipzig. With support from Ecclesiastic Minister K. G. Westman, but against the votes of the majority of the bishops, he became Archbishop of the Swedish church in Uppsala in 1914. As a bishop he invested much effort in ecumenical and inter-church work, for which he was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1930; a work in which he also involved Lehmann.29 During WWI he was a spokesman for peace and cooperation between churches (confessions), and his internationalism was, according to the Swedish church historian Alf Tergel, an important factor

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29 E.g. as a contributor to the book *Enig Kristendom* together with Söderblom and the *ungkyrkoman* K. B. Westman based on their so-called Olaus Petri lectures that Söderblom arranged in Uppsala. Lehmann also wrote about international education as a means to peace among the states (Lehmann, ‘International undervisning’).
in steering Ungkyrkorörelsen away from its nationalistic and militaristic tendency.\footnote{Tergel, ‘Ungkyrkorörelsen’, 350.}

What started off Lehmann’s and Söderblom’s contact was the shared interest in the history of religion. Lehmann was appointed reader in the History of Religion in Copenhagen in 1900. He was also originally trained as a theologian and early on developed an interest in the psychology of religion and history of religion. Like Söderblom, his writing covered scholarly work in the young discipline of comparative religion, and he was a very active publicist of handbooks and anthologies of an international scholarly as well as more popular nature. Moreover, his importance to the constitution of comparative religion as a scholarly discipline is widely acknowledged.\footnote{Reenberg Sand & Podemann Sørensen, Edvard Lehmann.}

In addition to a more extensive than profound scholarly text production, Lehmann’s oeuvre also contains a rich production of essays about cultural-political themes such as nation and culture, Christianity and culture, equality, social relations and division of labour, e.g. the question of women’s rights and status in society, philosophy of life, etc.—including a production of minor texts and comments for newspapers and magazines. His texts directed towards educational questions are also a stable and continuous element in his oeuvre from the late 1880’s, when he published his first polemic articles, and onwards until his death in 1930.\footnote{E.g. Lehmann, Et Angreb.} These were published not only in Denmark, but also in Prussia/the German Empire and in Sweden, the states in which he received the chair as professor, namely at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-University in Berlin from 1910 and at Lund University from 1913 until his retirement in 1927. His work was also published in Finland and Norway where he visited during several lecture tours, as did Söderblom.\footnote{For instance Lehmann’s collected works on education was published in Norway, whereas in Finland e.g. Opdragelse til arbejde in 1918 was published as Kasvatus työhön and his work on women, which also covers the issue of women and education, was published in Finnish and Swedish (e.g. Lehmann, Kvinnor).}

Lehmann’s and Söderblom’s relationship developed rapidly during the 1900’s, and included coordination and common support in the application
for positions and promotion of each other’s work. Moreover, a related and to some extent coordinated popular authorship of textbooks on the history of religion for the university, teachers and teacher education and school also formed part of their exchange, where some were printed in both Denmark and Sweden. The introduction of foreign ideas in a Nordic context also seems to have been a field of cooperation, e.g. the introduction of William James in a respectively Danish and Swedish context, where Lehmann co-translated William James’ *The Varieties of Religious Experience* in 1906, thus introducing James’ psychological writings to a Danish audience. Their correspondence draws a picture of exchange and support regarding involvement in academic and broader cultural questions and disputes, e.g. educational and pedagogical involvement.

**Lehmann in the field of education**

In contrast to Söderblom, who is already a figure in the historiography of the Swedish school because of his involvement in the reform of religious education in 1919, Lehmann is rarely mentioned in the historian scholarship of the school in Denmark. Nevertheless, it seems that Lehmann, though forgotten today, was a familiar voice on educational and pedagogical questions in the public debates of his time. From many popular lecture tours of Danish province towns, the extent of which is revealed in his letters to his wife, he was known as a dedicated speaker, easy to understand for a non-academic audience. He was also an industrious writer in popular magazines on topics like education and pedagogy and a public lecturer who would be invited to speak to practitioners and school authorities about the future direction of education. He was especially engaged in the benefits of manual labour as a method in education, something which was a main pedagogical theme in his work.

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34 For instance Lehmann’s article about Söderblom in the Norwegian journal “For Kirke og Kultur,” edited by Th. Klaveness and Eivind Berggrav-Jensen, which served as one of the platforms for ‘the new theology’ in the Nordic areas. See Lehmann, ‘Nathan Söderblom.’


37 E.g. *Berlingske Tidende Morgen*, June 14, 1905.
Although education and pedagogy were not very well-established in Denmark as an academic field at that time, Lehmann was nevertheless close to the outset of institutionalisation. He studied under the originally teacher-educated Professor of Philosophy Kristian Kroman, who also served as a reader in Pedagogy at the University of Copenhagen; he lectured in the teachers’ education and from 1904 at the in-service training institution (Danmarks Lærerhøjskole), where, among other subjects, he taught courses on the history of religion and on the pedagogy of drawing. Lehmann was also engaged as a publicist of pedagogical writings, e.g. Maria Montessori.

During the 1900’s Lehmann the Buhl pupil, together with e.g. Buhl and a younger Buhl pupil, the later professor in Semitic philology Johannes Pedersen, took up the issue of biblical criticism and religious education, and to this endeavour Söderblom contributed information about the development and ongoing discussions on the subject in Sweden, information which Lehmann forwarded to high ranking contacts within the Kultus Ministry (at time the name for the ministry for education and church matters). In a book in the publication series of Ny theologisk Forening (New theologian Association) from 1906, Lehmann spoke against the catechetic approach to religious education, and stated that it made the Danish population unable to read the biblical texts themselves. For Lehmann, the necessity of changing this was not so much a question of Church and piety, but rather an effort for and a benefit to ‘the culture’. The bible should “[...] not only be a popular book ("folkebog"), but a peoples’ book ("folkenes bog") because it sets the destiny of a [specific/MB] people as a symbol for all the others [...]”. Here in lies its usefulness and usability, “[...] partly as a foundation, partly as a tool of the nurture.”

As a concrete result of the circle’s efforts, Lehmann and Pedersen in 1909 published the so-called Bibelbog for Skole og Hjem (Bible book for school and home) with text selections and translations in accordance with the new

38 The first full professorship, for instance, was established in 1955, Nordenbo, Bidrag, 85f.
39 Letters, Lehmann to Söderblom, December 23 1906; February 7, 1908, March 13, 1908, (UUB).
40 The Danish word for ‘people’ (folk) is used in plural.
41 Lehmann, Om Bibelen, 11–12.
scientific results; the previous work of Fehr was also served as inspiration.\textsuperscript{42} When Lehmann in 1912 was working out a German version of \textit{Bibelbog for Skole og Hjem}, his co-editor on the project was Peter Petersen, one of the central figures of the German Reform pedagogy, who in the 1920’s became an important point of reference to this movement in Denmark.\textsuperscript{43} Petersen had studied religion under Lehmann in Copenhagen, and the collaboration between Lehmann and Petersen continued with further publishing in the popular history of culture in the 1920’s.\textsuperscript{44}

But Lehmann’s involvement went further than religious education. In 1912 he co-edited the handbook \textit{Hvorledes skal jeg undervise? Haandbog i praktisk Skolearbejde} (How should I teach? Handbook in school practice), where activity-oriented school pedagogy was a repeated theme, together with figures central in the Danish Teachers’ Association (\textit{Danmarks Lærerforening}).\textsuperscript{45} Although his contributions here did cover questions related to religious education (use of the hymn book), he also wrote chapters on topics such as the maintenance of discipline and the teaching of object lessons. Here he used the main ideas from his most extensive work on education \textit{Opdragelse til Arbejde} (Learning to labour), which had come out in Sweden and Denmark a couple of years before (1909, 1910).

Like the handbook, \textit{Opdragelse til Arbejde} argued for an activity-oriented pedagogy, especially the benefit of manual labour in schooling. His cooperation with central figures in the teachers’ association a few years later, for instance, suggests that this book was regarded as a legitimate answer to pedagogical challenges among influential actors in the educational question at the time.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{42} Letters, Lehmann to Söderblom, January 24, 1908; March 13, 1908 (UUB).
\item \textsuperscript{43} Lehmann & Petersen, \textit{Die Bibel}.
\item \textsuperscript{44} Kluge, \textit{Lebenslauf}, 75.
\item \textsuperscript{45} de Coninck-Smith, \textit{For barnets}, 73, Skovgaard-Petersen, ‘Skolefag’, 167, 170.
\end{itemize}
Söderblom and religious education as a transformation of the church-state relationship

Whereas Lehmann seems to have sought and gained recognition as a pedagogue, Söderblom’s attitude to pedagogy and the new upcoming experts seems to have been more reluctant. In a letter to Lehmann in 1909, Söderblom highly praised the newly published *Bible Book* for aiming to “educate and direct an entire people”. However, he makes the point that he does not see Lehmann and his *Opdragelse til arbejde* which had come out in Sweden the same year, as pedagogy—something that was most likely meant as a compliment, since it was Söderblom’s opinion that pedagogy had spoilt or confused the work with a Swedish equivalent to the *Bible Book*.46

To Söderblom, upbringing and other societal matters were undoubtedly a task for the modern theologian, and also in a much broader sense than spiritual and moral instruction. But in contrast to Lehmann he saw their special expertise as embodied in the academic disciplines of religion, and not as a specialised knowledge of education in its own right. In his essay “Undervisningen i religion i statens skolor” (Religious instruction in the schools of the state) printed in *Religionen och staten* (1918) based on his previously printed articles in newspapers, etc., this premise is also stated:47 The academic theology (the experts of biblical studies and the scientific study of religion) holds the expertise on the making of a curriculum and an instruction book for the subject matter. At the same time he puts forward the needs and conditions of the children as a key criterion for curricular development and reform.48

The essay and the articles behind it were written in relation to the battle around the status of the catechism in the Swedish school, where the main combatants and approaches included a religiously conservative state church approach wanting to keep Luther’s Small Catechism as a part of the instruction and the Teachers’ Association wanting to remove it based on the main argument that it was not suitable to teach to children. The latter approach

46 Söderblom to Lehmann, Uppsala, October 12, 1909, (KB-CPH).
47 The text in this book also draws on his published speech at the so-called priest meeting in Uppsala in 1915, Söderblom, ’Om undervisningen’.
found allies among the Social Democrat and Liberal MPs who wanted to abolish the confessional foundation of Religious Education. Also, the landscape of positions included Christian revivalist positions from outside the state church as well as radical liberal theolgian approaches, including claims that religious education should be based on the history of religion.49

In 1918, when Söderblom published *Religionen och staten*, a political battle had been going on since the beginning of the 1900’s. The book sketches out Söderblom’s attempt to mediate the positions at stake in the debate, but it also represents his approach to a modern relationship between religion and the state, where he explicitly posits the school and its instruction in Christianity as the most important question. Söderblom’s answer does not become less interesting since it, as the Swedish church historian Karin Moberger has shown, became an important element in the final solution of the question, due to contact with the Social Democratic Minister Värner Rydén, who shifted from an almost anti-religious and anti-religious-education stand to the broader view of a historical and scientific, but not anti-confessional, religious education. In final political decisions, the catechism was removed, but a historical as well as a religious school subject was retained.50

It is neither possible nor the point of this article to go deeper into this case; instead the article aims to look at the implications of Söderblom’s solution. In Söderblom’s approach, the study of the religious texts themselves and the historical perspective on Christianity in relation to other religions played a major role. Religious education should not be non-confessional, a term that Söderblom finds imprecise, contradictory and impossible, since it signals ‘objectivity’. Rather, it should be based on scientific results, to make the results of scientific theologies fruitful in school. The main argument is that the character of Christianity is historical, and a historical approach is therefore also a necessity for religious reasons. This is connected to a Lu-

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49 Thelin, *Exit*, e.g. 64, 152ff; Moberger, ‘Religionsenhet II’, 161f.
50 Moberger, ‘Religionsenhet’ II, 178–189; Larsson, *Religionsundervisningen*, 118–125. See also Johansson & Florin, ‘The Trinity’; Salqvist, *Folkskolans*; Tegborg, *Folkskolans*; Thelin, *Exit*. In the context of this paper I will leave out the discussions of a possible instruction book to either replace or support the teaching of Luther’s Small Catechism; a process, where also Söderblom wrote a suggestion with Lehmann as a discussion partner (Söderblom, *Levnaden*).
theranism which understands Christianity as a revelation in history, something that is further reinterpreted within the framework of the Swedish culture, nation and state. On the topic of evangelical Lutheran Christianity, Söderblom writes that:

“This living religious organism is so interwoven with Swedish culture/cultivation [odlingens] and the nation’s history that only ignorance or infatuation can see anything arbitrary in the fact that it and nothing else possesses a special relationship with the governance of the nation, and that the state demands it to solve religious and other assignments, above other forms of religion.”

Söderblom based his solution on the notion that Christianity in a cultural and national sense is connected to the state, combined with a neo-Protestant interpretation of Christianity as a historical phenomenon—also regarding revelation—an interpretation which draws on Ritschl’s and Harnack’s ideas. This historical approach to the teaching of Christianity compromised between the majority of the state church’s pledge for a dogma-based religious education with Luther’s Small Catechism at the centre on the one hand, and the socialist claim for a non-confessional and “propaganda-free” education on the other. At the same time, it was directly in line with the ideas in the Fehr-Fries circle; ideas which were also at stake in the parallel environment in Copenhagen in the 1890’s and 1900’s.

The case of Söderblom: Dissolving church and religion into the state?

In Söderblom’s opinion, Luther should be included in curriculum as an important figure in the history of religion “in our Christianity- and culture-area.” In a concrete political sense this meant that the catechism could, whether it was kept as an instruction book or not, be part of religious education as a historical text. Such a solution should not only be seen as pragmatic,

51 Söderblom, Religionen, 5.
52 Moberger, ’Religionsenhet’ II, 178.
53 Quoted after Moberger, ’Religionsenhet’ II, 172.
but as a recontextualisation of central liberal theologian ideas: personalities and religious texts should be the key content in religious education in order to connect the historical dimension with the persons as ethical models. In order to make religion historical, consequently historical-critical science is needed. However, revelation as well as culture, nation and state are in the view of Söderblom embedded in historical science. In other words, religion as revelation and religion as a complex of culture, nation and state respectively, are seen as interwoven. A Christianity revealed in the history and as such also embedded in culture, nation and state is put in front, whereas the church as an institution of dogmas and special interest claims is put in parentheses.

In Söderblom’s writings on the church and the war in relation to WWI, the reinterpretation of the relationship between the church, religion and state is taken even further. In an article, printed in 1914 in For Kirke og Kultur, Söderblom explicitly pledges for peace and understanding between Christians across nations and nationalisms, and points to the responsibilities of the churches to place themselves in the frontline for peace and reconciliation, which would be of great importance after the war. But he also points to the positive effect of the war on the relationship between the states and their citizens. In that sense he replaces the militaristic nationalism of Ungkyrkorörelsen’s early years with a pluralist and internationalist nationalism. The war activates moral resources for societal cohesion gathered around the states:

“[...] [S]ociety’s instinct for self-preservation becomes apparent both in its half-brutish primitiveness and in its miraculous power. Other aspects of the culture appear than those who would otherwise take up the attention, namely partly the moral stamina and partly the state culture. Loose life ideals collapse like the fortresses do for the heavy artillery. Fluttering idealism and aesthetic nervousness are put to shame.”54

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54 Söderblom, ‘Kyrkan’, 587.
In that sense, the war is also a form of cleansing. Referring to the liberal theologian church historian and sociologist Ernest Troeltsch, Söderblom states that the war shows that the political–military community—and by that the power, healing effect and unity of the state—is stronger than communities of race and blood as well as of social class and social layers. This testifies to “the insatiable importance that falls upon the state and the people's political upbringing.”55 Also, Söderblom points to the resulting changed role and rehabilitated meaning of Christianity and the church. The priest-soldier has become the new type of hero, and people are gathering around the cathedrals. An image of this new and fruitful condition for Christianity might be Söderblom’s use of the picture of “the national shrine” in Reims, where “we have all read about the kneeling around the altar […] while the church filled with smoke and fire from the falling rafters.”56 The church on the one hand becomes the nation’s inner core, and on the other it is dissolved in smoke and fire by the will of the state.

Lehmann’s pedagogy of labour
An exploration of Lehmann and Söderblom’s educational and pedagogical involvements indicates comparable elements in the shape of their ideas; their thoughts on how to involve Christianity in the cultural and societal sphere shares the implication that Christianity and religion are merged into the state and society and thus, to some extent, dissolved. There are, however, also a number of differences. In the case of Söderblom, the transformation of Christianity and religion in relation to culture, society and the state takes place especially when dealing with methods for teaching Christianity in school. In the case of Lehmann, the same transformative feature mainly unfolds in his educational writings of a more general character, connected to other forms of education, namely in his labour- and activity pedagogy and in the broader cultural vision of schooling, the state and social cohesion which can be found here: his idea of the “Gospel of labour” is a central element in Opdragelse til Arbejde and also something which can be traced in

55 Ibid. 588.
56 Ibid. 592.
many of his other educational writings.

Lehmann draws the Gospel of labour idea from the writings of Thomas Carlyle, and transforms it into a pedagogical concept for mass schooling.\(^57\) The idea is that manual labour as a new gospel should be primary to academically-oriented knowledge in school. Learning to labour is an ethical goal, and should replace academically-flavoured ones, and be a school contribution to the civilising of the human into ‘the culture’.

There is an obvious resemblance between Luther's labour as vocation-thinking and Lehmann's framing of the pedagogical virtues of labour.\(^58\) In Lehmann's version this is reinterpreted extensively while connected to a concept of culture: it is a culture of labour which basically has to be learnt—as an ethical goal but at the same time as the only way to gradually move up in the culture. Labour is in this sense a concrete schooling method as well a broader goal for society and thus a direction for schooling.

Moreover, Luther does not appear as a main reference for Lehmann's labour pedagogy. Neither does the Danish theologian and central church reformer and key figure behind the Danish folk high school movement, N. F. S. Grundtvig, in Denmark, although Lehmann mirrors his opposition to the 'the Latin school'—the so called learned school, in his ideas. Rather he seeks support in William James' idea of the training of the will and the work of John Dewey.\(^59\) Forms of education and teaching methods suggested when translating the idea into schooling include practical work, woodwork and drawing, as well as the reading of biblical texts instead of learning dogma.

Herbert Spencer's social Darwinist liberalism and scientism and Frederick W. Taylor’s “science of labour” and industrial pedagogy are in the framework of Lehmann used to tune up the anti-liberal and anti-industrial social critic Carlyle's ideas about labour into a pedagogy, as is the anarchist

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57 Lehmann, _Mænd_, 56ff. _Opdragelse til arbejde_ was first published in Stockholm in 1909 (136 pages) and in an abridged version in Danish (1909, 12 pages). In Danish an extended version was published in 1910 (166 pages) and in 1920 a further extended second edition (180 pages). Also translated into German (1914) and Finnish (1918).

58 Markkola’s research on gender and vocation in relation to the impact of Lutheranism and the emerging welfare state has served as an inspiration for this interpretation (Markkola, ‘Lutheranism’; Markkola, ‘The Calling’. See also Markkola ‘Introduction: The Lutheran’).

philosopher prince Pjotr Krapotkin’s idea about the lack of valuation of the labour of the hand as a societal problem.60

An almost iconographic and returning point of reference in the unfolding of the idea of “the gospel of labour” as a pedagogical concept is, however, the US educationist and representative of black conservatism Booker Washington and the experiments with the education of former slaves in the school institution in Tuskegee (Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute), where manual labour and practical skills and not academic knowledge played a crucial role in moving ‘the lower standing man’ “gradually […] up in culture.”61

A typical liberal theologian feature in the work of Lehmann, is that as a former slave, Washington himself becomes a personification of this process of cultivation, a feature which can also be found, for instance, in Söderblom’s ideas on the role of important persons such as Luther (and e.g. Zoroaster) as models and formative contents in Religious Education.

Although this pedagogical strategy is allegedly directed towards learning ‘all’ to labour, some seem to be the target group more than others, exemplified with for instance “the negro” as a figure more lacking in culture than others. The culture of labour is in this sense a socially and culturally differentiated concept: it aims at nurturing into the division of labour while at the same time creating social cohesion.62 As Lehmann puts it, paraphrasing Booker Washington, and comparing it with the metaphor of the limbs and body as used by the Roman patrician leader Menius Agrippa who, in Lehmann’s words “[…] once settled the social division in Rome”:

“In all social matters we could be parted like the fingers of the hand, but in everything that concerns common development and progress we should be united with the hand”63

In Lehmann’s framing this becomes an argument for maintaining the division of labour, but in a new way. Lehmann also developed this idea in his

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62 Buchardt, ‘Pedagogical transformations’.
63 Ibid. 2.
writings on the women’s question, particularly in the question of women’s labour and the education of girls: society should not be based on similarity or equality, but on an equally high valuation and appreciation.\(^{64}\)

**Lehmann’s Gospel: Social cohesion and sacralisation of the state**

Whereas Söderblom’s ideas dissolve the church into the state as a part of its inner stately sacredness, Lehmann rather visions the state as the new church, with labour as its inner firmness. This is perhaps not surprising considering the different turn their professional lives took: Lehmann remained in the academy (as a professor in Sweden, but still publishing and lecturing in Denmark), whereas Söderblom changed from the academic field to being not only an academic but also a central church authority. When looking at how religion is transformed in the elaboration of the relations of church/Christianity/religion and the state in their respective body of ideas, Lehmann can also be said to take a more radical turn than Söderblom.

In Lehmann’s people and labour pedagogy, labour becomes the common substance in a society where class contradictions are eradicated while (class) difference is preserved.\(^{65}\) Towards the end of his life he finds this mirrored in Mussolini and the Italian fascism, something he describes in an essay from 1928 as the final completion of the gospel of labour, a realisation and fulfilment which no former experiments or thinkers have been able to create:

“‘The gospel of labour’, as the Scotsman Carlyle 70 years ago preached from his desk […] has finally found a priest, who lives as he preaches and who is born to this life. The smith’s son from Dovia, [vildbasaren\(^{66}\)] Benito […]”\(^{67}\)

Here the state has taken the form of “a church… which eventually grows together with the people and the bourgeoisie and gives the whole society its

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\(^{64}\) Lehmann, *Fremtidens*; ibid., *Kvinnor*. About Lehmann’s ideas on women’s/girls’ education in the Swedish context, see Nordström, *Pojkskola*, 86–89.

\(^{65}\) Buchardt, ‘Pedagogical transformations’.

\(^{66}\) ‘Vildbasaren’ corresponds with the English ‘dare devil’ and ‘mad cap’, but in Swedish and Danish it is rather a sort of pet name, meaning wild creature, and with connotations of cuteness.

\(^{67}\) Lehmann, *Bland fransmän*, 174.
inner firmness” and the bread and the labour which creates it are celebrated as being sacred.68

Lehmann’s way of rebuilding ‘the gospel’ as a pedagogical concept—the way he combined the inspiration, for instance, from anti-liberalism and anti-industrialism (Carlyle), anarchism (Krapotkin), social Darwinism and liberalism (Spencer) and the progressive pedagogy of John Dewey as well as his later appraisal of fascism—points to the fact that in order to transform Christianity into societal intervention Lehmann primarily uses non-theological resources, and that his work is ideological sampling. It is however important to note that such sampling was not uncommon at the period in question.

What in Lehmann’s case makes an assembly of seemingly contradictory ideologies possible is that he unites them through the categories of ‘culture’ and ‘labour’. This was done in order to develop strategies to educate ‘all’—the entire ‘people’—into being a whole people through a labour pedagogy which can create a modern societal organism, where social cohesion is built on and maintained through difference.69 This means a simultaneous evangelisation and sacralisation of the division of labour as a societal order and social cohesion. It also means that in Lehmann’s educational work, Christianity (‘the church’, ‘the Gospel’) is, on the one hand, de-sacralised when ‘put to work’ for the state and society, while on the other hand, the state and its culture is simultaneously sacralised, with labour as its inner core.

Pedagogising religion—dissolving religion in society
A comparison of the character of Lehmann’s and Söderblom’s educational involvement shows that in Söderblom’s case, the engagement in educational questions seems to have been a consequence of his involvement in reshaping the church and religion in relation to the social question and the state. In the case of Lehmann, the question of education served as a basis for dealing with the question of social cohesion across class differences. The reshaping of Christianity—‘the gospel’—served here as a tool.

69 Buchardt, ‘Pedagogical transformations’.
A shared feature is that these involvements in education took place in a situation where the relationship between the state and the church was increasingly questioned, and the role of religion in education became a central part of the discussion. It is, though, not the church institution and its tradition through dogmas which their involvement seeks to preserve, but the relevance of the sacred as part of a public sphere framed by the state. A common idea for both of them is that the state’s task is to include difference in a cultural as well as a social sense. As such the pedagogical transformation of religion into culture in their work becomes a question of making the state solid, maintaining social cohesion.

What was to be dealt with during the period of Lehmann’s and Söderblom’s liberal theologian engagement in for instance education, was the question of how to give Christianity a new form of relevance in a society where social and religious contradictions and differences were intensified. But just as importantly their engagement took place in a period where parliamentary and public political debate, especially among Liberals and Social Democrats, aimed at developing strategies to include such differences in harmonic ways in reformed common state institutions such as the school. Their ideas and interventions concerning education should thus also be understood in relation to the debates and reforms directed towards the development of a comprehensive school system for the whole population and, for instance, to a common education for boys and girls.70

A comparison also reveals that even though biblical criticism was a Prussian and German import—and despite the fact that biblical criticism as an approach to education was developed just as actively in Denmark as in Sweden from the 1890’s onwards in an on-going transnational exchange—it was faster and more successful in reaching parliamentary debate in Sweden, and therefore it was included in educational reform at an earlier point in time. Liberal theologian ideas worked across and between states, but with different results.

Still, liberal theology can be said to have developed a transnationally constructed understanding of the nations which was anti-nationalist in the

70 Richardson, Svensk, 89ff.; Larsen, Fra skoleanordninger; Skovgaard-Petersen, Dannelse. See also Goodson ‘On Curriculum’.
meaning of anti-militaristic and pro-peace, but which saw the specificity of the nation as the most adequate answer to social challenges—and also to the challenge of secularisation. In that sense this chapter points to the fruitfulness of further exploring the question of Lutheranism and the conceptions of the state in a transnational Northern European and Nordic perspective; something which in this concrete case could be further developed by following the Finnish and Norwegian tracks in the source material.

What the comparison above all suggests is what new form of Lutheranism was at stake when the ideas developed by the liberal theology got involved in education and pedagogy; namely a modern academic Lutheranism drawing on the classical Lutheran ideas of vocation and labour as central areas of morality, and of the world and political sphere as acting on divine authority, albeit shaped in new forms of these ideas. Here the church as an institution became of secondary importance, whereas the public sphere as people, culture and nation, framed by the state, became increasingly understood as sacred. When exploring the possible Lutheran contribution to the development of the welfare state and how to think about it, it is thus also important to consider the role of academic religion.

The humanising, socialising and culturalising of Christianity at work in different social fields, in this case education, contributed, on the one hand, to secularisation in the meaning of a growing division between state and church matters—the question of schooling being a significant example. On the other hand, however, it also contributed to a renewed and transformed sacralisation of the state, through new understandings of the cultural relationship between them. In that sense, the liberal theology in the Nordic states can, among other forces, be said to have contributed to the independence of modern schooling and pedagogy from the church institution. But it has also contributed to the fact that these forms of welfare state schooling cannot be understood as being independent from meanings and forms of knowledge from the religious field.
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From religious instruction to school education: Elementary education and the significance of ambulatory schools in rural Finland at the end of the 19th century

SOFIA KOTILAINEN

The ambulatory schools remained a significant part of the Finnish popular education system right up to the beginning of the 20th century. They made it possible to bring education to areas where economic, geographical and attitudinal reasons would not have permitted the building of a school for decades to come. In Finland, the education of the people was arranged from the beginning of the early modern era by the Evangelical-Lutheran Church according to the traditional Swedish practice. The 1866 Decree on Elementary Education transferred the task of educating the people from the church parishes to the local municipalities, but in the countryside the parish ambulatory schools continued for several decades to supplement the work of the elementary schools, especially in the outlying villages. They also answered the need for children’s primary instruction in addition to that provided at home. The teaching of the early ambulatory schools was mainly religious, and also the background of the teachers was often connected in some way with the work of the church. I examine, as an example of the gradual secularization of popular education, the development of the school network in the parish of Kivijärvi in Central Finland over an extended period.

When the old inhabitants of the parish of Kivijärvi reminisced in the middle of the 1930’s about their childhood at the end of the previous century, the folklorist who collected their memories described those times as follows: “An extremely important position in the children’s upbringing
was given to religious instruction, which was obtained both in the Sunday schools and by learning the catechism, a process that began at a very early age in the home. As soon as children started to have even a little understanding, their parents began to teach them to bless themselves. Thus one informant stated that he knew how to ‘bless himself’ before he was familiar with a single letter. Literacy was still at that time closely bound up with the education offered by the church: the clergy defined and directed how the common people set out on the road to learning.

During the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, the church’s role in popular education was also important elsewhere in Europe, such as in the Nordic countries, Germany and Britain, at least until the enactment of general laws of popular education or the introduction of compulsory education. In most western European countries the change happened earlier than in Finland. Eventually the interest in popular education also grew in Finland and ever since the 1860’s, an increasing number of municipal elementary schools were established in the countryside; they were governed by the municipal councils, which consisted mainly of peasant representatives. However, in remote areas very few elementary schools were built, and often primary education was provided by the Sunday schools and the ambulatory schools organized by the church parishes. This was also the case in all the Nordic countries. The 19\textsuperscript{th} century was the time of the romantic nationalists’ efforts to reform popular education to enable the masses to learn at least to read and write in their own mother tongue. It has also been considered that the secularization of society gradually made the education of the masses the duty of the state, which concomitantly almost automatically reduced the church’s power over instruction of the people.

However, the transition from religious teaching to school education deserves further investigation. In this article, I examine to what extent religion,

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1 SKS KRA. Hänninen, Eeva KT 1936: 250. The informants were inhabitants at the age of 53–61 years from the Lokakylä village in Kivijärvi and in Kyyjärvi, in those days village of Karstula.
2 Lamberti, State, 13–18; Magnússon, Wasteland, 87–88; Richards, Primary Education, 54.
3 Johansson, 'Staten'; Magnússon, Wasteland, 137; Richardson, 'Folkskolan', 36–37. See also Garðarsdóttir in this volume.
4 Coe, 'The Education'.
the church and the religious instruction arranged by it continued to influence the contents of the primary instruction in Finland administered by the early parish and municipal councils during the latter half of the 19th century. The 1865 Local Government Act distinguished the municipal and parochial administrations from each other and gradually shifted the responsibility for education to the municipalities. With the 1866 Decree on Elementary Education, it became the duty of the municipality to arrange elementary education, but in the countryside, in practice, the church parish continued to provide elementary education right up to the beginning of the next century. I examine the position of the parish ambulatory schools, in particular, in the creation and establishment of the new rural educational system at the end of the 19th century. Furthermore, I consider why the shifting of congregational elementary instruction to the municipal elementary schools was not as straightforward in the outlying countryside as in the towns and in the more prosperous rural parishes.

I concentrate on elementary education at the local level using the administrative parish of Kivijärvi in Central Finland as a case study. It represents remote agrarian areas, where no school providing elementary education was at first available for all children. The number of children who received an elementary school education in the area remained insignificant for a long time, even after the coming into force of the Decree on Elementary Education. The study focuses on the early ambulatory school and elementary school teachers who were responsible for the teaching and their individual contributions to popular enlightenment. A noticeable proportion of them were women. The influence of revivalist movements became particularly strong in the countryside in the late 19th century, when personal religious faith also influenced the work for popular enlightenment. The teachers were supposed to be devout Christians and persons for whom teaching was a calling, but their religious values had to be adapted to local attitudes. The

5 This article is connected to my postdoctoral research project (funded by the Academy of Finland), ongoing during the years 2011–2014: “The Benefits of Literacy in Everyday Life: The impacts of improved literacy on the opportunities for social advancement in remote local communities (c. 1800–1930)”.

6 Kotilainen, Suvun nimissä, 274.
teacher’s personal religious conviction was not allowed to contravene local religious views.7 The perspective of the article is not only based on local relevance (the ambulatory schools of Kivijärvi and other elementary education arranged at the end of the century have not been studied earlier in greater detail, especially from the teachers’ point of view), but also on a need to add to our knowledge of the early history of popular education, as well as the literacy skills in Finland and in northern Europe. In particular it helps us to understand the character of primary education in remote rural areas.

This article focuses on an analysis of the nature of the change-over from religious instruction to school education, using a few examples to illustrate this process. I examine the spread of elementary education from the viewpoints of a few individual persons and through their life stories. With the help of this methodological approach and a few detailed biographies it is possible to draw more general conclusions about how the introduction of rural ambulatory schools affected the development of Finnish popular education. These biographies help to observing the diversified history of the secularization of the education from the viewpoint of a rural teacher, which has only seldom been examined on the micro level. The biographies may explain the possibilities and ambitions the teachers had to work for the improvement of the usually very modest local educational conditions, and they can also reveal how and why the religious vocation or gendered differences affected the teacher’s work.

The educational history of the remote rural areas describes more profoundly the practices and realities of organizing the early elementary education. The agrarian Central Finland contrasted sharply with the town of Jyväskylä, the cradle of the teaching and training of teachers in Finnish language. The distance between them was only a couple of hundred kilometres, but the attitudes and values connected with the popular education were almost opposite. This is why only one teacher could begin a huge change in the rural parish he or she started working. I use a range of sources in my article: newspapers and oral recollections as well as archival sources concern-

7 Markkola, ‘Calling of Women’; Rantala, Kansakoulunopettajat, 282–283.
ing the parish of Kivijärvi. By collating several different sources systematically I investigate the reasons why even a single teacher could be significant in the establishment of the new elementary educational system. Again, the biographical data may explain why the secularization of education was not necessarily a very straightforward process.

The rural ambulatory schools in the organization of elementary education

In Finland popular education was the sole preserve of the church until the establishment of the elementary school system during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. However, the functional literacy skills of the population were still extremely weak in the mid-19th century. Even up the advent of universal compulsory education in 1921, children in the countryside usually obtained their elementary instruction either from their parents at home or in ambulatory schools maintained by the church parish. The ambulatory schools had already been employed in earlier centuries to assist in the provision of popular education. In the early 18th century, the Welsh cleric and educational reformer Griffith Jones organized several “circulating schools” for popular education in order to teach people to read in their own language. In 1764 Catherine II of Russia commissioned a report on the organization of these schools and used them as an example when she was planning the reform of the Russian school system, also in the area of the so-called “Old Finland”.  

In Finnish ambulatory schools, the teacher went from one village community to another teaching local children and staying from one week to two or three months in each place. The parochial ambulatory schools did not have a common curriculum, so there were considerable differences in their activities. Also the qualifications of the teachers varied, and especially in the earlier part of the period anybody could serve as a teacher; usually it was an older person, but sometimes the instructor was only a little older than the

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8 Clement, Jones. This Russian school reform affected also the organization of secondary schools in the towns of South-Eastern Finnish areas of the so-called “Old Finland”, i.e. the areas that Sweden ceded to Russia in the 18th century. Later in the 19th century these were an example for the rest of the autonomous Finland in developing the national secondary school system. Rajainen, Vanhan, 2–11.
pupils. For example, in Sweden, too, the schoolteachers of small children were at first farmers who had sufficient knowledge of Christian doctrine, reading, writing and arithmetic. Also some former soldiers or students, who had not graduated yet, taught in the rural schools.\textsuperscript{9} An attempt was made to wind down the ambulatory schools gradually after the 1866 Decree on Elementary Education was enacted, and at the latest after universal compulsory education came into force.\textsuperscript{10}

There were big qualitative differences between the town schools and the ambulatory schools of the countryside, which were held for only a few weeks at a time, in the provision and obtainment of primary instruction as well as in the attendance rates. In the towns, the children of the common people had considerably better opportunities to receive instruction, for example in Sunday schools or pre-schools for small children. Even so, teaching at home was still the most common way to teach children the rudiments of literacy everywhere in Finland.\textsuperscript{11} Right up to the end of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, small children in Kivijärvi largely depended on the activeness of their parents for their teaching.\textsuperscript{12} The Decree on Elementary Education made the rural municipalities fully responsible for neither the provision of teaching nor for the implementation of compulsory education; rather each municipality could make its own decision on the establishment of an upper elementary school. On the other hand, the rural administrative parishes were obligated to ensure that all those children who did not receive satisfactory instruction in reading and Christian teaching in their own homes should get such teaching in either fixed or ambulatory schools. Initially it was considered, however, that only orphans or neglected children who were not taught by their parents needed organized school teaching. On the other hand, ambulatory schools had not yet really become common in the 1860’s.\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{9} Johansson, ‘Statte’, 153; Melin, Alkuopetus, 17.
\textsuperscript{10} Hyyrö, Alkuopetus, 334, 336. Jones’s circulating schools were held for three months in the same place, usually in the winter months when farm work was slack. The pupils were taught to read the Welsh Bible and learn the Church Catechism. There were also night schools for those who could not attend teaching during the day. Jones himself trained the schoolmasters. Clement, Jones.
\textsuperscript{11} Hyyrö, Alkuopetus, 327.
\textsuperscript{12} SKS KRA. Hänninen, Eeva KT 1936: 250.
\textsuperscript{13} Hyyrö, Alkuopetus, 328, 334.
In 1890 over three fourths of the children living in Finnish towns went to school, whereas at the same time the figure in the countryside was only less than one fifth.\(^{14}\) In 1890 the population of Kivijärvi was approx. 4900 persons, and in the parish there was one ambulatory school, which operated in nine different venues over a period of 36 weeks. It was attended by altogether approx. 300 pupils, i.e. one fourth of all the school-age children. At that time there was no longer any ambulatory school at all in the neighbouring parish of Viitasaari, the population of which was about 8300, nor in its chapelry of Konginkangas (ca 1900 inhabitants). The situation in Kivijärvi was considerably better than in another neighbouring parish, Pihtipudas, where 300 pupils out of a total population of approx. 4500, less than 10%, attended the ambulatory school. The local ambulatory school had been founded there in 1873, and its teaching period was 36 weeks in 36 different locations. In 1890 the elementary schools in Kivijärvi had a little over 5% of all the school-aged children as their pupils, whereas in Pihtipudas the amount was a little over 9% and in Viitasaari it was almost 15%. Sunday school was attended in Viitasaari by 67%, and in Pihtipudas by 86%. However, in Kivijärvi, only 19% of all the school-age children attended Sunday school.\(^ {15}\)

Finland’s first ambulatory school teacher training seminary was established in conjunction with the elementary school teacher training college in Sortavala in 1890. Ambulatory school teachers were certainly much needed because there were about 200,000 ambulatory school pupils at the time and only about 110,000 elementary school pupils. Even in 1920 there were still more than 1300 ambulatory schools maintained by the church in Finland.\(^{16}\) There were also ambulatory schools in Karstula, the neighbouring parish of Kivijärvi, before compulsory education came into force. One of the teachers was Hilma Noronen. At her ambulatory school, the pupils studied reading and religion as well as the basics of writing and arithmetic.\(^ {17}\) There were villages in the parish of Karstula in which there was no elementary school and where not many of the older people had attended the ambulatory school.

\(^{15}\) SVT X: 17, 28–29; Jokipii, *Keski-Suomen*, 695.
\(^{16}\) Rantala, ’Kansakoulunopettajat’, 278.
\(^{17}\) SKS KKA 1. Karstula 4N.
either. Some parents taught their children the rudiments of reading, and at the age of 6–7 years the children could begin Sunday school. In this way, children gradually learnt to read. However, there was a bad shortage of teachers.18

During the early 20th century, former ambulatory school teachers sometimes became elementary school teachers as the number of elementary schools in the countryside increased. For example, Hilma Noronen, a crofter’s daughter from Karstula who later on married a farmer called Viljam Hakkarainen from Kivijärvi, first worked as an ambulatory school teacher in Karstula and Kivijärvi in 1889. Later on she became the teacher of the elementary school in the church village of Kivijärvi. Being a teacher gave a woman a more professional status than that of an ordinary woman in the rural community19. For example, Hilma Noronen was generally called “Teacher Noronen” in both Kivijärvi and Karstula.20 The ambulatory school teachers were widely known locally. Their prestigious status indicates how rare a skill fluent literacy was in small rural communities in those days.

The organization of popular education in Kivijärvi

The Finnish educator Uno Cygnaeus, originally a pastor and “father of the Finnish elementary school”, planned and launched the first Finnish teacher training college in Jyväskylä, and he also became its principal. The Decree on Elementary Education of 1866 did not totally realize his dream of implementing the basic education of the whole nation. Towards the end of the 1800’s the education of the masses became a common trend all over Europe, but the processes in different countries are not totally comparable because they took place at different times.21 The development was accelerated by nationalist values and the romanticisation of the common folk.22 Even before this, the 18th-century charity-school movement in Wales had already de-

18 SKS KKA 1. Karstula 13N.
19 Markkola, ‘Women in rural society’.
20 Kokkinen, Kipin, 24; Research Institute for the Languages of Finland, Name archives, Nicknames: Kivijärvi, Rautiainen 1972.
21 Bowen, A History of, 286–327; Coe, ‘The Education’, 26. About the organizing the primary education in Nordic countries, see Melin, Alkuopetus, 16.
manded religious schooling in the vernacular. Cygnaeus also emphasized the importance of religion in his educational thinking.

In his work, Uno Cygnaeus absorbed influences and ideas from the educational philosophies of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi and Friedrich Fröbel, among others. In many respects, the Swedish school system offered a model for the Finnish one. It was advanced in its development, and Sweden, being in other respects, too, an economically more prosperous country, had introduced compulsory education about twenty years earlier than Finland. The Swedish primary school was similar in nature to the Finnish ambulatory school institution. Cygnaeus held Danish elementary instruction in particular in high esteem. In Denmark, the school system was under secular administration, but organized in the manner that outside the capital the clergy was responsible for the inspection of elementary schools. Cygnaeus also used the example of the Baltic countries in developing the Finnish school system. He had become acquainted with the popular instruction provided by the Lutheran Baltic congregations during his St. Petersburg years.

Even though Cygnaeus tried to develop the Finnish elementary school system into one that permeated all strata of society, primary education still remained, even after the reform, the responsibility of the families and the church. The major significance of the decree from the point of view of the rural administrative parishes was the fact that the state undertook to pay for the greater part of the elementary school teachers’ salaries. In spite of this, those municipal councils in which the farmers were in the majority were not keen to pay for the establishment of elementary schools, especially in outlying villages. Often the decision to establish such schools was made only after the local pastor had supported it. Generally, the lack of resources, the sparseness of settlements and the absence of educated parishioners slowed down the establishment of elementary schools in central and northern Finland. The farmers resisted projects that meant extra taxes, and the rural population reacted suspiciously to elementary schools when it could not

24 Melin, Alkuopetus, 15, 19–21.
see any great advantage accruing from them: going to school only made the children lazybones.\(^{25}\)

In Central Finland, the first elementary schools were established in the remote chapelries of Konginkangas and Pylkönmäki in 1867. They had church buildings but no preachers of their own. The new Decree on Elementary Education provided an opportunity for them to get village preachers salaried by the state, which is why clerical tasks were added to the teacher’s duties. In some places the establishment of elementary schools was slowed down by the years of severe famine in the late 1860’s.\(^{26}\) In Kivijärvi in the village of Kinnula, too, it was decided to establish an elementary school whose teacher would also preach in the church on religious holidays. It was possible in this way to employ a kind of substitute for a clergyman in the chapelry, and even one whose salary was subsidized by the state. The school began operating in rented premises in October 1874. Karl Gabriel Leinberg, an elementary school inspector and senior teacher at the teacher training college in Jyväskylä, inspected the new school in Kinnula for the first time in the following winter. The teacher was Antti Räsänen, a trainee at a school for missionaries. When the inspector discussed the matter with the board of governors of the school, he discovered that the teacher was highly regarded in the village community. However, he thought that this was mainly due to the teacher’s “priestly service”.\(^{27}\)

In 1878, Antti Räsänen was appointed as the teacher of the newly established elementary school in the neighbouring municipality of Karstula. This choice was probably influenced by the pastor’s commendation of his talents as a preacher. Certainly the clergy of Karstula subsequently exploited these talents since they frequently invited him to preach in the church.\(^{28}\) In practice, the custom of combining a teacher’s and a preacher’s duties caused problems in small chapelries when the teachers moved on to other posts in bigger schools. The schools in both Konginkangas and Pylkönmäki had to be closed on a number of occasions because there were no teachers avail-

\(^{26}\) Mönkkönen, ‘Sivistyselämä’, 563–564.
\(^{27}\) JyMA, KSA, minutes of the parish meeting 13/9/1874; Mönkkönen, ‘Kansansivistys’, 445–446.
\(^{28}\) Koski, ‘Koululaitos’, 486–488.
able. The inhabitants of Kinnula were more fortunate because they were able to acquire a new teacher for their school in 1878: Edvard Olsoni, who remained in the locality for several decades.

In Kivijärvi the first elementary school was established in 1872. When the plan was discussed at the parish meeting in May, the majority of the participants opposed the pastor’s proposal. The meeting decided that it was not possible to establish a teacher’s post since there were no funds available. Instead, it was decided to establish 24 Sunday school districts, which were, however, no proper substitute for an elementary school. Therefore, the matter was brought up again in September of the same year, and a decision on the establishment of a school was reached when Pastor Viktor August Kon-sin promised to place a three-hectare parcel of his own arable land at the teacher’s disposal and offered to accommodate the school in the old parsonage building. The participation of the clergy in the boards of elementary schools was considered very desirable. In 1872 a local pastor chaired the board of the elementary school in all the parishes in Central Finland except for those chapelries which had no clergy of their own. However, in 1882 a decision of the Diet transferred the task of inspecting schools from the clergy to civil servants. In consequence, the church administration began to favour a parish ambulatory school system over the elementary schools. The parish of Viitasaari in Central Finland was exceptional in that it actually abolished the ambulatory schools with the support of the local clergy, and in their stead the municipality established the six elementary school districts in 1889. There were also some other places, such as Jyväskylä, where the clergy generally reacted positively to the development of elementary schools.

In 1879 the parish meeting of Kivijärvi established two ambulatory schools specifically to promote the development of reading skills among children in the outlying corners of the parish. Two students from the teacher training college in Jyväskylä, Johan Exell and Henriikka Liukko, were appointed as the first teachers. In 1883 the ambulatory school operated for

29 Mönkkönen, ‘Sivistyselämä’, 564.
30 JyMA, KSA, minutes of the parish meeting 25/5/1872 and 21/9/1872.
from religious instruction to school education

thirty weeks. The pupils were mainly illiterate children under ten years of age. The school expenses of poor children were paid for out of the poor relief fund of the municipality, so a lack of means was not an obstacle to studying.32 Many other early schools were founded for charitable reasons because it was believed that they provided children with an opportunity to get on in life and perhaps even to improve their social position. For example, the early schools in Wales and Ireland were organized by the charity school movement, and in the Nordic countries the schools for small children were at first mainly philanthropic institutions.33 The clergy, too, tried to take care of the elementary instruction of all sections of the population in Kivijärvi right up to the last decades of the 19th century. An ambulatory school pupil of the time later recalled:

“Rankka [Frans Petter Krank] is the first minister that I remember. [...] And it was he who got me to go to the ambulatory school. Since we were poor, and often didn’t have food or anything, he got me into the farmhouse at Sepänlahti [where the school was operating], and Rankka told them to give me food and that he would pay the household for the food. So he was so good to me, that Rankka, and also in his confirmation classes he was good to me. Yes, I did my homework and I didn’t have to re-take my class.”34

From the viewpoint of small rural parishes with limited resources, the ambulatory school was an economic teaching institution because first of all it did not require them to invest in their own school buildings. The classes were held in one of the local homes (usually a farmhouse) or in the parsonage. For example, in Kivijärvi (as well as in many other parishes) the location of the ambulatory school followed the venue of the parish catechetical meeting. It was customary that the same household in which the parish catechetical meeting was held in the (late) winter offered a room for the ambu-

32 Kokkinen, Kipin, 24.
33 Bowen, A History of, 154–155, 158–159, 291; Melin, Alkuopetus, 16. For example Pestalozzi was especially interested in the education of poor children, and he wanted to combine the teaching of reading and writing with training for future employment. Coe, ‘The Education’, 23.
34 SKS KKA 1. Kivijärvi. 9N.
atory school in the following autumn.\textsuperscript{35} Parish catechetical meetings were usually held to examine the parishioners’ knowledge of the catechism, and this was combined with teaching the children to read. In them, the curate or the cantor taught the children to read separately from the adults’ catechization. If a young reader progressed sufficiently well, he or she got a mark in his or her reading report and the right to take confirmation classes. In this way the teaching of literacy even after the mid-19\textsuperscript{th} century continued to be strongly based on the church’s tradition of religious instruction. The most important texts that were used in popular education were religious. In practice, the clergy also tested the level of the ability to read of the parishioners regularly every year. Religion also affected the contents of the ambulatory schools’ teaching. For example, the above-mentioned ambulatory school teacher Hilma Noronen used Sundvall’s \textit{Raamatunhistoria} [Biblical History] and the Small Catechism of Luther as textbooks in teaching religion. Singing was likewise studied using the hymn book and other collections of spiritual songs.\textsuperscript{36}

In the peoples’ eyes, the ambulatory school together with the Sunday school constituted an institution onto which they could shift the responsibility for their children’s primary education until they attended the elementary school. During the school year of 1883–1884, about 39\% of the children in Central Finland who were sent to the elementary schools had already gone to an ambulatory school, while in the whole country the proportion of these pupils was about 35\%. However, in Kivijärvi a lower proportion of all the school-age children attended the ambulatory schools compared to other parishes in Central Finland at the end of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century. It was customary for elementary school teachers to arrange short courses for young children in the autumn and spring. By attending these, children could attain the skills required to begin elementary school, if home teaching did not provide them with these. However, this kind of teaching was fairly irregular. For example, in the school year of 1875–1876 such classes for young children were held for two weeks in Kivijärvi, whereas for example in the neighbouring parish

\textsuperscript{36} Kokkinen, \textit{Kipin}, 25.
of Saarijärvi they lasted altogether six weeks. The pre-school classes became common in Central Finland when the elementary schools were established. They were especially common from the 1880’s onward, and some children, whose parents did not intend to send them to elementary schools, also attended them. In Kivijärvi, only 62% of the children who had attended pre-school classes were registered for the elementary school while their proportion in the whole country was about 75%.

As can be seen, the ambulatory school partly replaced the elementary school as the most significant institution offering primary instruction, even though it had been originally intended to be a temporary institution and only provide a preparation for the elementary school.

What kind of then was the role of an ambulatory or elementary school teacher in his or her local community? How did gender, religion or the length of time the teachers spent in the parish affect their vocation as teachers? The life stories of two rural teachers, Riikka Vesterinen and Edvard Olsoni, tell more about their motivation to teach. They both stayed for a longer time in the local community, where they were appointed as teachers, in which case they committed themselves quite profoundly to developing their home parish and its school system. They came from such areas where the popular education had been more advanced already in their childhood than in Kivijärvi, and they had had a chance to study more than the majority of the population in Kivijärvi. On the other hand, they had very different kinds of backgrounds and possibilities to work in the teaching profession. Examining of the characteristics of their biographies reveals to what extent the teacher of remote rural areas has been able to participate in the local educational work.

Riikka Vesterinen: from a servant to an educator

“There were no schools at that time in Kivijärvi, nor did anyone want them. Then came the first ambulatory school teacher. As far as I remember, it was Vihtori Vesterinen’s 38 mother, and she first kept the school in Viivataipale.” 39

Ambulatory school teachers played an important role in their local communities in the latter half of the 19th century. As teachers Finnish women, even if they came from a modest background, could participate in communal educational work in a significant way. This was the case also in the other Nordic countries. Still there were more women teachers in the towns than in the rural areas. In Finland, a little over 40% of elementary school teachers were women in the beginning of the 1890’s. In the province of Vaasa, in which Kivijärvi belonged to, only less than one fourth were women. However, for example in Prussia, the authorities were unwilling to assuage the shortage of teachers by making the profession open to women. 40

In Kivijärvi, one of the female ambulatory school teachers was Riikka Liukko, who was born in 1852 in Keuruu in Central Finland, the daughter of a crofter. Two of her parents’ six children perished in the famine winter of 1867. Riikka left home as a child to work as a servant in Keuruu; in 1873 she moved to the capital Helsinki. However, she returned home the following year and took up employment as a servant in the parsonage of Alavus, a little less than one hundred kilometres away from Keuruu in Southern Ostrobothnia. She had also served in the parsonage of Keuruu, where the pastor, Frans Henrik Bergroth, supported popular education and was the main force behind the establishment of a local elementary school. Also the family of the parish pastor of Alavus, Karl Fredrik Stenbäck, was progressive, and his son Lauri Kivekäs (former Stenbäck) was an active Fennoman. Probably supported by the masters and mistresses of these parsonages, Riikka

38 Vihtori Vesterinen was a government minister in the years 1945–48 and 1950–51.
Liukko applied for admission to the teacher training college in Jyväskylä in 1877. Especially her musical talent and her beautiful singing voice had attracted attention, and the inhabitants of the parsonage, with their interest in popular education, had certainly noticed that she possessed gifts that suited her for something more than just servant’s work. However, a lack of funds forced Riikka to give up her studies after just one year, and she returned to the parsonage in Alavus.41

On the other hand, even this short period of study opened up the possibility for Riikka to serve as an ambulatory school teacher in some outlying rural parish, and in 1880 she was appointed as teacher of the southern ambulatory school district of Kivijärvi. However, her career as an ambulatory school teacher soon ended when she married Lauri Vesterinen (usually the female teachers were not married), and became the mistress of the Kivikko household in the village of Pudasjärvi. Altogether nine children were born to the couple. The farm was considerably larger than ordinary farms in Kivijärvi, and its main building in particular was impressive compared to other farmhouses in the region. The interior likewise told of the wealth of the owners and represented rather the culture of country gentlefolk than the traditional local peasant way of life. Furthermore, Lauri Vesterinen quickly managed to increase the area of his land to about 6000 hectares. Of this, the amount of arable land rose to about 50 hectares, and there were about thirty crofters living on the estate. In order to improve the poor transportation connections, he acquired two lake steamers, which sailed on Lake Kivijärvi. One of them, a passenger vessel, was named after his wife Riikka.42

Lauri Vesterinen adopted the Laestadian43 faith, which had spread to Kivijärvi in the 1870’s and was strong there. It meant that high moral demands were placed on the daily life of the whole family. On Sundays, the master read Luther’s Small Catechism to his household. Riikka Vesterinen had a strongly social disposition: all beggars and other vagrants got a place to stay for the night in her household. Itinerant Romanies were also wel-

41 Kangas, Vihtori, 17–19.
42 Vesterinen also established a sawmill and a mill. Kangas, Vihtori, 19–21.
43 Revivalist movement was named after its leader, priest Lars Levi Laestadius, and it got its members especially from Northern Finland.
come, and the hostess was widely respected among them. Riikka adopted much of her husband’s Laestadian faith. She was a religious person, but her Christianity was not quite as strict as that of her husband. Riikka Vesterinen remained interested in social matters all her life. She participated in the establishment of an elementary school in her home village in the early 1890’s, served on its first board of governors and influenced the development of the school in other ways. She also stood as a parliamentary candidate of the Young Finns party in the 1907 general election.44 The teacher’s lifelong mission had a comprehensive impact on several spheres of life, and it exemplified many other ways in which women could exert their influence socially than merely in the education of the children.

**Edvard Olsoni: preacher and teacher**

The church continued to participate in the provision of popular education at the end of the 19th century because its own resources were limited, and cooperation with the secular school system for its part also increased religious teaching in the outlying countryside. The connection between the schools and religion was still very strong in the latter half of the 19th century, and the same persons often took care both of religious instruction and popular education. The village of Kinnula became a chapelry of the parish of Kivijärvi in 1864, and the village’s own church building was completed in 1867. Because Kinnula had no minister of its own living in the locality, the clergy of Kivijärvi came to hold services there four times a year, and during the intervening times a lay preacher took care of the celebration of services.45 During the time Kinnula was a chapelry, it was mainly the elementary school teacher who served as a preacher in the chapel. The first teacher, Antti Räsänen, carried out the duties of a preacher in the 1870’s, and he was followed by Karl Edvard Olsoni. According to local oral tradition, the latter had studied theology but still needed to pass a few courses in order to obtain his degree.46

Edvard Olsoni was born in 1835. His father and mother both came from

44 Kangas, Vihtori, 21–25.
46 Leskelä, Kinnulan, 29–30.
eastern Finnish clerical stock.\textsuperscript{47} He had studied at Kuopio Upper Secondary School and took his matriculation examination in 1857. Although his elder brother was a lawyer and a civil servant, the younger brother became more oriented towards teaching than university studies, and he began working as a teacher in Kuopio in 1865 and as an elementary school teacher in 1873. During his time there he worked to further popular education. In the Kuopio newspaper \textit{Tapio} in 1865, he expressed his thanks on behalf of the pupils of the Sunday school for donations of books received by the school library. Similarly, in the 1870's Olsoni worked as a librarian in the Kuopio Municipal Sunday School for Artisans and probably also in another Sunday school.\textsuperscript{48}

Edvard Olsoni worked as an elementary school teacher from 1878 to 1900 in the village of Kinnula.\textsuperscript{49} He was sometimes called “the preacher of Kinnula”, for example in the parish registers of Kivijärvi.\textsuperscript{50} Olsoni was in a way “Kinnula’s own pastor”, but he was not qualified to celebrate church rites, such as baptisms and burials.\textsuperscript{51} He also served as the teacher of the Sunday school in Kinnula, at least in 1901 and possibly also in earlier years.\textsuperscript{52} Olsoni also administered emergency baptisms in Kinnula to altogether 16 children between 1881 and 1901. Furthermore, he and his wife were the godparents of several children in the locality. A few other elementary school teachers from Kivijärvi also performed emergency baptisms of new-born children when necessary. Later in the early 20\textsuperscript{th} century, emergency baptisms were often performed by Sunday school teachers, who anyway had a good knowledge of the Lutheran confessions of faith, as was required of an emergency baptizer.\textsuperscript{53} Like many other teachers, the above-mentioned ambulatory school teacher Hilma Noronen was mentioned as a godparent of a new-born baby in the baptismal records of 1912.\textsuperscript{54}

\textsuperscript{47} Helsingin yliopiston ylioppilasmatrikkelit 1640–1852; 1853–1899; Bergholm, \textit{Sukukirja}, 974.
\textsuperscript{49} Talvisto, \textit{Kinnulan}, 180.
\textsuperscript{50} E.g. JyMA, KSA, records of births and baptisms 15/3/1886.
\textsuperscript{51} Leskelä, \textit{Kinnulan}, 29–30.
\textsuperscript{52} JyMA, KSA, Records of parish catechetical meetings 1901.
\textsuperscript{53} JyMA, KSA, Records of births and baptisms 1881–1901; Notes on the state and life of the parish of Kivijärvi during the years 1927–1931 for the 1932 synodal meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Tampere and the 1933 General Synod.
\textsuperscript{54} JyMA, KSA, births and baptismal records of 1912.
Teachers were popular godparents, and they were also chosen as emergency baptizers because they were usually regarded as possessing better knowledge and learning than the rest of the rural population thanks to their professional skill and training, and because of this they were also respected rather in the same way as the upper classes had been earlier during the period when society was divided into estates. The teachers were in many ways important local communal actors, to whom the community turned to on other everyday matters than just those connected their educational duties. Often the relation of the teacher to the locals to a great extent resembled the relationship of trust between the clergy and their parishioners.

The longevity of religious instruction in elementary education
During the 19th century most European countries developed their national education systems and organized schools for the rural population as well. In Finland, the ambulatory schools organized by the church played a very important role during this long liminal period because they ensured the continuity of the teaching in places where the secular authorities had not yet been able to establish elementary schools. As late as the first decades of the 20th century, popular education in the Finnish countryside still had strong connections with the elementary instruction organized by the Evangelical-Lutheran Church. At that time, compulsory education had already been enacted in many European countries and education had become more the task of the state than the church. Some of the elementary instruction was obtained at Sunday schools, and religion had a significant influence on the teaching in other respects, too. The basics of reading skills were often acquired in the centuries-old traditional way by learning the main confessions of faith by heart.

Since the possibilities for obtaining schooling were low in the remote countryside, the ambulatory school continued to be a significant instructional institution right up to and even after the coming into force of universal compulsory education. In 1927 it was noted in Kivijärvi: “Home teaching has become very insignificant in those parts of the parish where there are schools. Two ambulatory schools operated until last spring, of which one has been designated for abolition next autumn by a decision of the parish
meeting because of the increase in elementary schools.” The last ambulatory school in Kivijärvi was wound up in the autumn of 1934, even though at the end of the 1930’s the pastor thought that it was still needed. One consequence of the winding up of the ambulatory school was that at least in two remote villages some of the children were left without sufficient elementary instruction, since the operation of the lower elementary school had not been properly organized either. The ambulatory schools were still necessary in remote areas in the 1930’s, and in Finland about 250 ambulatory schools were still operating in the mid-1930’s.

Many early popular educators were either members of revivalist movements or even church priests; this was the case for example in Wales. In Kivijärvi, the work of Edvard Olsoni exemplifies how popular education and religious instruction were combined in various ways. Many other ambulatory school and Sunday school teachers also made up for their deficient training for their tasks with their religious conviction. Male teachers may have previously pursued theological studies and training for the priesthood. For example, Sunday school teachers who were laymen and had often themselves not received much schooling were nevertheless religious or even members of local revivalist movements, as was the case also elsewhere in Europe. For many teachers, popular education represented a calling. It was a vocation that remained important for women teachers, too, even after they married and established families and no longer necessarily worked as ambulatory or elementary school teachers themselves. As wives they still participated in many ways in the work of popular enlightenment and in the activities of the associations that promoted it in their own home areas.

In Finland, the ambulatory school was largely a form of instruction organized by the church parish, and it supplemented municipal elementary instruction especially in outlying villages right up to the early 20th century.

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55 JyMA, KSA, Notes on the state and life of the Parish of Kivijärvi in the years 1922–1927 for a report submitted to the General Synod 1928; Description of the state of the Parish of Kivijärvi in the years 1922–1926 for the Synodal Meeting of the Diocese of Tampere on 18 October 1927.
56 Notes on the state and life of the Parish of Kivijärvi during the years 1932–1936 for the 1937 Synodal Meeting of the Diocese of Tampere and the 1938 General Synod. Submitted on 25 March 1936 by Pastor Väinö Havas.
and the implementation of universal compulsory education. Without it, the rural population would have been deprived of even rudimentary teaching. It was cheaper to arrange than elementary school education, and while it did not offer the pupils as much basic information as the elementary school, they got through their schooling more quickly. The popularity of the ambulatory school was undoubtedly also influenced by the fact that the rural population continued to regard schools and prolonged school attendance with suspicion. They believed that it was more important to learn the practical skills of agriculture than to sit on a school bench. Research on the ambulatory schools shows how short the history of a uniform system of popular education in Finland is and how rapid the development of universal compulsory education actually was. Only from the 1970’s on has there been a uniform comprehensive school that offers an education that is broadly the same for a whole age group. This has sometimes been difficult to remember when the excellent learning results produced by the Finnish welfare society and the advantages provided for the development of the information society by a uniform educational system has been examined in hindsight.

The mobility of the ambulatory school also made it a very flexible institution, and for precisely this reason it was initially better suited than the fixed elementary school to a situation in which popular education was just becoming established and the resources for it were limited. In its own way, it symbolizes the whole gradual secularization process and the change that was going on in the rest of society at the same time. Even though the ambulatory school was originally intended as a temporary teaching institution to supplement the elementary school, in the slowly modernizing countryside it actually took the place of the elementary school for several decades. Moreover, especially the ambulatory school teachers who worked for decades in the same area became important role models in their own village communities.

The ambulatory school was characterized by mobility and expediency in other ways too: it tried to respond to the educational needs of the poorest and least lettered people in such a way as to make it possible for each locality to adopt it according to the resources available. Education, which had traditionally been characteristically religious and dominated by the higher es-
tates and especially by the clergy, was gradually becoming not only the duty but also the right of every citizen. And the ambulatory school offered many children an opportunity to obtain the skills needed later in the new civic society of the 20th century, even if they did not have otherwise had a chance to obtain elementary education. Teaching was not initially as accessible in the countryside as it was in more densely settled areas, which explains why individual ambulatory school teachers held considerable responsibility for the quantity and quality of the teaching provided for the majority of school-age children living in the parish.

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Literature


Teaching on the eve of public schooling: 
Demographic and social features of 
Icelandic schoolteachers in 
the beginning of the 20th century

Introduction
When the 1901 Icelandic census was taken on November 1st, an unmarried 28-year-old man, Sigurgarður Sturluson, was away from home. He was staying at the farm of Geirseyri in the parish of Sauðlauksdalur in Barðarstrandsýsla, in north-western Iceland. There he is listed as a “fisherman and a captain on a fishing boat” and it is furthermore stated that he currently works as an “elementary schoolteacher”.1

Like others who were not at their regular legal residence when the census was taken, Sigurgarður was also listed in a separate supplement to the census. These forms were collected in each parish and listed all individuals who were not at home on the day of the census. Sigurgarður is thus listed twice in the census; in his home parish, Hagar, in the county of Barðaströnd, he is classed as a lodger at Geirseyri, where he is said to be a fisherman and a teacher.

There is additional information on Sigurgarður in a volume containing biographies of Icelandic teachers (Kennaratal á Íslandi, hereafter called teachers’ biographies).2 According to this source, Sigurgarður was a teacher for almost his entire professional life from 1896 to 1929. Teaching was however only a secondary occupation, since he also earned his livelihood from

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1 NAI. Database on Icelandic censuses.
2 Kennaratal á Íslandi, 148–149.
fishing and worked as a carpenter in the county of Barðaströnd. Despite having no formal education, either as a teacher or other academic training, he showed a vivid interest in promoting better education for young people in his home community. For a few years he ran a vocational school for young people and translated pamphlets and books.

Can we generalise about the teachers’ profession in Iceland from the example of Sigurgarður? Is his story unique or can it be seen as an illustrative example of how teachers were in Iceland at the beginning of the 20th century? Despite having no formal professional preparation, he was involved in teaching and other cultural activities in an area that was very remote, even by Icelandic standards.

When Sigurgarður started his teaching career towards the end of the 19th century, free compulsory schooling had not been introduced in Iceland. However, as in the other Nordic countries, directives on education had already been passed during the 18th century. As such, traditional home schooling became the general rule in Iceland during most of the 19th century. Schools were established in towns and villages during the second part of the century, and towards the end of the century ambulatory schooling became a common arrangement in many rural areas.

This study analyses the situation of elementary schoolteachers in Iceland at the beginning of the 20th century. The study includes all individuals that were listed as teachers in the 1901 census. Demographic factors such as the age, sex and marital status of the teachers are scrutinised and use is made of other sources to discover whether individuals were only involved in teaching for a brief period of time or devoted several years or even their whole professional career to teaching. The 1901 census was carried out on November 1st and contains traditional demographic variables together with detailed information on the occupations of each person. Many individuals in the 1901 census had several occupations recorded. In the case of multiple occupations we do not make a distinction between individuals having teacher as their first occupation or the last of four of five occupations. In addition to the census data, the biographies of a number of teachers are analysed and a report on children’s education dating from 1905 is used to shed
light on the schooling arrangements and educational levels of teachers.³ This report was written by Guðmundur Finnbogason, who had been appointed by the Icelandic government to evaluate the education of children and adolescents in Iceland before a bill on compulsory schooling was drafted. Finnbogason’s report contains detailed information on various issues regarding educational arrangements. Another source that will be made use of is a dataset containing cross-sectional information on all individuals teaching in the years 1909–10, 1930–31, 1940–41 and 1960–61.⁴ Furthermore, information on the date of death of individuals has been obtained from a database owned by DeCode genetics if not available in the teachers’ biography.⁵

Home education, ambulatory schools and permanent schools

From a European perspective, the Nordic countries are known for a relatively early introduction of compulsory education. As early as the 18th century, education directives were passed in all the Nordic countries. In those directives, individual households were obliged to provide teaching in reading to all children in the household. Furthermore, the directives required that parish ministers check the reading ability of their parishioners on their yearly visits to individual households within their parishes.⁶ At the time, reading was a requirement for the holy-communion.

Even though many schools were established in densely populated areas in the Nordic countries in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, home education continued to be of importance until the late 19th century. Of the Nordic countries, compulsory schooling was first introduced in Denmark in 1814 and somewhat later in Norway and Sweden. In remote rural areas, home education was eventually replaced by ambulatory schools. When public schooling was made compulsory in the Nordic countries, ambulatory schools continued to be an important form of schooling in remote sparsely-

³ Finnbogason, Skýrsla um fræðslu barna og unglinga veturinn 1903–1904.
⁴ This dataset contains traditional demographic variables (year of birth, sex, year of marriage, number of children), together with information on geographic locations, on social background and educational levels. Icelandic schoolteachers 1909–1961.
⁵ Íslendingabók.
⁶ Guttormisson, ‘Fræðsluhefðin’.
populated areas.\textsuperscript{7} In the Icelandic case, ambulatory schools were still relatively common in rural settings as late as the 1950s.\textsuperscript{8} Although it is worth noting that the organisation of the ambulatory schools differed from one region to another, most frequently, a schoolmaster travelled between certain households that were able to house the school for a few weeks each year.

Compared to the other Nordic countries, free public schooling only became compulsory at a late date in Iceland. As Iceland had a strong and long-lived tradition of home instruction, compulsory schooling was only introduced in 1907. This was mainly due to the fact that the country was sparsely populated, even by north European standards. Settlement was spread along the coast and inland valleys and the vast interior was largely uninhabited. Although the majority of the population lived from animal husbandry, fisheries constituted an important subsidiary income for a relatively large percentage of the population, in particular in the western and southern part of the country. In upland rural areas, settlement was characterised by isolated farms that were often separated by several kilometres, whereas the coastal areas were more densely populated. The population by 1901 was slightly above 80,000. Reykjavik, that eventually became the capital of Iceland, was by far the most populated town with 6,600 inhabitants. Outside Reykjavík there were a handful of towns and villages with a population of around 1,000 inhabitants. It goes without saying that the operation of regular schools in permanent housing would have been complicated under such conditions.

It is important to note that there was no clear shift in either schooling arrangements or in school attendance with the 1907 Act on compulsory education in Iceland. However, there had been a growing interest in promoting the establishment of elementary schools during the second part of the 19th century, and in 1880 a new Education Act had been passed in the Parliament. Earlier, the requirements for communion (besides biblical knowledge) were that children should be able to read texts freely and not only learn them by heart. With the Education Act of 1880 new requirements were added to


\textsuperscript{8} Guttormsson, ‘Farskólahald í sextíu ár’.
those traditional requirements and individual households were now made responsible for teaching children to write and learn some of the basic skills in arithmetic. The Icelandic historian, Loftur Guttormsson, has argued that households were generally not able to meet those new demands in education, which brought about a shift in educational arrangements both in the urban and the rural setting. Thus, there was a sharp increase in the number of schools both in villages and rural areas. At the turn of the 20th century there were ambulatory schools in most rural areas, and schools were run in almost all villages on a permanent basis at the turn of the 20th century.

Regional differences in schooling arrangements

In his report, Guðmundur Finnbogason collected information on the proportion of children aged 7–14 years that were enrolled in schools in 1903–1904. His report showed that only an insignificant fraction of children below the age of 10 were enrolled in schools. Despite the notable growth in the number of schools and the vivid interest in promoting improved elementary education for children, there was a general consensus that individual households should be responsible for teaching young children to read. This consensus is also evident from discussions in the Parliament when the new Education Act of 1907 was passed. As there was thus no clear shift in the organisation of schools with the new legislation, the 1907 Act merely consolidated prevailing structures. Traditionally, since few children younger than 10 years of age would go to school in rural areas, the 1907 Act regarding compulsory schooling was only for age groups 10–14 years. The law, however, did require that children were able to read when they started school at the age of 10. It was not until the 1930s that compulsory schooling was introduced for children from the age of 7. It is also worth stressing that the 1907 Act gave individual communities the right to apply for exemptions from running a school if it was proven that all the children received an adequate education at home. Similar rights were also given to individual parents who preferred to teach their children at home.

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9 Guttormsson, ‘Sækuleringstendenser i islandsk almuedannelse’.
Figure 1 (next page) is based on information on the number of 10–14 year-old schoolchildren in Finnbogason’s report showing enrolment rates by county. According to his report, 61% of all Icelandic children in this age group went to school. However, there were considerable regional differences in enrolment rates. In the most densely-populated places in the southern and south-western part of the country (Gullbringusýsla, Reykjavík and Vestmannaeyjar) as well as in Eyjafjörður in the North, around 90% of all children in the age group attended school. The ratio was much lower, however, in rural and remote areas. The share was lowest in Strandasýsla in north-western Iceland, where less than 20% of all children attended school.

There were also important differences in the length of the school year between areas and between types of schools. Children in rural areas were generally enrolled in ambulatory schools and had intensive periods of schooling for only a few weeks each year. In towns and villages, schools on the other hand were generally run for several months each year. This is evident from Figure 2 (next page) that shows children by school-type and length of the school year.

It is hardly surprising that the majority of all Icelandic children went to school in rural areas. However, most of them were enrolled in ambulatory schools and a vast majority of those children went to school for less than two months a year. More than one fourth of all Icelandic children went to school for a month or less and another third for between one and two months. In towns and villages, a school year of more than five months a year was the general rule. Reykjavík stands out with a school year of 7 months or more for the majority of schoolchildren.

It is worth noting that the length of the school year by no means provides a realistic picture of the length of the instruction period of individual teachers. According to Finnbogason’s report, most teachers in ambulatory schools taught in at least two or three places a year. It was thus by no means uncommon for ambulatory teachers to teach for several months every year even though the children would hardly be in school for more than a few weeks each year. But let us now have a closer look at the demographic features of the individuals who were listed as teachers in the 1901 census.
Figure 1. Proportion of 10–14 year-old children enrolled in school by 1903–1904.

Figure 2. Schoolchildren aged 10–14 years by school type and length of school year 1903–1904 (%).

Source: Finnbogason, *Skýrsla um fræðslu barna*. 
Icelandic teachers in 1901

At the beginning of the 20th century a vast majority of Icelandic teachers worked in rural areas. This is evident from Table 1, showing the number of teachers by geographical setting. Out of 324 teachers that are listed in the 1901 census, more than 80% (261) worked in rural areas. Slightly more than one fourth of all teachers were women. There were notable differences in the sex ratio between urban and rural areas, the share of women being much higher in the urban setting. This holds especially true for Reykjavík, where slightly more than half of all teachers were women (22 men and 24 women). In rural areas 22% of all teachers were women. A further examination of the information on occupation in the census shows that teachers in rural areas were more likely to combine teaching with other occupations and indeed most teachers in rural areas had multiple occupations. Sigurðarur who was presented in the introduction is a good example of a person for whom teaching was only a secondary occupation. The traditional Icelandic economy was marked by seasonal variations. In the agrarian sector, the most labour-intensive period lasted from the end of April when the lambs were born until late September when sheep were gathered from the highlands. For knowledgeable farmers or farmers’ wives who were considered qualified, the option to teach when there was little work at the farm would often have been an attractive alternative.

Table 1. Teachers in urban and rural areas by sex 1901.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Women (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>The country as a whole</strong></td>
<td>324</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>26.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reykjavík</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>52.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other towns than Reykjavík</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>29.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other areas</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: NAI. Database on Icelandic censuses. The figures for this table are based on the 1901 census. Guðmundur Finnbogason’s report also includes an analysis of teachers by different settings. According to Finnbogason’s report, teachers were more numerous than those listed in the 1901 census (405 compared to 324). This discrepancy is discussed in Garðarsdóttir, Barnakennarar á Íslandi um aldamótin 1900.
An analysis of the age distribution of teachers in 1901 shows that the majority of teachers were young. This was especially true for women. The average age of female teachers was 29 years compared to 35.8 among men. Figure 3 shows that more than 40% of all female teachers were younger than 25 compared to only 20% of the men. The youngest teacher listed in the 1901 census was Jóhanna Margrét Eiríksdóttir. Jóhanna Margrét was only 15-years-old, a daughter of a widow who was a lodger in the farm of Fossanes in the parish of Stórnúpur in southern Iceland. Three teachers were 17-years-old and five were 19-years-old. The age distribution of male teachers was much more even than was the case with the women. Just over a fifth (21%) of male teachers was less than 25 and a third belonged to the age group 25–34. Nearly half of male teachers (46%) were 35 or older. The same applied only for 9% of the female teachers.

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11 NAI. Database on Icelandic censuses.
The age difference between male and female teachers needs further clarification. There are a few plausible explanations for the young age of female teachers. Firstly, women were more likely to stop teaching upon marriage than was the case with men. We will discuss this aspect below. Another explanation may be that there was a longer tradition of teaching amongst men than among women. Teaching would thus only recently have become a female occupation when the 1901 census was taken.

There is no statistical information available on the sex and age specific distribution of teachers during the 19th century. Research on literacy levels has, however, shown that there were considerable differences in writing abilities between women and men. The second part of the 19th century was marked by considerable improvements in the writing skills among women. As for elementary education, it has also been observed that there was an increase in enrolment rates of girls in elementary schools, at least in two of the largest urban areas (Reykjavik and Hafnarfjörður). Until the early 1880s around two thirds of schoolchildren in those schools were boys. However, in only a few years the share of the sexes that were enrolled in the elementary schools in Reykjavik and Hafnarfjörður came to be the same.

The historian, Erla Hulda Halldórsdóttir, has argued that at around 1870 there was a shift both in educational opportunities and in views towards women’s education. The first women’s schools were founded during the 1870s opening up opportunities to both academic and vocational education. Halldórsdóttir argues that even though the main role of the women’s schools was to prepare women for their future roles as housewives and mothers, it was regarded as important that girls had the same right to education as boys. She furthermore shows that the advocates for the founding of the women’s schools were of the view that the schools gave women who did not marry the “opportunity of becoming educated so as to have a means of supporting

12 Guttormsson, ‘Skrivefærdighed i ett skoleløst samfund’, 54; Garðarsdóttir, Saving the Child, 152–165; Halldórsdóttir, ‘Af bréfaskriftum kvenna á 19. öld.’
14 Halldórsdóttir, ‘Að versa sjálfstæð’; Halldórsdóttir, Nútímans konur.
themselves”.15 Thus the foundation of the women’s schools laid the grounds for the improvement of work opportunities for women. One of the professions occupied by women that had attended the women’s schools was teaching. This is evident both from the teachers’ biographies and from Finnbogason’s report.

Table 2 is based on Finnbogason’s report and shows the professional preparation of teachers in Iceland in 1903–1904. Unfortunately, Finnbogason did not divide between the sexes in his analysis on the education levels of teachers. It is, however, clear from his report that a large fraction of female teachers had been educated in the women’s schools. According to the report, the number of female teachers was 87. Table 2 shows that 45 individuals in rural areas were educated in a women’s school and 9 in urban areas. Assuming that all teachers who had been in the women’s school were indeed women, almost two thirds of all female teachers had obtained their professional preparation in one of those schools (54 out of 87). Teaching was one of the first professions open both to women and men, and women who occupied a teaching position seem to have been fairly well educated.

Even though the majority of female teachers had a formal education, a large fraction of Icelandic teachers had no professional training. Table 2 shows that 35% of all teachers in rural areas had only received the traditional home education and another 3.1% had been in elementary school. Educational levels were higher in urban areas, where only 14.5% of all teachers had only been educated at home. Only 20% of teachers in urban areas and 3.6% of teachers in rural areas had been formally trained to be teachers.

Teaching became an increasingly professionalised occupation in the first decades of the 20th century. During this time, an act on compulsory schooling was issued and a law on a teachers’ training college was passed in the Parliament. The Teachers’ Training College (Kennaraskóli Íslands) was founded in Reykjavík in 1908 and provided individuals with three years of teacher training. It was open to both men and women from the start. Earlier, there had been a teacher’s seminar at the secondary school of Flensborg in

15 Halldórsdóttir, Núttimans konur, 349.
the town of Hafnarfjörður. Those seminars were first launched in 1892 as six weeks of training for teachers, extended to one year in 1896. The operation of those seminars was ended after the establishment of the Teachers’ Training College in Reykjavík.\textsuperscript{16}

Not all teachers that had received formal teacher training in the beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, however, had been trained in Flensborg. An examination of the teachers’ biographies shows that a number of individuals had attended teachers’ seminars abroad, most of them in Copenhagen.

Above it was hypothesised that the young age of female teachers is, at least in part, to be explained by the inclination of women to stop teaching when they got married. The role of a woman was first and foremost that of a mother and housewife. This was especially true for women belonging to the middle class. The teachers’ biographies show that many of the female

\textsuperscript{16} Björnsson, Úr sögu kennaramenntunar.
teachers, in particular those teaching in urban areas, were from the higher social strata.\textsuperscript{17} For them, it was hardly appropriate to pursue a professional career after they got married. There are thus examples of women that had significant professional training, even from teacher institutes abroad, that did not teach after they got married. An interesting example is Laufey Vilhjálmsdóttir.\textsuperscript{18}

Laufey came to be the wife of Guðmundur Finnbogason, the author of the report on children’s education in 1903–04. Laufey was 22 on census day in 1901 and lived in the parental household. She had studied at the Women’s School in Reykjavík and was trained as a teacher in Copenhagen (Statens Lærerkurs). Guðmundur and Laufey got married in 1914 and Laufey did not teach after she got married.\textsuperscript{19} As many women of her standing, she was engaged in philanthropic work and wrote and translated several articles for periodicals.

Ingibjörg Sigurðardóttir is another example of a woman who stopped teaching upon marriage.\textsuperscript{20} On census day in 1901, she was a 27-year-old farmer’s daughter in Vindhælishreppur in northern Iceland. Like many other female teachers, she had studied at one of women’s schools (in Efri-Ey) and in 1909 she studied at the Teachers’ Training College in Reykjavík. In 1901 she lived in Blönduós and earned her livelihood from teaching and day-labouring. According to the teachers’ biographies, she taught children during the period 1908–1913. For a period she also taught at the Women’s School at Blönduós. She got married in 1913 and did not teach after that.

Loftur Guttormsson has shown that most teachers in the first half of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century were unmarried. In 1909–1910, 88\% of female teachers had never married compared to 55\% of male teachers. The share of unmarried teachers remained high, especially among women, and in 1940, 71\% of all female teachers were unmarried.\textsuperscript{21} In the 1901 census, the proportion of un-

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\textsuperscript{17} On women’s work and the views towards women’s work see: Matthíasdóttir, \textit{Hinn sanni Íslandingur}, 243–250.

\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Kennaratal á Íslandi}.

\textsuperscript{19} Guttormsson, ‘Barnakennarar’, 137; \textit{Kennaratal á Íslandi}.

\textsuperscript{20} NAI. Database on Icelandic censuses; \textit{Kennaratal á Íslandi}.

\textsuperscript{21} Guttormsson, ‘Hefðir og nýbreytni’, 136.
married teachers was almost the same as in 1909–1910, i.e. 60% men and 86% women. The high celibacy ratio is hardly surprising considering the low age of teachers, as age at first marriage was high in Iceland at the time. It is therefore of importance to analyse marital status by age. This is done in Figure 4.

Figure 4 shows that nearly all teachers younger than 25 were unmarried. In the group 25 years and older, half of all male teachers and more than three out of four women were unmarried. Widowed and divorced teachers were few, 7% of all men and 9% of women belonged to this group.

The low share of married female teachers in the age group 25 years and older confirms the hypothesis that women were not supposed to combine the role of housewife with teaching. As in the case of Laufey and Ingibjörg referred to above, most women would indeed stop teaching after they married. Even those women who had acquired a formal education as teachers were likely to give up teaching upon marriage. Examination of the life course of women who were listed as teachers in the 1901 Census shows that
very few of those who got married continued teaching after they got married. In some cases they returned to teaching after entering widowhood or after their children had grown up and moved away from home. Let us have a look at two examples.

Þorgerður Kristín Jónsdóttir was born in 1879. She studied at the Woman’s School at Ytri-Ey in 1898 and 1899 and attended the Teachers’ Seminar in Flensborg in 1901. She taught one year in the parish of Hrepphólar in southern Iceland and married in 1902. Despite having three small children she taught textile classes in the elementary school of Hafnarfjörður in 1907–1908. Later, during the 1940s she taught young children in Hafnarfjörður.

Another woman who worked as a teacher in Hafnarfjörður was Valgerður Jensdóttir. She was born in 1880 at Hóll in Hvammssveit in western Iceland, the daughter of the communal director in the commune. She started teaching children at the age of 17 when she was still living in the parental household. Two years later, in 1899, she studied at the Teachers’ Seminar in Flensborg. She then taught at the elementary school in Hafnarfjörður during the years 1901–1903 until she got married. Her husband, Jón Jónasson, was also a teacher and later a schoolmaster in Hafnarfjörður. Due to bad health, he retired from teaching and for a brief period Valgerður replaced her husband as a headmaster, and after his death in 1914 she continued teaching in Hafnarfjörður.

In his report Finnbogason notes that teachers’ salaries were comparatively low and therefore most teachers were young and unmarried. According to Finnbogason, teachers were not able to provide for a family on their salaries. The fact that few teachers above the age of 25 were married supports Finnbogason’s view. An examination of the household position of teachers offers additional information on the situation of teachers in the beginning of the 20th century.

In a rural society, gaining headship over a household guaranteed a social independence and privileges unavailable to those in inferior household.
positions. The high share of unmarried teachers indicates that teachers were not likely to be in the position of household head or spouse. Table 3 confirms that only a few teachers in the 1901 census headed a household. Let us first have a look at the upper section of the table that shows the household position of teachers younger than 25. Only three teachers in this age group were listed as household heads or spouse in the census. Slightly less than a third of all male teachers in this age group and one fourth of female teachers were listed as boarders or lodgers. One third of all teachers in this age group were in the position of offspring to household heads.

Table 3. Household position of male and female teachers 1901.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Younger than 25</th>
<th>25 and older</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head of household or spouse</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offspring</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatives</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Servants</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lodgers/ boarders</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other or unknown</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: NAI. Database on Icelandic censuses.
In the age group 25 years and older it is shown that 41% of men and 19% of women were in a position of head of household or spouse. It was relatively common for teachers who had reached the age of 25 to be in a position of lodgers or tenants. This was the case with 20.4% of male teachers and 26.9% of female teachers.

One of the youngest individuals who was listed as a teacher in the 1901 census was Gunnlaugur Þorsteinsson, a 17-year-old farmer’s son. He had graduated from the secondary school in Möðruvellir in northern Iceland. Gunnlaugur lived in the parental household at Skipalón in the parish of Möðruvellir. According to the census, he harvested hay and taught children. Gunnlaugur is not listed in the teachers’ biographies and he does not figure in a list of teachers teaching in 1909–1910. From other sources it is

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25 NAI. Database on Icelandic censuses; Kennaratal á Íslandi.
known that he later became a physician. It appears that he only taught for a brief period of time after finishing secondary school before starting his studies to become a physician.

It was probably not uncommon for young talented people from relatively wealthy households to work temporarily as teachers while still living in the parental household. Some well-to-do farmers, in all likelihood, would have been willing to house an ambulatory school for young children in the community, and their offspring were potential candidates to become teachers, at least temporarily before they established their own household or, like in the case of Gunnlaugur, pursued another career. The question remains as to the extent teaching became a lifelong occupation at such an early date.

In the following, use will be made of the list of teachers dating from 1909–1910. We have linked individual teachers from the census with the dataset containing all teachers during the school-year 1909–1910. The analysis is only made for those individuals who lived beyond the year 1910 and were living in Iceland that year. The results of this study are presented in Figure 5 and show how many of the teachers listed in the 1901 census were still teaching in 1909–10. The results are presented by age and by sex. It is revealed that men were slightly more likely to continue to teach than was the case with women; 45% of male teachers and 36.5% female teachers were still teaching in 1909–10. The difference is, however, surprisingly low considering the fact that a large fraction of women stopped teaching upon marriage. Given the fact that a relatively large percentage of women stopped teaching upon marriage we would have expected a more notable difference between women and men.

There are notable sex and age-specific differences as regards the likelihood to teach for a long period of time. The youngest individuals were least likely to continue to teach for several years. This was the case both for men and women. Slightly less than one third of all male teachers that were younger than 25 in 1901 and 18% of women in this age group were still teaching in 1909–10. This low share supports the idea that teaching was often a temporary occupation of young people when they were still living in the parental household. Men were more likely to continue teaching than
women in all age groups expect in the age 25–34. Here it is important to note that there were only very few women in age groups 35–44 and 45 years and older, who were teaching in 1901 (four women in each age group). The results are thus hardly statistically significant.

It is noteworthy that almost two thirds of all female teachers belonging to age group 25–34 in 1901 were still teaching in 1909–10. The teachers’ biographies show that many of those women were to dedicate themselves to teaching and many of them taught for several decades. Few of those women ever married. Many were well educated; often they had studied at one of the women’s schools and a few had even gained teacher training abroad. One of those women was Guðlaug Arason.26 She was born in 1855, daughter to a physician. She was educated at the Teachers’ Seminar in Copenhagen and later went to Bonn in Germany to pursue her studies. She first taught at the elementary school in Keflavík in south-western Iceland and then between 1890 and 1927 in Reykjavík. She never married.

In most European societies27, women played an important role in public schools as early as the late 19th century. It has furthermore been shown that often female teachers had a higher social profile than men. Our study indicates that this was also the case in Iceland. This was particularly true for the urban areas where female teachers often originated from the upper middle class. Similar results have been revealed by Christina Florin for Sweden.28 Our study also indicates that those women often had better professional training than their male counterparts.

Conclusions
This study shows that there were important regional differences in the status and educational levels of teachers in early 20th century. In rural areas, the school-year was short and teaching was only a secondary occupation for most individuals. Typically, a teacher in a rural setting was a farmer or a fisherman who had no formal education and taught during seasonal slack

26 Kennaratal á Íslandi.
27 See for example: Simonton, A History of European Women’s Work; Florin, Kampen om katedern.
28 Florin, Kampen om katedern.
periods in rural areas, as was the case with Sigúrður presented at the beginning of this chapter. Few of those teachers had any formal academic training, but were considered to be qualified, gifted individuals who sometimes devoted themselves to teaching, often for several decades. Another group of teachers in rural areas were young persons, often children to farmers who taught for a brief period of time while they were still living in the parental household and before they married or pursued another career. Some of those individuals had been educated in secondary schools, the female teachers most typically in one of the women’s schools.

The profile of the teachers in the urban setting differed considerably from that of teachers in rural areas. In urban settings, children most often went to school for at least six months a year and teaching for many teachers was therefore their only profession, or at least their principal occupation. Whereas the vast majority of teachers in the countryside were men, women constituted a large percentage of teachers in towns and villages. This was especially true for Reykjavík, where female teachers were slightly more numerous than male teachers. The article shows that almost half of the individuals in the study devoted themselves to teaching and were still employed as teachers in 1910. This was particularly true for women in the urban setting. Those women often had acquired a relatively broad education, sometimes in one of the women’s schools as well as in teacher training institutes. Here it is argued that the foundation of the women’s schools laid the grounds for the improvement of work opportunities for women within the teaching profession. With the founding of the Teachers’ Training College in Reykjavík in 1908, women continued to constitute an important share of the group of students within the schools.29

29 Garðarsdóttir, ‘Barnakennarar á Íslandi um aldamótin 1900’.
Literature


Icelandic school-teachers 1909–1961. Database (School of education, University of Iceland c/o Loftur Guttormsson and Ólóf Gardarsdóttir).
NAI. Database on Icelandic censuses. (National Archives of Iceland).
How did popular educators transform into experts of the Finnish welfare state from the 1860’s to the 1960’s?

HELI VALTONEN

Alliance between experts and the welfare state

In welfare states, a great share of societal power and authority has been handed over to mainly academic experts in order to reach the desired goals of welfare policies. This phenomenon penetrates every field of society, and the part of the educational system, which educates experts, such as universities and other institutes of higher education, forms a critical node in which several societal sectors and levels intersect; it educates both experts and ‘lay-people’ whose need for scientific knowledge in their everyday life has grown continuously. Thus, the critical expertise lies not just on the shoulders of a few social engineers and societal planners as it is often pointed out, but on all levels of specialists and groups of professionals, including teachers.¹

The teaching profession, and the training leading up to it, can be seen as one of the key expert roles in modern society. It crosses a number of expert tasks of the modern welfare society, such as children’s and families’ psychological, medical and social pre-assessment prior to transferring ‘problems’ to other specialists. In this sense, the teacher’s role can be seen as a socially critical (semi-)profession², which began to develop in Finland since the

² Etzioni, The Semi-professions.
1860’s. What has made this role even more significant is that many of the Finnish elementary school teachers were situated for a long time in remote agrarian areas where they were the sole representatives of the new scientific knowledge on psychology and social work.

Before 1863, teacher education in Finland was non-existent. Thus, the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College (est. in 1863) marked the establishment of an entirely new format of education based on a new education policy in Finland. The contents and the curricula of the basic education were outlined in tandem with the objectives of teacher education. This was a consequential phase in the development of the Finnish educational system, when the qualification criteria was created and outlined and the teaching profession began to develop the features of an educational expert and of a (semi-)profession.

The new phase in Finnish teacher education began in the 1930’s when the education of elementary school teachers started to gradually transfer from teacher training colleges (teacher seminaries) to university level institutions. One of the main differences between seminaries and universities was the criterion concerning the level of the basic training of students; at the teacher seminaries students had graduated mainly just from elementary schools, but at the university level institutions they required upper-secondary education, which meant that the students had to pass the Finnish Matriculation Examination.

The first university level institution of teacher education was the Jyväskylä College of Education, which was established in 1934. It gradually took the place of the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College (Serninary), which was closed down in 1937. These two institutes had a close relationship in terms of intellectual and human capital (same teachers) as well as in terms of infrastructure (premises), but in fact they were two separate organisations. The University of Helsinki opened a department as a temporary college of teacher education in 1947, and similar institutes were founded also in Turku and Oulu just a couple of years later. Finally the 1971 legislation created a close connection between educational science and teacher education. Fol-

3 Kuikka, ‘Opettajankoulutus eilen, tänään ja huomenna’, 13; Salo, Pohjoinen alma mater, 74.
Following on the new legislation, all teacher training was transferred to the universities between 1973 and 1975. This change indicated the academisation of teacher education as well as a stronger scholarly and scientific basis for the education.4

This article focuses on the process through which teaching in elementary schools professionalised and teachers increasingly became experts in education and the schooling of children. The article discusses aspects of the above-mentioned development process among Finnish teacher education before the profound education reforms in the late 1960’s and early 1970’s (especially the Comprehensive School Reform 1972–77 and the Teacher Education Reform 1973–75). The reforms had massive and wide-ranging influences on teacher education and on the status of teachers in Finnish society by clinching the institutional change of teacher education from seminaries to universities.

The analysis concentrates on the professionalisation of teaching prior to these reforms, through which the characteristics of expertise regarding the teaching profession became more evident and which gave the profession a justification in the eyes of other professionals and of citizens in general. More precisely, the expertise was built up with the teacher education, that is, the education lent status and prestige to the teaching profession and it also gave the teacher a right as well as skills and knowledge to assess children’s behaviour and the dynamics of their families, to define the limits of normal and abnormal behaviour, and further, to prevent and solve problems this behaviour may cause. At the same time the teacher education was academised, and new disciplines such as special education (in Finnish suojelu- ja parantamiskasvatusoppi, later erityispedagogiikka) as well as developmental and educational psychology emerged.5 Moreover, I am arguing that there


were some signs of this process already in the curricula and syllabi of prior seminaries in Finland.

The two teacher training institutes in Jyväskylä, the Teacher Training College (1863–1937) and the College of Education (1934–1966)—the latter became the University of Jyväskylä in 1966—and their curricula\(^6\) will serve as examples of this process. The pivotal question is: In what way did the curricula of the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College and the Jyväskylä College of Education promote the professionalisation of teaching and how did they contribute to the development of expertise among future teachers? Other studies have noted that teacher educators are the most eager advocates of the professionalisation of teaching\(^7\), thus it is worthwhile to analyse features of professionalisation in the contents of Finnish teacher education.

Professionalisation of teaching in Finland

The professionalisation of the teaching occupations has been dated in the early 1960’s in Western societies. The first half of the 20\(^{th}\) century was the era of the emergence of mass education in most of the Western countries. It was also the time of pre-professional teachers who were described as enthusiastic people who knew their subject matter and knew how to “get it across”, and who were able to keep order in their classes. In the 1960’s and 1970’s the status of teachers was improved, when the autonomy of teachers increased in many countries and the knowledge base in teacher education became more academic.\(^8\) In Finland, on the other hand, the status of teachers was declining in the 1960’s, possibly due to the fact that both the educational system and teacher education system were already outdated, even though the academisation of the teacher education had started in the 1930’s and 1940’s.\(^9\)

Professionalisation means a process through which an occupation—in this case teachers—aims to subsume certain features into their occupation, such as expertise based on theoretical knowledge and education, and the profession’s own ethics. The profession also reserves a certain field of so-
cietal mission for itself by blocking out other competing professions and occupations, and it is a quest for justification for the status of the occupation and its privileges by negotiating with the state, with other occupations and professions as well as with the public. On the one hand, the state controls the professionalisation process, while on the other, it lends both legitimisation and support to the profession. The focal justification of a profession is the expertise which is based on scholarly and scientific knowledge and understanding as well as mastery of its language (jargon).\textsuperscript{10}

In Finland the professionalisation of teaching is closely linked with the roles of the state and municipalities, which have grown since the 1860’s especially in the field of elementary education, because teachers have mainly been working in communal and state schools. At the same time the state has been supervising and controlling both elementary education and teacher education, and further, the state has defined the qualification criteria for the teaching profession. It has also defined the basic contents of teacher education in the same way it has defined the content of elementary education. Thus, the state has standardised teacher education as well as the qualification criteria in teaching.\textsuperscript{11} This was a contemporary process with the development of the basic education, even though Finland had already started to create an elementary school system from the 1850’s onwards\textsuperscript{12}. The creation of an elementary school system took time and the network of schools was not extensive until post-World War II, when the contemporary elementary school system (folk schools) began to be outdated.\textsuperscript{13}

One of the key-features of a profession is to protect one’s interests. Teachers of Finnish school teacher seminaries participated in the supervision of their own interests and of elementary school teachers’ (folk school teachers’) interests already since the 1860’s. The first forms of the supervision


11 Rinne & Jauhiainen, \textit{Koulutus, professionaalistuminen ja valtio}.

12 The education became compulsory in 1921.

were elementary school teacher meetings and meetings of teachers of the teacher seminaries. Both were organised with regularity. The participants discussed matters such as salaries and pensions, as well as teacher education and qualifications. In the meanwhile teachers began to organise themselves in unions, and in 1887 the first local teachers’ union was established in Helsinki (Helsingin kansakoulu- ja naisopettajayhdistys). Nationwide elementary school teachers (folk school teachers) were organised a couple of years later in 1893 when the Elementary School Teachers’ Union was established. Several groups of teachers organised their own unions until the early 1970’s when elementary school teachers and grammar school (later: upper-secondary school) teachers increased their cooperation by establishing a joint forum with vocational school teachers, and in 1973 a joint organisation for elementary and high school teachers (the Trade Union of Education in Finland, OAJ).\textsuperscript{14}

It is not enough to solely rely on the support of the state and neighbouring professions in order to reach a strong position in a society; a profession has to also have occasion to demonstrate its relevance to the public, i.e. the people. Despite the fact that the status of teachers declined in Finland in the 1960’s, teachers have successfully succeeded in convincing the public of the value of the teaching profession since, and the teaching profession has been highly esteemed in the 1990’s and 2000’s. This can be explained by several reforms that were made in the teacher education system since the 1970’s. In consequence of the Comprehensive School Reform in the 1960’s and 1970’s, the elementary school (folk school) was replaced with the new comprehensive school system, which was based on the idea of educational equality. The reform was implemented gradually and was finalised by 1977. This reform resulted in an increase of equality, for example in terms of social mobility and income distribution; hence the reform benefited pupils from the lowest social strata more than pupils from other social classes.\textsuperscript{15} This may have, for its own part, added to the esteem of the teaching profession in the 1980’s and

\textsuperscript{15} Pekkarinen & Uusitalo, ‘Peruskoulu-uudistuksen vaikutukset’, 137; Ahonen, ‘From an Industrial’, 175–177.
1990’s. In the 2010’s a large number of young people are willing to become teachers. For example, at the University of Jyväskylä the class teacher education, i.e. teachers of the first six grades of elementary school, had approximately 26 applicants for every filled study place in 2011. In the country, in general, the equivalent number was 21.\footnote{For example, a weekly magazine Suomen Kuvailehti (1991, 1996, 2001, 2007, 2010) has done several surveys on the esteem of occupations in Finland since 1991. Most educational professions have existed among the top 25% of the most esteemed listed occupations; Ministry of Education and Culture http://www.minedu.fi/OPM/Koulutus/yliopistokoulutus/tilastoja/?lang=en (cited 5/6/2012); University of Jyväskylä https://www.jyu.fi/hallintokeskus/statistics/set_language=en (cited 5/6/2012); Kouluusnetti http://www.koulutusnetti.fi/index.php?file=277 (cited 5/6/2012).}

**Standardising the education of elementary school teachers**

The standardisation of teacher education was implemented in the curriculum of the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College in the 1860’s so that there were two main groups of subjects. The first group included subjects taught at the elementary schools, and the second consisted of qualifying subjects, such as education, didactics and psychology. The curriculum of the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College formed a model for other teacher training colleges established later.

The elementary school subjects can be divided into two main groups. Firstly, the core subjects of the elementary school were religion and church history, Finnish language, history, mathematics, science (mainly biology), geography, music and singing, gymnastics, drawing (arts), and handicrafts and woodwork. In addition, there were few other subjects, which were relatively insignificant in the curricula of elementary schools. They were subjects like agriculture, gardening, and housekeeping. Although the core subjects were stable, there were some variations in other subjects.\footnote{Valtonen, ‘Seminaariyhteisö’, 65–67; Halila, Jyväskylän seminaarin historia, 74, 81.}

Since, on the one hand, elementary school subjects comprised the major part of the curricula at the teacher training colleges, both elementary school legislation and planning work on elementary school syllabi affected the teacher training colleges from the 1860’s onward. On the other hand, the teachers of teacher training colleges played a significant role in the planning work concerning the elementary school system, as from the days of Uno
Cygnaeus\textsuperscript{18}, a pastor and educator who wrote the original blueprint of the system of elementary schools and teacher training colleges during the 1850’s and 1860’s. From then on the practice schools of training colleges where teacher students carried out their training periods served as laboratories where new development ideas on education were tested.\textsuperscript{19}

Another entity of subjects was composed of qualifying subjects, mainly education and didactics, psychology, and school administration. In addition, the teachers of the future were taught Swedish and Russian as well as library administration so that they could maintain school libraries. Russian was on the curriculum in the late 19\textsuperscript{th} and early 20\textsuperscript{th} centuries, but in practice it was neither taught nor studied with enthusiasm. Instead, Swedish had a stronger position, based on Finland’s long shared history with Sweden.\textsuperscript{20} The Swedish language maintained its position as an official language alongside Finnish after Finland gained its independence in 1917, and the language is still taught in Finnish educational institutions to this day.

Foreign languages, library administration and school administration prepared teacher students for administrative and bureaucratic assignments. As for the lectures in education, didactics and psychology, they gave students both the knowledge and skills to serve as experts in the field of education. Teachers became specialists in child care and education, teaching and, increasingly, in the mental life of children. Although the position of the psychology was relatively weak in the early years of the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College, and the curriculum concentrated more on pedagogy and didactics, which had a Christian-nationalistic tone instead of a scholarly one, the role of psychology became stronger by the 20\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{21}

Early childhood education was also on the curriculum in Jyväskylä in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, as the female students had to practise in a nursery school,

\textsuperscript{18} Because of this exceptionally significant and elemental life’s work he has become a canonised national monument in Finland. However, he is also esteemed in the field of technology education. On the canonisation process, see Vilkuna, ‘Cygnaeus and his reputation’; on Cygnaeus as the “father of technology education”, see Dugger Jr, ‘Uno Cygnaeus’ and de Vries, ‘The concept-context’.
\textsuperscript{21} The education guidelines, curricula and syllabi 1863–1907, the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College Archives, the Provincial Archives of Jyväskylä; Halila, \textit{Jyväskylän seminaarin historia}, 216–218.
day nursery and a boarding house for the practise school pupils of the college, since women were considered to be more suitable for teaching and caring for small children than men. This experiment did not last long and since it was too burdensome for female students, the nursery school, day nursery and boarding house were gradually closed down by the end of the century.\textsuperscript{22}

Both the lectures on education, didactics and psychology remained relatively unchanged until the beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century. Both of these courses were part of the curriculum of the third and fourth year of the studies. Books and other teaching materials were revised from time to time, but the outlines and main contents of the syllabi remained the same. The didactics concentrated on subjects such as an inquisitive teaching method, while a lot of time on the classes on education concentrated on topics like the history of education. The lessons of psychology dealt with topics such as thinking and logical reasoning, memory and the theories of the individual and the mind, etc.\textsuperscript{23}

Another important area of expertise that the students became familiar with during their studies was school administration, including legislation on education and schooling. The Elementary School Decree was studied in particular detail. Furthermore, on the classes of elementary school subjects the students received not only knowledge on the subject but also specific instructions on the didactics of the subject in question. For instance, subjects such as history and mathematics had distinctions in didactical approaches. Even though the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College had two separate colleges (seminaries), one for female and one for male students, the teaching and its contents was identical in both colleges; the main exception was the above-mentioned practice that the women students had in the nursery school, day nursery and boarding house. Nevertheless, there were no major gender distinctions at the Jyväskylä College.\textsuperscript{24}

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{22} Halila, \textit{Jyväskylän seminaarin historia}, 80–84, 216–220; Valtonen, ‘Seminaariyhteisö’, 71; Nurmi, Uno Cygnæus, 144.
\bibitem{23} Syllabi 1869–77, the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College Archives, the Provincial Archives of Jyväskylä.
\bibitem{24} Syllabi 1869–77, the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College Archives, the Provincial Archives of Jyväskylä; Halila, \textit{Jyväskylän seminaarin historia}, 80–84, 216–220.
\end{thebibliography}
The most important text books on the field of psychology that were used at the Jyväskylä College were Försök till lärobok i psykologi (An Attempt for a Textbook on Psychology) by Zacharias Joachim Cleve, professor of education and didactics (in Finnish kasvatus- ja opetusoppi) at the University of Helsinki, and a book by Thiodolf Rein, professor in philosophy. The title of Rein’s book was Sielutieteen oppikirja (A Textbook on Psychology). Both Cleve and Rein represented modern humanism. Cleve’s book was first published in Swedish in 1854 and translated into Finnish (Sielutieteen oppikirja) in 1869, whereas Rein’s book was first published in Finnish in 1884, but it was shorter version of his two volume book Försök till en framställning af psykologin (An Attempt at a Presentation on Psychology 1876, 1891). The Finnish version of Rein’s textbook was widely used in Finland until the 1930’s and the last time it was reprinted was in 1934.25 The first Finnish textbook on didactics was written by Olai Wallin who worked as a teacher at the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College. Although the didactical ideas at the Finnish teacher seminaries were based on Pestalozzi’s teachings, which Cygnaeus had adopted, most of the teachers of seminaries had received Humboldtian education, which caused a certain duality among the seminaries. After the turn of the century Herbartian ideas became dominant in Finnish seminary circles through Mikael Johnson’s writings. The psychological basis of didactics was strengthened even more in the 1910’s when positivism became a new theory of knowledge among Finnish academia.26

The first textbook on psychology written originally in Finnish was Bruno Boxström’s Kasvatusopillinen sieluoppi (Pedagogical Psychology) published in 1900. The book represented the field of educational psychology and was studied at the Jyväskylä College as well. Boxström’s textbook was written entirely for the needs of teacher training in Finland. What was common for these textbooks mentioned above was that none of the authors represented experimental psychology, but a trend which was riding on the religious and theological tradition instead, although Boxström, who worked as a teacher at

25 The education guidelines and syllabi 1863–1907, the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College Archives, the Provincial Archives of Jyväskylä; Cleve, Försök till lärobok; Rein, Sielutieteen oppikirja; Rein Försök till en framställning; Ihanus, ’Psykologia’, 440–441; Ahonen, ’Millä opeilla’, 241.
26 Halila, Jyväskylän seminaarin historia, 217–219; Ahonen, ’Millä opeilla’, 244–245.
seminaries in Uusikaarlepyy and Sortavala, was more sympathetic towards experimental methods than, for example Rein, and he referred to literature on psychophysics and child psychology in his book. Nevertheless, Rein did represent a moderately critical attitude towards the teachings of Christianity. The same authoritative theological-philosophical or Christian-ideal wisdom was well represented among the teachers, such as Olai Wallin and Y. K. Yrjö-Koskinen, of the Jyväskylä College in the late 19th century. The philosophical pragmatism was relatively well-known in Finland at least since the turn of the century, and, for example, William James's ideas were known by several Finnish philosophers, including Rein. However, Rein was more a student of Wilhelm Wundt than of James. James began to achieve more of a reputation in Finland only after his books were translated into Finnish. The first one that was translated in 1913 was *Pragmatism: A new name for some old ways of thinking* (1907). Nevertheless, it should be noted that not every teacher seminary in Finland used the same textbooks. Especially teachers of seminaries operating in the Swedish language mainly used textbooks which were written by Swedish scholars or which were translated into Swedish.

There was a major change after 1905, when Kaarle Johannes Oksala became the teacher of education, didactics and psychology at the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College. He was an advocate of a modern education and educational philosophy, which he had adopted while studying in Germany, especially in Leipzig and Hamburg. Kaarle Oksala brought a touch of experimental science to Jyväskylä, since he put the methods of experimental education and psychology into practice in his classes, and he acquired new scientific equipment for the college. Moreover, with Oksala, the Jyväskylä College gained new insights and new modern philosophy on early childhood education as well. Kaarle Oksala was one of the Finnish pioneers of the experimental education, a field which was influenced by experimental psychology, and through his and other pioneers’ work both psychology and

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29 Nurmi, *Suomen kansakouluopettajaseminaarien historia*. 
education started to gain more of their own distinctive features and to develop as separate fields. Oksala and Aukusti Salo, a Head of the Lower Primary School Teachers’ College of Hämeenlinna, were in the frontline when the positivistic psychological and educational research reached Finland. For example, Oksala performed intelligence testing in the spirit of Binét, and his students had to carry out differential-psychological measurements. An important part of the training consisted of reports students had to write out on their practise periods in practice schools. The reports contained assessments and analyses on pupils and their intellectual capacities, social skills, and their physical traits as well as mental and physical health. By writing out these reports future teachers proved their skills as specialists of education. After the Jyväskylä College of Education was founded in the 1930s, practice schools often served as subjects of observation and research.

In the 1920’s and 1930’s, the qualifications required for the enrolment of teacher students was changed and the teacher training college for women started to intake only students with a middle school diploma, and their training time of teaching lasted three years. Courses for those with grammar school qualifications were also organised and they had to spend only two years at the seminary. This was due to the fact that at that time the education level of women rose rapidly, and since teaching was among those professions which were both available and an attractive choice for women, teacher training institutes received a lot of candidates with a high background education. As the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College received students with a higher basic training in the 1920’s and 1930’s, the role of subjects like education, pedagogy, didactics, psychology, and school administration gained more weight. The students with a higher basic training had already had the basic skills and knowledge in elementary school subjects. This explains why in the 1920’s and 1930’s female students had a shorter training period; two years instead of four or five years, a period which male students had

31 Teacher trainees’ descriptions on their training periods, the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College Archives, the Provincial Archives of Jyväskylä; Halila, *Jyväskylän seminaarin historia*, 114–115; Valtonen, ‘Seminaariyhteisö’, 69, 71; Valtonen, ‘Harjoituskoulusta’, 165–166.
to spend at the training college. At that time women teacher students had a much higher basic training than men, and many of them had graduated from a grammar school, which indicated that Finnish women had rapidly developed a strong tradition of education and appreciation of schooling.32

Towards the academic expertise
Kaarle Oksala for his part had an influence in the fact that the academic summer courses were organised in Jyväskylä from 1912 onwards. It was the first summer university in Finland. From the very first summer, the courses on education and psychology were an essential part of the Jyväskylä Summer University, and some of the courses were aimed at updating the educational level of elementary school teachers. The courses at the summer university departed from the teaching at the teacher training college; at the summer university the courses were university level teaching, in which the scholarly and scientific approach and academic touch were apparent. The teachers of the summer university came from amongst the highest experts in their fields in Finland.33

The Jyväskylä Summer University laid the ground for the plan to establish a university level teacher education institute in Jyväskylä. The first attempts to found a university in Jyväskylä had already been made in the 19th century, but the initiative did not make any progress until Oksala took the project under his wings. His aim was to establish at least a college if not a university level teacher training institute to supplant the old, already at that time, traditional teacher seminary. The core of the plan was to raise the level of the basic education of the students so that the students should graduate from grammar schools and they should have the Finnish Matriculation Examination instead of graduating merely from an elementary school like most of the teacher seminary students had done. In Finland a student enrolling to university required a diploma from a grammar school or from

an equivalent institute, thus the Finnish Matriculation Examination served as an entrance examination for university studies.\textsuperscript{34}

Another aim was to create a teacher education institution which had its roots in science and in humanities, i.e. academic research. This aim was realised in 1934 when the Jyväskylä College of Education was founded and the role of education and psychology in teacher education grew. Education and psychology were the subjects which became the core content of the teacher education in Finland. Another sign was that among the first four professorships in the Jyväskylä College of Education, there was a professor in practical education and pedagogics (in Finnish \textit{käytännöllinen kasvatusoppi} 1934), a professor in philosophy and theoretical education (in Finnish \textit{filosofia ja teoreettinen kasvatusoppi} 1935), of which the field of expertise later became the so called protection and healing education and pedagogics, which, in turn, has later been known as special education (in Finnish \textit{suojelu- ja parantamiskasvatusoppi} or \textit{erityispedagogiikka} 1948), and a professor in psychology (1936). The fourth professorship was in the field of Finnish language (1935), thus three out of four professorships represented expertise in the fields of education and psychology. They were the only professorships in the College of Education until the late 1950’s, when new professorships were designated. These new professors represented mainly subjects which were elementary and/or grammar school subjects, such as foreign languages and history.\textsuperscript{35}

The first professors were highly competent and qualified, for example both Oksala and Niilo Mäki, who was the professor in special education but had also served as an acting professor in psychology in the 1930s, had both studied abroad. Mäki had studied research on brain damage in Frankfurt-am-Main under Professor Adhémar Kemp and Professor Kurt Goldstein, as well as social psychology under Professor Edward Sapir and developmental psychology under Arnold Gesell in Yale. In Orange Park, Florida, he had studied psychology under Professor Robert Mearns Yerkes. Additionally he had visited Santa Fe to study cultural anthropology, and several other insti-

\textsuperscript{34} Kangas, \textit{Jyväskylän yliapistokysymys}, 4–61; Kaarninen & Kaarninen, \textit{Sivistyksen portti}, 85, 168, 188–189.

tutes of psychology and research on child and adolescence. He also explored
different forms of social work. At the University of Helsinki he had studied
under Professor Kaila, a philosopher who influenced a whole generation of
Finnish scholars.36

Unlike the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College, The College of Education
placed emphasis on academic research. Moreover, the role of the research of
the College of Education was written down in the law and in the statutes37;
the Jyväskylä College of Education had to contribute to the research in the
field of education and schooling. Research done in Jyväskylä represented
several disciplinary approaches including such foundational disciplines of
education as psychology of education, philosophy of education, history of
education and sociology of education.38 After World War II the rapid growth
of the educational system required more information based on research on
schooling, and Finnish educational sciences became more of an applied sci-
ence than it had been before the war. Nevertheless, the strong psychological
orientation remained along with a new didactical interest.39

The research task was related to the societal tasks and impacts of the
College of Education from the beginning. The college had cooperation with
the officials of the town of Jyväskylä as well as other communal and govern-
mental institutions and civic organisations. Especially the College and the
town of Jyväskylä had a lot of cooperation in the field of special education.
Also the individual professors and teachers of the College of Education had
a wide range of expert tasks.40 In teacher education, the cooperation with the
observation class of the elementary school of Jyväskylä and the school for
the deaf and blind in Jyväskylä, or institutions such as the Pernasaari reform
school in Laukaa, a municipality nearby Jyväskylä, was realised by making
excursions to them.41

37 Statute Book of Finland 41/1933 and 201/1934; Kangas, Jyväskylän yliopistokysymys, 107.
McCullogh, ‘Disciplines’.
41 Curricula 1939–1958, the Archives of the Jyväskylä College of Education, the Provincial Archives of
Jyväskylä.
Also, professors and other university-based scholars in education formed an alliance with administrators and politicians at the state level; they got a growing number of expert tasks, such as committee memberships in what becomes policy-making and societal planning. The same trend took place also in other countries during the 20th century, for example in the early 20th century United States. However, in the United States the field of educational research was more diversified than in Finland, where the small professional community took on a more unified form than in the USA. Nevertheless, the administrators had a growing need for knowledge concerning the education and other aspects of society, and in Finland the significance of academic knowledge culminated in the 1960’s and 1970’s, which can be described as the time of a planning society.

The third aim was to dispense the academic updating training for elementary school teachers who had no academic degree. To achieve this, the Jyväskylä Summer University became the central forum for interaction between academic students and non-academic teachers updating their education in 1912. After the College of Education had been founded, the new institution mainly received students who had passed the Finnish Matriculation Examination. Some exceptions were made in the 1940’s, when teachers of the lower classes of the elementary school were trained as elementary school teachers who had a qualification to teach the upper classes as well. These students got a dispensation. In the 1940’s and early 1950’s there was a shortage of qualified teachers—and other civil servants, too—caused by the war (loss of male teachers, interruptions to the teacher education etc.) and the baby boomers, and thus there was an occasion to expedite the graduation of new teachers. However, this had no major influence on the social composition of the students in practice, because the Matriculation Examination became common relatively quickly, and most of the students had graduated from grammar schools. The Matriculation Examination became common especially in the 1950’s and 1960’s, and the university level institutions of education had no difficulties to recruit students.

44 Valtonen, ‘Korkeakoulun aika’, 175–178, 183; Nevala, Korkeakoulutuksen kasvu, 94–98; See also Kaarninen & Kaarninen, Sivistyksen portti, 247.
The courses in psychology at the College of Education contained knowledge on general and developmental psychology with social psychological, educational and didactical applications as well as the psychology and psychopathology of abnormal children, questions on child welfare, care and protection, and further observation of pupils. The main textbooks on these fields and used at Jyväskylä College were Arvo Lehtovaara’s, Kai von Fieandt’s, J.E. Salomaa’s, Matti Koskenniemi’s and Richard Müller-Freienfels’ writings, which indicated the institutionalisation of disciplines in Finland. Curricula served as a tool to standardise the content of academic teacher training, and Finnish teacher training institutes worked in cooperation with each other; for example the Jyväskylä College of Education and the Helsinki Teacher Education College coordinated their curricula. As psychology was emphasised at the Jyväskylä College, it could be predicted that there would be a rise of the importance of psychological thinking in teaching and education in the 1950’s and 1960’s, not just in Finland but in line with other Nordic countries as well.

In Jyväskylä the special education, formed the academic field which was closely related with social work. In the 1950’s, for example, the ideas of special education were strongly present in the methods of child observation, psycho-diagnosis and psychometrics, of which principles were introduced to teacher students. Thus, in the Jyväskylä College of Education, special education and methods of child observation played a more important role in teacher studies than had been at the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College. One additional reason for that was the fact that the fields of education and psychology were evolving rapidly since the late 19th century, and new sub-fields, such as special education, emerged in the first half of the 20th century. In Western Europe and in North America, special education became an academic discipline in the first half of the 20th century, which is roughly at the

45 Nisbet, ‘Early Textbooks.’
46 Curricula 1939–1958, the Archives of the Jyväskylä College of Education, the Provincial Archives of Jyväskylä.
48 Curricula 1950–1955, the Archives of the Jyväskylä College of Education, the Provincial Archives of Jyväskylä.
same time as in Finland. Both the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College and the College of Education were at the forefront of this development. However, it was not just psychology and special education that were at the core of the elementary teacher studies. Also, school administration and school legislation were taught intensively.

Ethics was one of the areas which were taught to teacher students. At teacher training seminaries, ethics was originally part of the more or less undivided group of subjects, which included psychology, education and ethics. Although ethics had previously had strong religious tones instead of being an area of philosophy, at the College of Education ethics had a background in philosophy instead. This, too, indicates the academisation of Finnish teacher training.

After the Jyväskylä College of Education became a university in 1966, the research on education done at Jyväskylä expanded further, and in 1968 the Institute for Educational Research was established to carry out educational and pedagogical studies along with the research carried out at the Faculty of Education.

All this meant a gradual process of academisation in teacher education, despite the fact that the teacher education, even at the Jyväskylä College of Education, preserved a great deal of the characteristics of the teacher seminar education, and that the teacher training period lasted only two years there. However, this was compensated by the organisation of the teaching at the college; because the Jyväskylä College was small and compact, the same teachers and professors gave lectures and examinations to teacher students and to students who had studied for the Bachelor of Education, Master of Education or for the Doctor of Education. The College received the entitlement to grant higher level academic degrees and doctoral degrees in the 1940’s.

49 Salend & Garrick Duhaney, ‘Historical and philosophical changes’, 6–7; Winzer, The History of Special Education.
50 Curricula 1939–1958, the Archives of the Jyväskylä College of Education, the Provincial Archives of Jyväskylä; Salmela, Suomen kansakouluhallinnon pääpiirteet (the first ed. 1935, several editions); Salmela, Suomen kansakouluhallinnon oppikirja (the first ed. 1950. 2. revised ed. 1953).
51 The education guidelines and syllabi 1863–1907, the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College Archives, the Provincial Archives of Jyväskylä; Curricula 1939–1958, the Archives of the Jyväskylä College of Education, the Provincial Archives of Jyväskylä; Valtonen, ’Seminaarityhteisö’, 68.
52 Vilkuna, ’Tutkimus ja opetus’, 211–218; Bergem et al., ’Research on Teachers and Teacher Education’, 435.
From popular educators to experts of welfare state

In the first phase of the development of the elementary school system, the Finnish elementary school teachers were primarily popular educators, whose main task was to provide the people with the basic knowledge and skills they presumably needed, that is, reading, writing and arithmetic, as well as affections and respect for their country, for home, and for God. However, Finnish elementary school teachers started to transform from popular educators into modern experts in the 19th century. In this process, certain features and expert skills became more evident: the skills to assess children’s behaviour, their cognitive powers and psychological characteristics, as well as the skills to administer schools. The dynamics behind the process was depending on wider trends in society in general and in the field of education in particular; the overall education level of the younger generations of the population rose rapidly, the educational system expanded and the role of the state grew in the field of education and welfare. Changes in teacher education occurred in parallel with these processes, when new education institutions were established to cover the requirements of education policies and new forms and content of teacher education were developed to meet the requirements of the slowly emerging welfare state and the modern welfare expertise.

The features of the modern expertise increased especially after the turn of the century. This trend was strengthened in the 1930’s, when in Jyväskylä a university level teacher education institute replaced the old teacher seminary. As the Jyväskylä Teacher Training College received students with a higher basic training, the role of the subjects like education, pedagogy, didactics, psychology and school administration gained more weight. The students with high basic training had already acquired the basic skills and knowledge in elementary school subjects. Especially the level of women’s education rose rapidly in Finland and since teaching was among the professions, which were both available for women and an attractive choice for them, teacher training institutes received a lot of candidates with a high background education. This explains why female students in the 1920’s and 1930’s had a shorter training period at the Jyväskylä Teacher Training Col-
le; two to three years instead of four or five years, a period which male stu-
dents had to spend at the training college. However, this difference became
irrelevant among students of the Jyväskylä College of Education since both
male and female students were expected to have graduated from grammar
school.

Despite the academisation process, the teacher education preserved
characteristics of the teacher seminary education and the teacher training
period lasted only two years at the Jyväskylä College of Education. However,
because the Jyväskylä College was small and compact, the same teachers and
professors taught both teacher students and other students of the college.
This meant that the teacher education was based on research and knowl-
dge, which the lecturers had obtained by his/her own work of research.

Another phenomenon related to the education of elementary school
teachers, and which was significant for the evolution of the modern educa-
tional expertise, was the coming up of the disciplines, such as educational,
developmental and social psychology, which emphasised the assessment
of children and their living conditions and family backgrounds. The role
of these disciplines grew by the beginning of the 20th century. The found-
ing of the Jyväskylä College of Education in 1934 sealed this development,
when the college of education obtained three professorships in the fields of
education and pedagogics, special education and psychology. These fields of
knowledge played a more important part in teacher education than before,
and at the same time a new field of educational expertise emerged, which
represented special education teachers. Similar disciplinarisation and insti-
tutionalisation processes were going on in several other countries as well.

The above-mentioned new scholarly fields concentrated on enhancing
the abilities and knowledge of future teachers to assess the mental abilities
and capacities of elementary school pupils, as well as their physical traits

53 Ihanus, ‘Psykologia’; Wright, ‘The history of developmental psychology’; White, ‘Evolving perspec-
tives’.
54 Hofstetter & Schneuwly, ‘Institutionalisation of Educational Sciences’; Nisbet, ‘Early Textbooks’;
Discipline’; Hamel & Laroque, ‘Observations from Quebec’; Gautherin, ‘Preparing French School
Puustinen, ‘Ohjatusta opetuksesta’.
and qualities. Based on their assessment, future teachers would have the knowledge to decide on the requisite measures to solve the observed issues. Such issues were, for instance, to decide if special education was needed because of some mental, social or physical problems. The third new task of expertise was to evaluate and control the child’s social background, his/her family conditions, family relations, and housing conditions.

Education provided teacher students with more and more knowledge and skills to assess children. Elementary school teachers entered into the fields of social work and health care simultaneously with the transforming teacher education when they got guidance to co-operate with social workers, psychologists, nurses and medical doctors. Thus, teachers were given both the means and rights to exercise a controlling power in the society, that is, teachers became experts whose tasks were to anticipate possible individual and/or social problems and to prevent them, if possible, with given standards. Hence, through the teacher education, the elementary school teachers were positioned at a critical place in society; a position where several social phenomena were preliminary defined either as normal or anomalous and requiring a solution.

Even though both academisation and disciplinarisation were gradual processes and neither of them came of age before educational reforms in the 1970’s, the rise of psychological expertise had affected the professionalisation of teaching. In Finland, like in many other countries, the teacher educators were active to increase the esteem of teachers; they did their best to set as high standards and qualification requirements as possible for elementary teachers and so influence the state and the public. The goal was reached in the 1970’s when the former elementary school system was replaced with a new primary and secondary school system. The new system was based on the principle of equality—a central idea of the Nordic welfare policies. The contemporary reform of teacher education replaced elementary school teachers with primary school teachers (class teachers) who were trained as the advocates of the Finnish welfare state.
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Schooling, education and citizenship:
Finnish women entering the teaching
profession in secondary education,
1900–1920’s

MARIANNE JUNILA

In this chapter, I will discuss the entry of Finnish women into a traditionally
male-dominated profession, teaching in secondary education, at the begin-
ning of the 20th century, when Finland was still a part of the Russian Empire
until Finland’s independence in 1917. The main questions deal with how
women gained admittance, first, to the required university-level teacher
training, and second, to the teachers’ posts at secondary schools. What were
the main obstacles that hindered women from starting careers as teachers?
Were there tasks or posts which women were more often or seldom deemed
suited for?

Secondary education, as well as the entire schooling system in Finland,
goes back to the time of Swedish rule (from the 12th century until 1809). For 600
years, secondary education was the privilege of men and boys only, and the oldest form of secondary education was governed and provided by the Church. In the 13th century, monastic and cathedral schools were established to train boys, mainly for an ecclesiastical career. In the 17th century, inspired by the Reformation, a new school system was launched. It consisted of a primary level, called pedagogio, and an upper level, the so-called Latin school. At the primary level, boys were taught the skills and knowledge necessary to become a state official; the secondary level trained them for ecclesiastical duties.
Until the mid-19th century, education was connected not only to gender but also to social class: secondary education was preordained for the Swedish-speaking members of the upper class, nobility and clergy. Although it was not impossible for a peasant’s son to enter school and even graduate from a university, it was uncommon. The great majority of the population, especially in the rural areas, had Finnish as their mother tongue. Hence, the first task for the Finnish-speaking boys was to learn Swedish; only then could they apply for the secondary education. Of all boys aged 10–15, only 3% had the opportunity to study in a grammar school. The figure for girls was far lower: 0.4% of girls went to special girls’ schools (by 1870).

In the 17th century, schooling underwent two remarkable changes. First, the first university in Finland was established in 1640. Prior to this, Finnish students had to travel to Sweden or abroad for university-level studies. Second, the church law of 1686 stated that, in order to get married, a person had to be able to read. The Church was not only to control the literacy but also to teach people to read. Earlier, this had been a task of parents. Nevertheless, it took another 200 years until primary schools were established, i.e. schools where the children of ’the people’ of all ranks of society got an education.

The establishment of a national public school system (since the 1880’s) did not change the way the Finnish school system was divided into two tracks. There still was 1) the public track that provided the pupil with lower or primary education (called kanskoulu, folk school or people’s school in Finnish) and 2) the secondary education track (called oppikoulu, grammar school in Finnish). The choice between the tracks was often made before or when entering the school, although one could apply to grammar school after 4 to 5 years of study at the primary school level. This parallel system existed for almost 100 years, until the school reform in the 1970’s.

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1 In this article, the term ‘secondary education’ refers to all non-compulsory education for children aged 10–18. The term ‘grammar school’ (oppikoulu in Finnish) refers to all schools in the field of secondary education. A grammar school with grades 1–8 and with a matriculation exam is called a gymnasium (lyseo in Finnish).
4 Hanho, Suomen oppikoulutöksen historia II; Laine & Laine, ’Kirkollinen kansanopetus’, 258–263.
5 Ensiö, Oppikoulujen pohjakouluakysymys.
In Finland, as in many other European countries, this division between primary and secondary education was one of social class as much as of age and curricula.6

Schools for girls
In the early 19th century, all students in grammar schools in Finland were boys and all their teachers were men. In the course of the century, the field of secondary education in Finland developed into a quite miscellaneous system, and the name ‘grammar school’ referred to a great variety of schools. There were schools maintained by the state, by a town or by a municipality (not often) and by private persons. There were, for example, academically-oriented gymnasiums with 8 grades (for pupils aged 10–20); preparatory schools or middle schools (usually grades 1–5 for pupils aged 10–15), and girls’ schools (with 5 to 9 grades).7 Until 1919, there was one university in the country, namely the Imperial Alexander University of Finland, situated in Helsinki, the capital.8

Schools for girls, established since the 1830’s, were a totally different form of schooling. Both public and private girls’ schools comprised a closed system with no links with the grammar schools or with further education. The curriculum was usually different from boys’ schools. Even if the curriculum was similar, girls were not entitled to take the university matriculation exam for university after finishing school. The only possibility for further studies were the so-called advanced classes: after finishing studies in a girls’ school, girls could continue for two more years and qualify as girls’ school teachers (since 1885). As the number of girls’ schools rose, it became possible for an increasing number of women to find teaching jobs within them without having an academic degree.9

The teaching arrangement in girls’ schools was roughly similar to that in public primary schools. Both types of school preferred to have one teacher

6 Clark, Women and Achievement, 167.
9 Kerkkonen, Oppikoulukäsikirja, 186–187.
teaching several subjects. In boys’ schools the teaching was divided differently: one teacher was usually responsible for only one or two subjects.

In girls’ education, the greatest emphasis was placed on social and aesthetic skills. Subjects important for that purpose included so-called new languages (German, French) and practical and art subjects (hygiene, penmanship, drawing, needlework, singing and gymnastics). On the other hand, courses on mathematics, geometry or physics were considered not only unnecessary but also potentially harmful for women and girls. For the same reason, the highly-valued Latin was also missing from the girls’ curriculum.10 This had a certain influence on the girls’ eligibility for further studies and teaching career.

The educational system, with separate girls’ schools, effectively excluded girls from the universities and, consequently, women from teaching in other secondary schools than those for girls. Although it was possible to take exams privately and then enrol in the university, every admission of a woman was treated as a special case.

In Finland, like in many northern and western European countries, the curriculum and the aim of education in girls’ schools generated fierce debate. The prominent Finnish feminists at the time forcefully criticized schools for neither enabling studies in the university nor offering a proper education to earn one’s living after the school.11

The appearance of co-educational schools in the 1880’s diminished segregation by gender in schooling and made the education of the sexes more uniform. In 1906, the girls’ schools’ advanced classes were also approved as basic training for university.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the grammar schools taught 22,000–26,000 pupils a year, half of whom were girls. However, girls more often stopped their schooling after middle school or similar studies of 3 to 5 years. Of those who took the matriculation exam after 8 years of schooling, two out of three were boys.


In 1870, the first young woman was allowed to study at the university, albeit through dispensation. The dispensation procedure was abolished in 1901. During this period, over 700 women matriculated at the university. The number of women registered at the university in 1902 was 185 (out of a total 533), and the number rose steadily. In 1910, it was 512 (of 2,324), and 683 (of 2,723) in 1917.\(^\text{12}\)

Although the number of female students in Finland was high compared to that of female students in Sweden, for example, the figures were close to those in the British Isles. In Finland, as well as in England, Scotland and Wales, women had better employment opportunities in the field of higher education after graduating than in Sweden. In Sweden, men defended their monopoly on posts within secondary education\(^\text{13}\), which may have had an influence on Swedish women’s choices when considering university studies. If teaching was a calling, it was easier to follow the vocation by working at the primary level, meaning that academic studies were not required. Compared to the number of girls who started a secondary education, their proportion decreased at every step higher in the schooling system.

**Training of grammar school teachers**

The training of grammar school teachers clearly differed from that of primary school teachers, not only in terms of the required basic training or the length of the studies but also in terms of gender segregation. Primary school teachers were educated in special institutes divided into separate sections for women and men. After finishing their studies, the teachers applied for posts, which were also organized according to gender: schoolmistresses’ posts for women and teachers’ posts for men.\(^\text{14}\) Thus, gender was the pivotal category in arranging and distributing the work in primary schools.

Those who planned a career as grammar school teachers, women and men alike, had to apply to the university to study for a master’s degree. After

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women had gained equal rights for academic study (1901), no administrative distinctions were drawn between the sexes during the training; there were no gender-based quotas or limits for studies in different major subjects. After the basic degree, all students studied pedagogy and trained as teachers for a year either at a Finnish or Swedish teachers’ training school in Helsinki.

The amount of women at the university increased rapidly from 15% in 1902 to 25% in 1917, and the Faculty of Philosophy, where many teachers-to-be started their training, was divided into two Sections: the Section of History and Philology and the Section of Physics and Mathematics.

Table 1. The number / proportion of women of all students in the Faculty of Philosophy 1902–1917.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1902</th>
<th>1906</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1914</th>
<th>1917</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sect. of History and Philology</td>
<td>106 / 28%</td>
<td>146 / 30%</td>
<td>252 / 36%</td>
<td>288 / 38%</td>
<td>229 / 45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sect. of Physics and Mathematics</td>
<td>54 / 14%</td>
<td>92 / 20%</td>
<td>161 / 28%</td>
<td>185 / 25%</td>
<td>183 / 33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University, total</td>
<td>185 / 15%</td>
<td>266 / 17%</td>
<td>512 / 22%</td>
<td>682 / 23%</td>
<td>683 / 25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Between 1880 and 1900, nearly 200 women gained a university degree, most of them in the Faculty of Philosophy. A career in teaching was the main goal for most of the female students. The employment opportunities and future perspectives must have influenced the choice of the faculty, which explains why the Faculty of Philosophy was the most popular among young women. Women who did their degree in the faculties of Theology, Medicine or Law, had many more gendered administrative and ideological barriers to overcome and less forerunners to follow than those in the field of education.

According to the statutes (given in 1898 and 1913), anyone applying for a teacher’s post had to have, besides a degree, the pedagogical studies and training, and a calm yet strong mind-set suitable for educational tasks. Moreover, she or he had to be a Lutheran and at least 21 years old. The applicant also had to be suitable for the job. In other words, ethical values and qualities that strengthened one’s authority indicated the applicant’s suitability.\(^{16}\) However, there were no guidelines on how these values and qualities or the strength of one’s mind-set should—or could—be measured.

Who had the proper mind-set and who was suitable for educational tasks was a much debated topic in Sweden. It was argued that this was a question about gender; that men more often than women had the required personal capabilities for teaching in the grammar schools, especially in the upper grades. Women did not possess these qualities, at least not in the degree that they were needed in teaching boys.\(^{17}\) In Finland, views on the roles of male and female teachers in grammar schools were exchanged publicly, too, but not on such a scale as in Sweden.

On the other hand, the division of work in Finnish primary schools was settled by similarly gendered argumentation. Women were deemed to be less suitable teachers when it came to older (male) pupils. Instead, being motherly by nature, women ought to work with small children. As a whole, the role of the teacher of common people as a model for the new Finnish citizen was a far more interesting topic in the context of educational policy than the teaching arrangements in the secondary schools.\(^{18}\) The moral criteria and the demands for exemplary behaviour, purity, probity and piety made for primary school teachers were also met by teachers in the secondary schools, but not to the same, non-negotiable extent. The most important task of the grammar schools, and especially that of the gymnasiums, was to educate the new members of the cultural and political elite of the nation.

The teaching profession was strictly divided into two categories in terms of status, social role and work setting.\(^{19}\) It is worth noting that primary

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16 Kerkkonen, *Oppikoulukäsikirja*, 84–86.
school teaching only became a profession after the training was organized in the 19th century, whereas grammar school teaching was a profession with long traditions. This limits the comparability of the two teaching professions.

The qualification requirements did not mention gender as part of the selection criteria for grammar school teacher vacancies, with the exception of subjects where the teacher had to be of the same sex as the pupils (e.g. gymnastics). Also, the higher posts, especially in boys’ schools, but also in certain positions where exercising juridical power was needed, were not open for women. The former order could, however, be bypassed by applying for dispensation; this course of action was repealed in 1926.20

Legislatively, in terms of gender equality, women in Finland had good opportunities to gain employment as teachers in grammar schools in the first decades of the 20th century. There were less formal obstacles to entering the profession than, for example, in the neighbouring Sweden and Russia.21

Entering a career

The grammar school system was governed, supervised and controlled by the National Board of Education. At the end of the 19th century private grammar schools were placed under state control by the force of state subsidies. Subsidies played a major role in the financing of private schools; in order to qualify for the annual subsidy, a private school had to frequently convince the state authorities of its quality standards. However, the funding was temporary and was only available for a maximum of ten years.22

State schools are the focus here for several reasons. Firstly, a state school lecturer’s post was in high demand and highly respected. Secondly, private schools formed a less organized, heterogeneous group of schools with mixed histories: many of these schools had only have existed for a short period and the fact that they varied greatly in size made comparisons more difficult. Moreover, the composition of staff in private schools differed a lot

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20 Kerkkonen, Oppikoulukäsikirja, 84–86; Katainen, ‘Naiset oppikoulunopettajina’, 306; Huuhtanen, Naisen virkakelpoisuuden historiallista tarkastelua.
21 Clark, Women and Achievement, 189.
from those in state schools. The School Boards of private schools had freer hands in recruiting staff than state schools. The number of private schools also increased remarkably during this period. Therefore, it is difficult to recognize long-term significant trends occurring in the teacher profession there. I also exclude all girls’ schools, because a girls’ school was, by assumption, the place where a female teacher was expected to work and where it was possible for her to work without extra bureaucracy.

The school system was strictly hierarchical by structure, and the schools differed notably in status. First, the state schools were valued higher than the private schools. The former had a long tradition of secondary, academic schooling and benefited from permanent public funding. Thus state schools were financially secure and were better able to arrange education than private schools.

State schools were also ranked according to the type and amount of teachers’ posts they were allowed to have. These posts were categorized into four categories according to salary and status. The categories were superior lecturer (yliopettaja), senior lecturer (lehtori or vanhempi lehtori), junior lecturer (kollega or nuorempi lehtori), teacher (opettaja) and schoolmistress (post in girls’ schools, opettajatar).

Within the profession, the superior lecturer was ranked number one. Only the teacher training schools had these posts, and, during this period, no woman was appointed to the post of a superior lecturer. Next in rank were senior lecturers, who worked in teacher training schools and in the academically-oriented gymnasiums for boys. In 1913, two senior lecturer posts were established for the advanced classes (gymnasium level) of the Helsinki Finnish Girls’ School. A junior lecturer might work at the lower grades in the schools mentioned above as well as in a preparatory, middle or girls’ school. A master’s degree was required for the posts of the superior and senior lecturer, while the minimum qualifications required for the post of junior lecturer was the bachelor’s degree. The title of teacher referred to a teacher who taught practical and art subjects in a gymnasium. In other schools a teacher or schoolmistress might also have taught other subjects, most often languages. The teacher did not necessarily have academic training.
Status, as well as the school’s rank in the hierarchy, was evident in its name. One could also tell what kinds of teachers’ posts were available at a school simply by its name. The most prominent were gymnasiums, state-owned boys’ schools (lyseo in Finnish). Gymnasiums had several senior lecturer posts, while a girls’ school did not have any, with the exception of the advanced classes in the Helsinki Girls’ School. The posts in girls’ schools were junior lecturer, headmistress and schoolmistress. The schoolmistress had the lowest salary of all state-school teachers.\(^2\text{3}\) The arrangement of posts in schools was set by the Educational Board of Finland, and it established a strong link between status and gender. As long as women were excluded from the highest posts, this setup underlined the supposed link between competence and gender.

The link between competence and gender started to break in the 1880’s, when women became eligible to the positions of junior lecturers in girls’ schools. At the beginning of the 20\(^{th}\) century women still needed a dispensation for certain posts. However, this procedure was not an impossible hindrance for a woman’s career because the dispensation was usually easy to obtain. Between 1870 and 1899, around 130 women were given the dispensation. Although most of them applied for teachers’ posts, since 1883 women had also applied 11 times for junior lecturer’s posts and once for a senior lecturer’s post. Between 1900 and 1906, the dispensations were mainly requested for lecturers’ posts. From 1916 women could apply for all posts in the grammar schools except for those with juridical power.\(^2\text{4}\)

In 1900, there were 24 gymnasiums, 7 co-educational grammar schools with grades up to 3 or 5, and 12 girls’ schools, all owned by the state. The number of teachers in gymnasiums was 368, of whom 35 were women. The number of teachers in grammar schools totalled 63, of which 23 were women. Usually a woman had a teacher’s post, and none of them held a senior

\(^2\text{3}\) Kerkkonen, *Oppikoulukäsikirja*, 353–355; Kiuasmaa, *Oppikoulu 1880–1980*, 37–38, 164–166; *The Official Yearbook of Finland* 1900. Until 1913, the official titles in the categories of lecturers were lehtori and kollega, and after that senior lecturer (*vanhempi lehtori*) and junior lecturer (*nuorempi lehtori*).

lecturer’s post. However, there was one female junior lecturer, Naema Adelaide Lundenius (born Schauman), who was appointed as a junior lecturer in Russian at the Swedish gymnasium in Turku in 1890.25

In 1906, “Naisten ääni” (Women’s voice), a journal of the women’s movement, reported on the appointment of the first woman as a senior lecturer in a gymnasium. The journal stressed the significance of the event by reminding its readers how men had always had the possibility to teach in girls’ schools. Consequently, it should be only natural to appoint a woman as a teacher in a boys’ school.26

This, however, was not the goal the National Board of Education (NBE). In a statement given in 1910, the NBE expressed as its opinion that “according to the experiences so far, it does not look desirable that more female teachers would be employed to work in the upper grades at boys’ schools”.27

In 1900, one out of ten teachers in gymnasiums was a woman. Ten years later, 50 of 435 teachers in gymnasiums were women; the proportion of women was now 11%. However, the percentage remained low, at a tenth of all gymnasium teachers, until the end of the Russian period. One can suppose that the authorities’ aim was to keep the number of women low in the highest posts in the field of education.

However, at the same time, the number of female teachers in other state schools (girls’ schools excluded) was increasing. In 1900, the proportion of female teachers in other state schools was over 23%, with the figure rising in the next decade. In state schools, women remained a minority, but in private and municipal schools (girls’ schools again excluded) female teachers were already in the majority. The difference between state and private gymnasiums was striking; the proportion of female teachers in the latter was five times as high as in state gymnasiums. In other words, every second teacher in a private gymnasium was a woman.28

25 Statistics Finland 9:27; The Official Yearbook of Finland 1900.
26 Naisten ääni 5/1906.
Table 2. The number / proportion of women of all teachers in state gymnasiu"ms and other state schools in 1900–1917.

<table>
<thead>
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<th></th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1914</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gymnasiu&quot;ms</td>
<td>24 / 9.5%</td>
<td>50 / 11%</td>
<td>55 /11%</td>
<td>46 / 10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other state schools</td>
<td>17 / 23%</td>
<td>30 / 39%</td>
<td>42 / 43%</td>
<td>42 / 39%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Finland 9:27; 9:37; 9:42 and 9:44. The figures for 1900 are collected from the Official Yearbook of Finland 1900.

During the first decades of the 20th century, women gained a firm foothold as teachers in secondary education. The number of female students attending the Faculty of Philosophy as well as the Teacher Training School of Helsinki had increased during the period29, and apparently many of the graduates also launched a career in teaching. Nevertheless, the state schools, and especially the state gymnasiu"ms, remained male-dominated institutions, and the most highly valued posts in state gymnasiu"ms were held by men.

Gender segregation

Contemporaries explained the preponderance of male teachers by gender: the state gymnasiu"ms were boys’ schools, and men were considered to be more suitable educators for boys. Nevertheless, this does not justify the gendered distribution of work and posts in the school. As mentioned earlier, women were seldom put in the lecturer’s posts. In addition, women were, more often than their male colleagues, part-time or temporary teachers, while men, as a rule, held regular positions.30 This practice can hardly be explained on educational grounds.

In other state schools, too, women were underrepresented among the lecturers. Most of the schools were co-educational grammar schools. Nevertheless, only a few women were in lecturers’ positions, and these were typically pro tempore positions.

29 See Table 1. Kiuasmaa, Oppikoulu 1880–1980, 166.
30 Statistics Finland 9:37, 4.
There was an interesting connection between the post and the teaching subject, too. In gymnasiums, some subjects were invariably taught by a senior lecturer (e.g. Latin and Greek), some by a lecturer but never by a teacher (most modern languages, humanities and natural sciences). Practical and art subjects as well as English were taught by a teacher. In general, women were responsible for teaching modern languages or practical and art subjects in gymnasiums. Men taught modern languages, too, but as lecturers, while women taught them as teachers—even in the same school, teaching the same subject.

The link between subject and post was strictly gendered, with few exceptions. In 1910, only one female teacher had a permanent post in a subject not typically taught by women. She worked as a junior lecturer in mathematics and natural sciences at Turku Swedish Modern Gymnasium (reaalilyseo in Finnish). Additionally, two women worked in co-educational schools as temporary junior lecturers in mathematics and natural history. The situation had not changed much until 1917. Viipuri Swedish Gymnasium hired a female junior lecturer in 1913, when the job of a lecturer was made permanent. She had formally worked as a temporary lecturer in mathematics and natural sciences.

What explains this strict segregation of teaching subjects by gender? Classical languages, mathematics, natural sciences and natural history were male-teacher subjects. Were woman absent because they did not apply for these posts or because they were not appointed?

It is understandable that female teachers in Latin and Greek are missing. Girls—or boys in modern gymnasiums—did not study classical languages at school, and therefore they neither chose to study them at the university nor graduated with Latin or Greek as their majors. On the other hand, mod-

31 See e.g. the Official Yearbook of Finland 1900, 1910 and 1917.
32 The education in the state gymnasiums was first divided into two lines called the classical and the modern line (reaalilinja in Finnish), later in classical and modern gymnasiums. The syllabi of the classical and the modern line had much in common. The main difference in curricula was in the training of languages. In classical gymnasiums Latin and Greek were emphasized, whereas the curriculum in modern gymnasiums did not include classical languages at all. Statistics Finland 9:8 Alamainen kertomus Suomenmaan alkeisoppilaitosten tilasta ja toiminnasta 1905–1908, 10–11.
33 Kötä ja yhteiskunta 8-9/1892; The Official Yearbook of Finland 1900, 1910 and 1917.
ern languages had been widely represented in girls’ curricula, and, as a result, many female students had chosen to study them.

Another question is why gymnasiums, other grammar schools or even girls’ schools did not have any female teachers, for example in history. As mentioned earlier, the number of female students in the Section History and Philology was quite high. Did they all major in a modern language? More detailed statistics are needed to answer this question. Unlike Latin and Greek subjects, girls were taught history at school as well as natural history and natural sciences.34

But if the small number of women in history lecturer positions really sprang from the fact that women had rejected the idea of studying history—or mathematics and natural sciences—at university, it needs to be explained. In other words, if girls did not lack the basic knowledge which would have hampered their studies of the subject in question, why did they not choose history?

The reason might be in the arrangement of the posts in grammar schools. As long as a dispensation was needed, graduating in history or mathematics or any other subject taught by a lecturer did not guarantee women a good job. Although dispensations were usually granted, every applicant was considered individually. The risk of a negative decision might have been merely theoretical, but it existed nonetheless. Risk calculation might well have lead women not to choose subjects where a dispensation was necessary.

So, this distribution of posts and subjects certainly had an influence on what girls started to study at university. If they did not want to risk jeopardising their employment opportunities, they chose a subject taught by a teacher or a schoolmistress (like modern languages), not a subject taught by a lecturer (like history) in a grammar school. This led to a gendered division of subjects that still exists: there are “male” subjects and “female” subjects, and the former tend to be more highly valued.

34 Kiuasmaa, Oppikoulu 1880–1980, 630–634.
Too many women in the profession?

At the beginning of the 20th century, more and more women entered the teaching profession in Finnish grammar schools. In most cases, they worked at girls’ schools, which were considered as suitable and appropriate workplaces for female teachers. In private boys’ and co-educational schools, the number of women was rapidly increasing, but in state schools the ratio of men to women remained almost unchanged between 1900–1917.

The women whose professional goal was teaching in secondary schools had not chosen the most evident alternative as teachers, and one could claim that they were aiming high both professionally and socially. The division between primary and secondary education was also one of social class; a teacher’s status mirrored this social separation between the schools.35 Among the secondary schools, a post in a state school was a post of high status.

At least until the 1920’s, the state schools were difficult for women to enter. The main barriers that hindered or prevented women from entering the profession were formal and legislative. Attitudes could be a problem, too. The regulation of the number of newcomers to the field was done at two crucial points before a career started; first, when selecting those who were allowed to enter schooling and become qualified. When young women gained unlimited access to university, they also gained access to the degree which qualified them to enter the profession.

The second point of control was when the graduated teachers entered the labour market. Here the recruitment to certain posts and the opportunity to ply their profession was controlled legislatively by dispensation. The procedure treated every female applicant as an exception, and hence it was a regulation mechanism that favoured men. During the period in focus here, the regulation was annulled, except for the order that excluded women from any civil service office where exercising juridical power was needed. It was the last impediment for women’s careers in state schools (until 1926). Unlike the earlier orders on studying at the university or on the nomination as a lecturer, this could not be passed by means of dispensation.

35 Clark, Women and Achievement, 176.
Discriminating regulations could be discussed and revised. But there were also structural obstacles that were more complicated to identify and challenge. These obstacles upheld the traditional male dominance and segregation within the profession, with the distribution between teaching subjects and gender. Some subjects were male-teacher subjects, and these subjects were more likely to be taught by a better paid and more valued senior or junior lecturer than a female-teacher subject.

Women had actively participated in the debate about the inequality between male and female teachers in pay and promotion possibilities already in the 1890’s. They felt very unjustly treated, when they realised that, for all their studies, they ended up teaching lower classes with a lower salary and status than their male colleagues with similar degrees. After universal suffrage was implemented in 1906, women insisted on new justifications for the practice where men were prioritized over women without question.36

Finnish women entered the field of secondary education rather easily without being strongly opposed by their male colleagues. Although resistance existed, the discussion on the position of women in the teaching profession was more modest than in Sweden. In Sweden, men strongly resisted women entering the teaching profession at the secondary level. Even the possibility that women were allowed to work in state schools or gymnasiums caused a fiery discussion. In the hierarchy of the grammar schools, the highest posts were reserved for male teachers, and a woman could come into question only as a teacher of less important tasks and at lower grades.37

The first woman to obtain a regular lectureship in a state boys’ school was Signe Maria Wilskman. She had graduated from the oldest co-educational grammar school in Finland, the Swedish Läroverket för gossar och flickor, in 1896, and matriculated at the Helsinki University, Section of History and Philology, to study modern languages, German and French. She got her first job as a teacher in a private co-educational grammar school. In 1906, she acquired the dispensation to apply for lecturer’s posts in boys’

37 Florin & Johansson, ’Där härliga lärgrara gro’, 190–196; Clark, Women and Achievement, 180.
schools. During the same year Signe Wilskman sought office at the Swedish Modern Gymnasium in Turku, facing competition from a male candidate. She was appointed, and she retired 39 years later. Although Signe Wilskman was married since 1910, she did not leave her job for family reasons, as women were expected to do and many also did.  

She was appointed, and she retired 39 years later. Although Signe Wilskman was married since 1910, she did not leave her job for family reasons, as women were expected to do and many also did.  

She was a forerunner for women, for which the journal Naisten Ääni congratulated her. Her long career as a lecturer was exceptional.

Signe Wilskman and other female teachers dealt with less public criticism and distrust of their ability than their sisters in Sweden. This was for two related reasons. The first was the school and language policy in Finland and the second the political situation of Finland as a part of an unstable Russian Empire.

In the early 20th century, the so-called language strife between the Finnish-speaking majority and the Swedish-speaking minority also extended to the schooling policy. For both sides, but especially for the Fennomans, the question about whose children gained access to higher education and got the possibility to become members of the ruling class, and the question about the language of instruction, was fundamental. In the movement, the like-minded were united in building a national state that cut across borders of social classes and the old distinction between urban and rural cultures.

In this context, with the overall goal unreached, the question of the teachers’ sex in the state schools tended to be a minor and a less acute issue. I suppose, that women’s endeavour for gender equality in access to the profession was met with less resistance, not only because it was considered as a less important question, but also because both parts of the language conflict needed their educated female supporters, too.

Later on, the ability of women as secondary school teachers became an issue in Finland, too. In 1917, Hugo Suolahti, Professor in German Philology and Vice-Rector of the University of Helsinki, wrote in the journal Vallonja about the increasing number of women in the teaching profession. He

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39 Sulkunen, Mandi Granfelt, 45–46.
attributed the phenomenon to the rising number of private schools, which often employed female teachers. He feared the profession was becoming dominated by women, which was not desirable. The solution, according to Professor Suolahti, was to turn private schools into state schools and place them under state control.40 This action would secure the standard of education and the balance between the sexes in the staff.

In Suolahti’s view, the state schools had protected the male domination in the teaching profession, whereas the private schools had opened the doors wide open for women. This resulted in too many women. Soon, there would be discussion about the undesirable feminization of the teaching profession and about all the harm this would cause to the profession, and society as whole. The state regarded the feminization of the secondary school teacher corps as a great threat. This discussion is still going on.

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Literature

SCHOOLING, EDUCATION AND CITIZENSHIP


Higher education for the people: The School of Social Sciences and the modern citizen in Finland

Mervi Kaarninen

The idea of the Civic College

In the autumn of 1925 in Helsinki, the capital of the newly-independent republic a completely new type of educational institute, the Civic College, opened its doors. The College changed its name in 1930 to the School of Social Sciences. The foundation process of this institute took seven years from 1917 to the autumn of 1925. The idea of the Civic College has been especially connected to the independence process of Finland and to the crisis which followed the independence, i.e. the Civil War in the beginning of 1918. The original idea of this institute was to focus on civic and social education and to deepen the civic knowledge of the education of ordinary people, with the help of political and social sciences. The grand original idea was that teaching would be based on scientific study and no matriculation examination would be required for admission. The institution could be called a “free university”.

A lively discussion on university-level education had been going on in

1 In 1960 the School of Social Sciences moved to Tampere and the institution was renamed again in April 1966 to the University of Tampere. Some 15,900 students are currently pursuing degrees at the University of Tampere and every year approximately 1,000 master’s degrees and 100 doctoral degrees are produced. http://www.uta.fi/english/keyfacts/index.html (cited 2/10/2012).
2 The financial obstacles delayed the foundation process.
Finland during the 1910’s. At the time, there was only one university in Finland, located in Helsinki.4 A university for Swedish-speakers, Åbo Akademi University, was founded in Turku in 1918. Turku also got a new, private university for Finnish-speakers in 1920.5 The matriculation examination had traditionally been the entrance examination to academic studies and it used to be the first step towards a career as a civil servant. The Civic College was aimed at those who had not had a chance to study before entering into working life. The idea was that it offered this chance to those who were already working.6

The purpose of this article is to analyse how the idea of citizenship was defined and implemented at the Civic College (the School of Social Sciences) during the 1920’s and the 1930’s. The most important question deals with how the idea of the education of citizens took its concrete form in the curriculum of the Civic College. By analysing the curriculum, it is possible to gain one perspective of the ideal of good citizenship. In this article, I will also discuss those ideological principles which led to the establishment of this new educational institute. Additionally, my particular interest is to analyse how the first student generation experienced their studies and what kind of impact the study in the Civic College had on their careers later on in life. Did the students understand the idea and the purpose of the institute the same way as the “founding fathers”? In order to address this question, I will first give an introduction to the foundation process of the Civic College.7

Models from abroad

Educational institutions of the same kind had already been founded in Europe since the end of the 19th century. The oldest Civic College, L’École libre

4 The official name of the University of Helsinki was The Imperial Alexander University.
5 Other institutions of higher education in Finland: The Polytechnic Institute was made a university-level school in 1908 and renamed the Technological University of Finland. The change in name brought its students the rights of university students. The Commercial College, later known as the Helsinki School of Economics and Business, was established in 1904 and it received University standing in 1911. Eskola, 'Tiedepolitiikka ja korkeakoulut', 227–261; Tommila, 'Research and the origins of research policies', 64; Nykänen, Korttelin sataman laidalla.
7 As a source material I have particularly used the Annual Reports of the Civic College 1925–1930. (Kansalaiskorkeakoulun vuosikertomukset) 1925–1930, statistics, and the syllabi of the Civic College 1925–1930.
de sciences politiques, functioned in Paris and had been established as early as 1871. This institution concentrated on the history of diplomacy, constitution history, economic history and journalism. No special degree was required to be admitted to the institution, but the students who were drawn to it were ones who were supplementing their earlier studies. In Britain, some universities (university colleges) offered persons who had not taken their examination an opportunity to attend university studies. One of the most remarkable examples is the London School of Economics which was founded in 1895. The idea and the decision to create the school were made among the members of the influential Fabian Society. One of the prominent Fabians, Sidney Webb had considered that Britain needed an institution devoted to the social sciences. On his American tour he had been impressed by the work at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The ideal aim of the London School of Economics was to improve society in general by studying poverty issues and analysing inequalities. Another famous Fabian, Beatrice Webb, wrote in her diary: “Above all, we want the ordinary citizen to feel that reforming society is no light matter and must be undertaken by experts specially trained for that purpose”. The School developed rapidly through private philanthropy. Among the students were civil servants, municipal officials and social workers. The institution also organised evening courses for the working-class members.

In Sweden, the new colleges of Stockholm (1878) and Gothenburg (1891) were formed in opposition to the old universities with their exclusive character. Especially in Gothenburg there had been an ambition to open the college to those who had so far been excluded from higher education. The politician and newspaper publisher Sven Adolf Hedlund had formulated the idea of a “Free Academy”. Hedlund started to develop a new kind of institution at a local level serving those needs that the universities could not.

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8 Ruuth, Kysymys Kansalaiskercakoulen perustamisesta, 12–13. See also Sosialinen aikakaaskirja 1925.
11 Charle, 'Patterns', 40.
not fulfil. The key idea, in the role that Hedlund saw, was for science to play an important role in modern society. The ideal community would consist of citizens that dedicated themselves, besides their practical tasks, to studies either in the fields of science, arts or civics. These intellectual pursuits would benefit individuals as well as the whole community by increasing the level of general knowledge, and promote character building, occupational skills and abilities in civic life.\textsuperscript{12} Thus Hedlund combined adult education in the form of cultivating the general public with research, i.e. with the academic function that had just recently started to gain more ground and importance at universities. Although the Free Academy as an institution in a proper sense was never realised, the idea in many ways had an impact on the educational activities of Gothenburg.\textsuperscript{13}

In 1921, the Institute of Social Policy and Municipal Education and Research (\textit{Institut för socialpolitik och kommunalutbildning och forskning}) was opened in Stockholm, Sweden.\textsuperscript{14} The purpose of this institute was to organise scientific education and to spread information and expertise about social policy and municipal questions, as well as promote the development of social sciences. Its primary practical purpose was to train skilled staff to the tasks of social services and the local government, especially such as child welfare and poor relief.

Deepening the civic knowledge—the political background

The speech of economist Leo Harmaja\textsuperscript{15}, in the summer of 1917, is always mentioned in the history of the Civic College\textsuperscript{16} (The School of Social Sciences). In his speech Harmaja argued that Finnish people should be educated for citizenship and he defined it with the following:

\begin{quote}
Ahonen, \textit{Cities and adult education}.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Högnäs, 'The Concept of bildung and the education of citizen', 40. Kelly, \textit{A History of Adult Education in Great Britain}, 216–218. In the late 19th century began the contribution of the universities to the adult education in Great Britain. The universities began to organise courses for working men. This action was called university extension.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Sunesson, 'Socialt arbete – en bakgrund till ett forskningsämne', 82.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Leo Harmaja, Doctor of Philosophy 1914. He had several confidential posts in different organisations, and he taught economics in the commercial schools. He was appointed Professor of Economics at the University of Technology in 1945.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Rasila, \textit{Yhteiskunnallinen Korkeakoulu 1925–1966}.
\end{quote}
“At the same time as the tasks of the society have increased, the state and municipal power has also been transferred from the former sparse numerous pillars of the society to wide strata, to deep lines. Usually everywhere in our days every member of the society is beginning to be entitled to take part in taking care of the matters of the state, likewise the municipality, through their representatives. This transition of the political and social influence to new circles and the enforcement of democracy signify in many relations a revolutionary change in the development of the society. At the same time it sets quite different tasks and duties to the members of the society than they had before when the ordinary citizen had only to manage his own profession and the common duties of the society were taken care of by the ruling social elite.”

Harmaja and the political elite thought that the common people in Finland needed to be educated in order to be able to use their new political rights, such as to vote in general and municipal elections. In other words, the idea was to deepen the civic knowledge of Finnish people. In the late 19th and early 20th century, Finland was an educationally backward country by international comparison and far behind the leading Western European countries. In 1900, about 39% of Finns were able to both read and write, while this percentage was 83.5 in France, 80.4 in Belgium, 50.1 in Italy, 41.4 in Spain and 37 in Greece. In the 1910’s, three out of four school-aged children in Southern Finland were attending school. In the province of Oulu, however, the corresponding ratio was a little under one in three. By the early 20th century, practically all school-aged children in cities were attending an elementary school. According to the 1910 census, about 5% of Finns had completed a syllabus higher than elementary school.

In his speech Leo Harmaja especially referred to Finland’s parliamentary reform. As a consequence of the revolutionary movements that led to the general strike in Russia, a national strike also broke out in Finland at the

17 Harmaja, Kansalaistietoja syventämään.
18 Myllyntaus, Education in the Making of Modern Finland, 1–36.
turn of October and November in 1905. The most important immediate result of the national strike was a manifesto issued by the emperor promising that a Parliament based on universal and equal suffrage would be created. The new Parliament Act of 1906 introduced universal suffrage to Finland. It replaced the old Diet dating back to the 17th century with a 200-seat unicameral Parliament. No longer was the right to vote dependent on social status or gender. The minimum age for voting and standing for election was set at 24. When parliamentary elections were held in the spring of 1907, Finnish women became the first in the world to exercise full political rights, including the right to stand for election. Nineteen Members of Parliament were women.19

Leo Harmaja gave another speech on the same topic in November 1917 when the political situation and the atmosphere in Finland were very exceptional and tensed due to the World War and the Russian Revolution. Harmaja’s speech, which contained the proposal for the establishment of the new university, was published in 1918. The text was dated 6 December 1917. Interestingly, this date became particularly famous for other reasons when the same day was later declared to be Finland’s Independence Day.

The first official declaration for the new institute of higher education was presented in January 1918 only less than three weeks before the outbreak of the Civil War. The paper stated for the first time the future structure of this new institution. The declaration was signed by 42 persons, 21 of them were Members of the Parliament. The strong connection to the Finnish nationalist movement is clearly visible from the signatories of this declaration. Nine of the Members of Parliament who had signed the declaration belonged to the Finnish Party (this party was also called “the Old Finnish Party”) and five to the Agrarian Party. There were no Social Democrats among the signatories, nor were there members of the Swedish People’s Party.20

Although Finland gained its independence from Russia at the end of 1917, the society was being torn apart on an ideological level. Eventually Civil War broke out at the end of January 1918. After fierce battles between

19 Sulkunen, Nevala-Nurmi & Markkola, Suffrage, Gender and Citizenship.
20 Rasila, Yhteiskunnallinen Korkeakoulu 1925–1966, 22.
the Whites and the Reds and the loss of about 36,000 lives, the nation was divided into winners and losers. In public discussions the lack of education was thought to have been one of the reasons for this terrible war.\textsuperscript{21} Ironically, the objectives the defeated Reds had sought for decades through demonstrations, and finally through weapons, were achieved soon after the war. These included several social reforms which benefited especially poor people, and the reshaping of the schooling system. Universal compulsory education, which in practice came to mean mandatory school attendance, came into force only in 1921 in the newly-independent Finland after a lengthy period of planning. Compulsory education had to be implemented within five years in the cities and gradually over 15 years in rural municipalities. Compulsory school attendance applied to 7–13-year-olds.\textsuperscript{22}

The concrete foundation process of the Civic College continued in the summer of 1918. During the seven following years several plans concerning the structure and the curriculum of the institution were made. First it was discovered how the teaching of social and political sciences in open universities and Civic Colleges were organised in other European countries. Models and examples had to be sought from abroad. The Institute of Social Policy and Municipal Education and Research in Stockholm (\textit{Institut för socialpolitik och kommunalutbildning och forskning}) served as a model when Yrjö Ruutu\textsuperscript{23} (the future rector of the Civic College) drew up the first syllabus of the Civic College. He made a study trip to Stockholm and visited this institution.\textsuperscript{24}

Another important and interesting question concerns how much the domestic politics and the situation in Finland in 1917 and 1918 affected the birth of the Civic College. The changing process of Finnish society was certainly behind the ideas of economist Leo Harmaja. He had studied statistics in Germany in the seminar of Gustav Schmoller. In that circle he received

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{21} Haapala & Hoppu, \textit{Tampere 1918}.
\textsuperscript{22} Myllyntaus, \textit{Education in the Making of Modern Finland}, 1-36.
\textsuperscript{23} The surname of Yrjö Ruutu was Ruuth until the year 1927.
\textsuperscript{24} Ruuth, \textit{Kysymys Kansalaiskorkeakoulun perustamisesta}, 12–13; Ruutu, Yrjö, Muistelma Yhteiskunnallisen korkeakoulun alkuajoilta 1924–1953. Unpublished manuscript. Yrjö Ruudun arkisto, National Archives; See also \textit{Sosialinen aikakauskirja} 1925.
\end{flushleft}
influences on *Kathedersozialismus* (academic socialism). The main idea of this ideology was to build up a better society with the help of social policy legislation. Also in this ideology the role of the state was seen as being significant in economic policy. The aim was to enhance educational equality and offer university studies for adults lacking formal education, in order to narrow the gap between different social groups. This was considered to be important after the Civil War. A new institute of higher education project would play an integrating role in Finnish society.

In Finnish society the matriculation examination has always been very highly valued and the white-capped upper-secondary school graduates are a potent symbol of Finnish educational optimism. Traditionally, the matriculation examination and university studies were the major opportunity for class mobility. The idea behind the establishment of the Civic College was to change this old educational structure and create a new channel to university studies, instead of through the grammar school and matriculation examination. The main project was the reformation of society with the help of education.

The founders of the Civic College wanted to spread knowledge and comprehension on societal questions—the civic knowledge. This meant educating Finnish people to citizenship. The foundation of the Civic College was the last idealistic project of the old Fennomans. Leo Harmaja and other founders believed that citizens did not understand the model of the modern society. Thus, educating citizens on social and political questions was seen as a solution to this disadvantage. The population groups considered to be in need of education the most were working-class people and people in the countryside. Leo Harmaja, as the nationalist old Fennomans before him, had a strong faith in education. They saw how education, prosperity and general wellbeing were connected. From this background it is easy to understand that Professor Väinö Voionmaa was nominated to become the Chancellor of the Civic College in March 1926. He had been involved in the enlightenment work since he concluded his studies at the university.

25 Harmaja, *Kansalaistietoja syventämään*; Heinonen, 'Leo Harmaja'.
26 Sipilä, 'Sinivalkoinen, punainen ja harmaa', 17–18.
Voionmaa had worked in the leadership of the temperance movement and the *Kansanvalistusseura* (Society concentrating on enlightenment work and led by the Fennomans). Moreover, he was a famous social historian. Ideologically Voionmaa belonged to the group of younger intellectuals of the Finnish Party who had approached the labour movement.  

**From idea to reality**

How was the project to educate citizens and ordinary people formulated in the first syllabus? At first there were four degrees in the syllabus; they were the journalism degree, the administrative degree, the co-operative degree and the municipal degree. The optimal duration of studies was approximately two years. The taught subjects were national economy, social policy, history, political science, international relations, constitutional law, administrative law and accounting.

The journalism degree was the most popular specialisation field among the students. The purpose of this degree was that it would be a social and societal “civic degree”. On the other hand, it was supposed to educate competent journalists for the newspapers. In the 1920’s, newspapers played an important role in developing and elaborating opinions for the social and societal solutions. A journalism degree answered the demands of contemporary feeling and circumstances. Those students who wanted to take a journalism degree had to listen to the lectures for two academic years; they had to write up three practical essays, a term paper and a thesis. The thesis belonged to the course requirements of the second year. Additionally, the curriculum included scientific literature and the students had to take an exam. The upper grades of the journalism degree concentrated on the national economy, political science and history, and the lower grades concentrated on social policy, administrative science and co-operative science. The examination for the upper grade on national economy covered six large scientific works. The works were focal and standard text, and classics in the field. The degree requirements contained *The Prince* (*il Principe*) by Niccoló

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Table 1. The first degree structure.

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<tr>
<td>Journalism degree</td>
<td>Political science &amp; history</td>
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<td>National economy</td>
<td>Administrative science &amp; constitutional law</td>
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<td>Co-operative studies</td>
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<td>Administrative degree</td>
<td>Administrative science &amp; constitutional law</td>
<td>Political science &amp; history</td>
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<td>Co-operative degree</td>
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Source: Kansalaiskorkeakoulun opetusohjelma 1925–1926 (Syllabus of the Civic College 1925–1926).

Macchiavelli, *The Social Contract (Du contrat social)* by Jean Jacques Rousseau and *On liberty* by John Stuart Mill. The upper grade on history contained the works of K. O. Lindeqvist on general history and on Finnish history. In the history course, the students had to familiarise themselves with such classics as Gustav Schmoller’s *Die soziale Frage Klassenbildung, Arbeiterfrage, Klassenkampf* and to the work of Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges *La Cité antique*.30 Also subjects like the first language and literature were taught. *Kalevala*, the Finnish national epic for example, was in the course requirements as well as a course in the Estonian language.

Professor Voionmaa analysed the role of the Civic College in the first opening ceremony on the 1st October 1925. He said that the inauguration of the Civic College was an important day also in regards of social policy.31 Voionmaa concluded that the main task of the institute is to educate citizens who know that they will be useful in society. It was warned in the public

30 The works of Schmoller and Fustel de Goulanges were translated into Finnish at the beginning of the 20th century.

debate that the syllabus should not be too theoretical. It had to be practical, because the institute concentrated on educating a competent work force to serve the society. Students who could not be trusted with significant societal tasks in the future were not accepted to the Civic College.32

The Civic College started as a result of a debate surrounding the large number of grammar school pupils and new secondary-school graduates in Finland. In the 1920’s, Finnish grammar schools developed special characteristics that would become a defining feature of the entire Finnish school system. Both the number of schools and the number of pupils had risen rapidly. There were about 30,000 pupils at grammar schools in 1920 and this number exceeded 40,000 in just four years. However, in relation to the overall population, the proportion of grammar school pupils was considerable in Finland: by the mid-1920’s, 13 out of every 1,000 residents were pupils, while the corresponding numbers in Sweden and Norway were 12 and 10, respectively. The only Nordic country ahead of Finland in this respect was Denmark, where 15 out of every 1,000 residents were grammar school pupils.33 In the 1920’s, newspapers wrote that the secondary school graduate flood was an expensive luxury item, which did not have a corresponding practical value since a place in higher education was by no means available to all graduates. In 1920, the number of graduates was about 1,142, and 5 years later 1,378. In 1930, this figure stood at over 2,000. At the same time, the matriculation examination was very highly valued as well as under heavy criticism.

In the Civic College the attitude towards the matriculation examination was inconsistent. The syllabus stated that studying in the institute was suitable for secondary school graduates who intended to become journalists, and secondary school graduates were accepted automatically as students. Professor Väinö Voionmaa analysed the role of the matriculation examination in the Civic College and in the Finnish society. Voionmaa stated that the secondary-school system and matriculation examination created a caste

33 Kaarninen, Nykyajan tytöt, 149; Kaarninen, ‘Oppikoulu yhteiskunnan rakentajana’, 405–422.
system which restricted possibilities for university studies. The teaching of foreign languages had a strong position in the curriculum of secondary schools. And those who had not studied foreign languages were automatically disqualified from universities, even if they otherwise would have filled the preconditions for university studies. Also from this perspective the Civic College opened a new channel to higher education. 34

According to the educational ideology of the Civic College, talent, energy, experience and enthusiasm were supposed to be more important than merely passing some degree. The predominant opinion in Finland was that only secondary-school graduates were competent to perform intellectual tasks. However, several secondary-school graduates did not continue their studies in the university, deciding instead to pursue a career in the practical field.35

The Civic College began to educate officials for social tasks. This duty included quite a new attitude concerning the role of society in the life of the citizens. In the earlier decades only the Imperial Alexander University (i.e. the University of Helsinki) educated civil servants into administrative duties for the emperor’s bureaus and chancelleries. The civil servants served the emperor, not the subjects of the emperor.36 The new society, i.e. the new independent republic, needed new kinds of officials to serve the state and municipal administration. Through the new kind of officials, the society and the citizens would be able to carry on an internal dialogue.

The situation was ambiguous. It was discussed that although the syllabus should be practical, it should also be based on scientific research, since the creative work always needed a scientific basis. The grand idea was that only university level studies could broaden the students’ understanding of societal tasks and the function of society. After the studies in the Civic College, graduates would have better preconditions to work as journalists and as officials in co-operative societies, for the state and as municipal officials. In other words, those who had graduated from the Civic College should have a societal mind and should work for the society.37

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36 Klinge, Helsingin yliopiston historia.
The rector of the Civic College, Doctor of Philosophy Yrjö Ruutu, maintained that the most important objective of the Civic College was vocational education and he emphasised vocational degrees. The original idea of this institute was to focus on civic and social education and to deepen civic knowledge, in order to educate ordinary people. Now the original idea was in the transformation process. The objective of the studies was to enable the students to become useful citizens. According to Ruutu’s idea, useful citizens served society. This meant that after the degree they could get good jobs within their vocation. Now, the intention was that professional competence would be the purpose of the studies for all students.

Rector Yrjö Ruutu was aware of the changing processes of modern society in which new kinds of civil servants and officials were needed. Therefore he wanted to develop the institution towards the direction he had seen in Stockholm. At the time, the Civic College was simultaneously educating students to vocations which did not exist while creating new vocations and competences in the field of municipal administration, for example poor relief and child welfare. In this context, usefulness meant that a student of the Civic College should become a useful citizen. Moreover, usefulness meant that they worked in the practical field, and the Civic College would provide them with professional competence. Consequently, the professional competence had to be bound to common education. This principle was stated in the motto of the Civic College: “Through professional competence to general education.” Rector Ruutu concluded that theoretical knowledge helped students to understand societal questions as well as practical life. For him, the Civic College was always objective and answered to those duties demanded by society. The rector maintained that students graduated to serve people, and the enthusiasm of students was the precondition for the success of the institution. In other words, if the students benefited their country, the Civic College had fulfilled its task.

Students and their experiences

The writer Juhani Konkka was among the first students to start at the Civic College in 1925. Konkka was a farmer’s son from Toksova, Inkeri (Ingria). In 1946 he analysed his first experiences: “I read the advertisement twice and felt excited. Here was a school for me! I would go there and do a degree in journalism. I felt I had already trained for that degree: I had read political science, as well as economics, social policy and even constitutional law, generally all the subjects which, one way or another, were connected to the state or society and which belonged to the syllabus of the journalism degree. I was acquainted with newspapers. Journalism would provide me with the best possibilities to achieve a career in the Parliament; several men had started as journalists and had later become elected as Members of Parliament and gained a Minister’s seat. All my inclinations and abilities would become handy in that regard. This was because a journalist can be a politician as well as an orator and a writer.”40

According to the newspaper article, the new institution was offering the alluring possibility of a high quality education and a profession without any formal restrictions like the matriculation exam. In the following, I will analyse the first student generation of the Civic College in the academic year 1925–1926. In the autumn of 1925 there were altogether 92 applicants of whom 72 were accepted. The average age of these students was 28. The youngest students were under 20 and the oldest were in their 50s. More than two thirds of the students were under 30. (See Tables 2 and 3, next page.)

The social background of the students of the Civic College varied and their circumstances were quite different when compared to the students of the University of Helsinki. From the new students in the University of Helsinki in the 1920’s, 24–30% came from academic families and about 50% from middle-class families. In the first academic year of 1925–1926, the Civic College was a distinctly male-dominated institution, i.e. 90% were male. However, the share of women did increase in the late 1920’s; in 1930 one third of the students of the Civic College were women. At the University of

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40 Konkka, Kulkurin koulut, 226–227.
Helsinki the proportion of female students also increased during the 1920’s. In the years 1921–1923 the proportion of women was 29% and ten years later it had increased to 39%. At the same time, the number of students had increased from 2,297 to 5,793.41

In their application, the applicants had to clarify their earlier studies, occupations and civic activity. The secondary-school graduates were given preference. Likewise, it was an advantage if the applicant had studied five

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years or more in the secondary school, for example taken an intermediate school course. Also courses of the Workers’ Academy and Folk Academy (folkhögskola, kansankorkeakoulu) as well as the degrees from the commercial schools and agricultural school benefited those applicants during the application process. However, the Civic College had different kinds of application criteria. Although the majority of students were permanent students working towards their degrees, there were also so-called auditor students and trial-period students. Trial-period students could be later accepted as permanent students once they showed they had the abilities deemed necessary for completing a degree. The auditor students had a right to follow lectures and participate in seminars, but they did not take part in exams nor complete degrees.42

Only three secondary-school graduates had sent in applications to the Civic College in 1925; they were all accepted. However, the proportion of secondary-school graduates rose during the next few years. In 1926–1927 approximately 9% were secondary school graduates and in 1928–1929 the amount had risen to 14%. In the early 1930’s the Civic College (The School of Social Sciences) had established its position in Helsinki. However, the basic education of its students varied considerably. For example, during the academic year of 1930–1931, one Doctor of Philosophy, three Masters of Art and 15 secondary-school graduates were among the students. By this time, many students had completed a degree in a commercial school or a commercial college before their studies in the Civic College. The Civic College operated mainly as a night school, offering male and female workers a chance to study. At the end of the 1920’s, approximately half of the students were in full-time occupation, studying at the same time, and the other half were full-time students.

In the academic year of 1925–1926, approximately 25% of the students of the Civic College had worked as clerks, office employees, typists and accountants. Also farmers, farmer’s sons and crofters found this institution; their share in the body of students was 20%. Several office employees and

clerks had graduated from a commercial school or college and wanted to continue their studies and develop professional skills. Among the students were one elementary school teacher, several journalists and a few civil servants. Only one student informed that he was a worker. However, the number of workers did increase in the following years.43

Some students described their experiences in the first anniversary volume of the students’ association.44 The students appreciated their college and their possibility to find access to higher education. They said that studying in the Civic College had embedded in their minds a great belief of the purpose of the studies.45 The most important duty of the citizen was to learn to serve the society. The desire for self-education and the ambition towards self-development were emphasised in the identity of the students. The students called themselves citizens. The Civic College signified equality for its students. Especially young people from the countryside emphasised the importance of this institution. The institution represented an open higher-education ideology.

After completing his degree the writer Juhani Konkka described his years in the Civic College as follows: “I was dedicated to my studies and did not have any dispute with the teachers. There was no reason for disagreement. We had an academic freedom in the institution. No one demanded an explanation why you had missed a lecture or two. The relationship between the teachers and the students was warm. The teachers did not set themselves high above, from where they would arrogantly gaze at their students; instead they were friendly, even outside the school. After the teacher seminary I felt that I had gotten away from the stuffy valley into the high mountain where the fresh winds were blowing. It was easy to breathe there, the teacher seminar depraved my character, the Civic College improved it…”46 However, later Juhani Konkka told that the years as a student in Helsinki were the years of hunger. Sometimes he had to live a whole week on one bread costing two

43 Annual Report 1925–1926.
44 Kansalainen ja yhteiskunta 1930. (Yearbook of the Student Association: Citizen and Society 1930).
45 Kansalainen ja yhteiskunta. Yhteiskunnallisen Korkeakoulun oppilaskunnan 5-vuotisjulkaisu. (Yearbook of the Student Association of the Civic College.
46 Konkka, Kulkurin koulut, 261.
marks. The second year as a student was easier because Konkka managed to publish some short stories and articles in newspapers. After his studies Konkka obtained a permanent position as the chief editor of Päivän Uutiset in Helsinki. He published his first novel Me sankarit in 1929. Later he acted as a translator and translated, among others, Russian classics into Finnish.47

One of the first female students was 23-year old Tyyne Leivo who belonged to a group of six women in the first student generation.48 She wanted to get a degree in journalism. Although her father was a worker, the family was so well off that they could offer their daughter a grammar-school education. Tyyne Leivo took an intermediate school course before working as a clerk in the Finnish Trade Union. From a very early age she became a member of the Social Democratic Party. Her employer gave her the opportunity to attend the Civic College where she studied journalism in 1925–1928 without passing the degree. As a student, Tyyne Leivo was active and from the first year participated in the work of the student association. At the same time as her studies, she was working in the office of the trade union. The studies at the Civic College required a lot of work and perseverance. However, several students were forced to suspend their studies before passing any exams.

Interestingly, Tyyne Leivo didn’t analyse the role of the Civic College on her career in her memoirs.49 After her studies she received a new job at the finance office of the city of Helsinki. Later in the 1930’s and the 1940’s, Tyyne Leivo50 became one of the leaders of the Federation of Social Democratic Women. After the Second World War she was elected to the Parliament, 1948–1957, and several times held the post of social minister. Tyyne Leivo was one of the most remarkable female politicians in post-war Finland.51

When she became a social minister, several reforms related to social policy were carried out. One of the most important was the child benefit law in

49 Leivo-Larsson, Elämässä tapaa ja tapahtuu.
50 Leivo-Larsson since 1937.
1948. Tyyne Leivo-Larsson (Larsson through marriage) was creating the base of the Finnish welfare society. It is obvious that the theoretical studies on political science, national economy, social policy and history at the Civic College helped her understand the society and social problems. This made it easier for her to try to build a better society for the Finnish working class, especially for women and children.

Conclusions

The final reason for the founding of the Civic College was due to the crises facing Finnish society in 1917–1918. The formation of the civil society and the demands for modern citizenship made way for the birth of the Civic College. The central idea of the Fennomans was to educate ordinary people to proper citizenship. However, the origin of educating the masses was not only domestic. Yrjö Ruutu acquainted himself with foreign models during his planning work. There was awareness that these kinds of institutions existed in England, Germany and France. For example, Leo Harmaja had made several study-trips to Europe at the beginning of the century.

The original task of the Civic College was to deepen civic knowledge. During the first five years it was thought that this institution would serve as a vocational school. New types of social officials were needed in the modern society and the Civic College filled this demand. It educated competent officials for the special societal field of activities.

The Civic College had also a harmonising effect within Finnish society as it created educational equality. It gave hope for a better future by giving a new opportunity for those who had not earlier had the possibility for an education. The Civic College would also perform the task of providing an opportunity for citizens from all different walks of life to follow the lectures and complete degrees in the designated subjects, although not complete proficiency degrees. In the lectures and seminars, the secondary-school graduates and the elementary-school graduates studied together and they read the same textbooks. Moreover, they were members of the same student association. They were all citizens.
The Civic College created equality not only between social classes but also between the sexes. It had an effect on the gender system in the Finnish society. The number of female students increased in the late 1920’s and early 1930’s. The administrative degree and the municipal degree paved a way for women to the new kinds of societal tasks in the municipal offices, for example as social workers, municipal managers, secretaries and librarians. As professionals, these women created new expertise and new practices in public administration and contributed to the making of the welfare state in Finland. In addition, while the newspapers had been dominated by men, the journalism degree opened the doors for female journalists to become editors of newspapers. Previously, the number of female journalists had been low in Finland. One of the female students wrote in 1930 how a journalism degree from the Civic College was like a key to unlock the doors for women to enter even national newspapers. The female students emphasised how important it would be for women to also play a role in the editorial work, in terms of analysing and commenting on politics in general, debates in Parliament and the work of the female Members of Parliament. The advantage for the female journalists was also that they had an interest and access to women who had risen to an expert status in Finnish society.

In 1930, the name of the institution was changed from the Civic College to the School of Social Sciences. It was thought that the name Civic College did not give a clear conception of the tasks of the institution. Along with the name it was also necessary to change the school’s policy statement. They stated the following: “The objective is to maintain an institution called the School of Social Sciences from which the students graduate as clerical employees in the fields of journalism, adult education, municipal administration, social protection and welfare, co-operatives and other comparable fields if necessary.” Through these groups the original idea of educating citizens was achieved. The official task of the institution was defined in a new way.
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Literature


The position of the School and University when placed between democratic tradition and totalitarian revolution: The national socialist politics of knowledge and the educational elites in occupied Norway

JORUNN SEM FURE

Introduction
On 9 April 1940, the German invasion forces entered Karl Johan Street in Oslo. As they marched to take possession of the centre of Norwegian state power and ultimate symbol of the Norwegian democracy, the deserted parliament building, *Stortinget*, they also passed the University in Oslo. This institution, founded in 1811, came into existence even before Norway had achieved state sovereignty, written a constitution and established a national Parliament in 1814.¹ The University buildings were soon seized and for some days the large auditorium served as a place of internment for captured Norwegian officers.

This first physical occupation of the University building was followed by years of radical attempts, both open and subtle, by German and Norwegian National Socialists to restructure the relations of power and traditional academic values at the University on many levels. The first big step was the enforced change of leadership. The faculty-elected rector was arrested on 11 September 1941 and imprisoned for the rest of the war. He and his collegium

¹ Collett, *Universitetet i nasjonen*. This article is written within the context of the research project "Institutions of Democracy Facing Nazi Occupations: Norway in a Comparative Perspective", at the Centre for Studies of Holocaust and Religious Minorities in Oslo.
were replaced by an appointed rector representing the Norwegian National Socialist Party (NS). Gradually, new principles for appointments, student admission, research and study plans were introduced. However, although some of these principles did prevail, in many cases the measures taken were subsequently rejected and rebuffed. In 1943 the NS- student union (NSSF) tried, without success, to manipulate the students into accepting mandatory membership in the union.2

From the outset of the occupation the whole system of education was targeted by ambitious politicians with a National Socialist programme and vision of the future Norwegian society, which provoked strong reactions. In 1942 and 1943, conflicts and mass protests erupted both at the University and in the primary-school sector. This action provoked the regime, which eventually responded with massive collective reprisals. Some 1,000 teachers were arrested in the winter of 1942, of which 500 were deported to the unwelcoming arctic region of Finnmark, near the Russian border. One year later 1,200 students were arrested collectively and 650 were deported to Germany.3 The schools were closed for most of the winter of 1942. The University was eventually closed in December 1943 and remained so for the rest of the war.

These events, combined with the Norwegian experience of popular civil resistance, were viewed with great interest internationally, and led to the gymnasium teacher, Helga Stene, being invited to the international conferences that took place in 1945 and onwards, where UNESCO was planned and its foundations laid. She had written a number of reports after fleeing to Stockholm and later to London, where she analysed the situation in occupied Norway and the mentality of young people and children after years of living under totalitarian rule. The common worry in allied countries was that a whole generation of young adults would have to be re-educated in democratic and humanistic ways in order to bring Europe back onto the path of democracy. Stene claimed that the occupation experience had far

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2 Sem Fure, *Universitetet i kamp*.
3 At the outset of the war 4,200 students were enrolled at the University of Oslo. In 1940 the population of Norway was 2.9 million with 380,000 concentrated in the capital Oslo (the corresponding numbers for Denmark were 3.5 million and 1 million in Copenhagen).
from destroyed the capacity and ability for democratic thinking and action; rather the contrary was true. The schools had successfully rejected totalitarianism, and the Norwegian society and especially the young students, had formed strong anti-Nazi and anti-totalitarian opinions and attitudes that would be a valuable foundation for the post-war society. Was there sound reason for this optimism? And if so, how can it be explained?

Although the conflict over education and educational institutions in Norway was a natural part of the overall struggle for freedom and national independence of an occupied nation, there were some aspects to make this a particular case of conflict between two sets of ideological value systems and not only a struggle of power between an occupying and occupied country. It is worth noting that the professional organisations, the school and the church were leading actors in the organising of civil disobedience and initiating protest campaigns, whereas the police could be found at the other end of the spectrum. Between 40–50% of the police force became members of the Norwegian NS party for longer or shorter periods.\(^4\) It was through the police sector that the SS was able to make its most important advance into Norwegian society. To date, other public sectors, such as the state administration, have not yet been thoroughly researched to be able to draw comprehensive conclusions of the relationship between pragmatic and ideological collaboration on the one hand, and different forms of subversive resistance on the other. The economic sector, however, did display a variety of strategies, ranging from companies and individuals eagerly grasping the new possibilities that the economic activity of the occupiers brought to the country, to active sabotage and attempts to obstruct German interests. Although occasionally both alternatives could be chosen at different levels or at different stages of the war in the same company, the dominant strategy, at least in the first half of the occupation, was adaptation and collaboration.\(^5\) However, most companies and individual workers managed to find a way of pragmatic adjustment, partly because it seemed to be the best way of serving national

\(^4\) *Norsk krigsleksikon 1940–45*, 326.

\(^5\) A comprehensive history of economic collaboration has still not been written, but the histories of two of the largest companies, Orkla and Norsk Hydro are valuable contributions. See Sogn, 'Orkla', and Gjølme Andersen, *Flaggskip*. 
interests and securing goods and infrastructure for the Norwegian population. What is more significant to note, however, is that economic and industrial collaboration did not, as in the case of teaching and science, necessarily involve any ideological commitment. Making the economic wheels go round certainly helped the German war effort, but it also covered legitimate human basic needs. In the case of education, there were no such benefits to be gained from collaboration, which in the very nature of the subject matter would have had to be ideological, apart, perhaps, from the advancement of certain individual careers.

This article aims at answering the following questions: What characterised the Norwegian historical tradition of education in the pre-war period? What were the main targets, strategies and results of the National Socialist politics of knowledge and how did the educational elites respond to it? How can the actions of the civilian resistance, and the values and attitudes they were founded on, be related to the broader field of anti-Nazi resistance and attitudes in occupied Norway?

Democratic educational tradition—a Norwegian Sonderweg?

In an essay on education and nation building in Norway, Ola Svein Stugu advances, with references to other Norwegian historians, the concept of a Nordic Sonderweg. The core of this line of development, establishing a specific Nordic educational tradition, is the amalgamation of German romanticism and enlightenment of ideas and ideals, which furthered the development of democracy. Whether it is also appropriate to identify a specific Norwegian Sonderweg, which separates Norway from the other Nordic countries, is an interesting question, which might be of relevance when studying the particular educational system in times of war, conflict and totalitarianism.

The concept of educational elites (in plural) as mentioned in the title needs some clarifying comments. The educational system in pre-war Norway consisted of both academic and non-academic institutions. The academic, university-educated elites, included the university teachers and pro-

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6 Stugu, 'Educational.'
7 Rantala, 'Political Ethos' and Männikkö, 'Making the People' are of particular relevance.
professors and the candidates concluding their studies with *embetseksamen*, which here also includes the university-educated teachers in the higher-educational system, such as the Norwegian High School, *Gymnas*. The second group of educational institutions consisted of the primary school (mandatory), *folkeskolen*, and secondary school, *realskolen*.8 In addition, the institution so typical for Nordic countries, the *Folkehøgskole*, should also be mentioned; a school offering students the possibility to spend a year devoted to cultural and religious studies in order to broaden their general knowledge and develop their personal character. Attending at this school usually meant living in dormitories at the school’s premises.

The teachers in these non-academic institutions were usually educated through the teachers colleges, the so-called *lærerseminar*. These colleges were located all over the country, and the candidates were not expected to have passed any high-school exams or matriculation, since having passed *realskolen*, was sufficient. Since the late 19th century, the teaching colleges and other non-academic educational institutions were oriented along lines that stood in a certain opposition to the university-educational culture in the capital. The educational system at both levels was public. The university (until 1946 there was only one Norwegian University), other higher educational institutions, like the Technical College in Trondheim, NTH, and the gymnasiums preparing students for academic studies, were state funded and took no school fees. The primary and secondary school, such as it was established by successive legislation during the 19th century, was also public—and meant for all children. Although private schools or educational institutions based on social exclusiveness or alternative pedagogical concepts did exist, mainly in the urban areas, they played a rather marginal role.

Until the turn of the century, the University of Christiania (Oslo) was held to be elitist, urban and oriented towards classic culture and carry strong reminiscences of the Danish cultural hegemony.9 The process of national political awakening and cultural modernisation that took place in Norway,

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8 A comprehensive history of the Norwegian School system is found in Dokka, *En skole gjennom*.
9 The social class of university-educated state civil servants, the “embetsmenn”, was the dominating elite in 19th century Norway, due to the absence of both an aristocracy and strong financial and industrial elites. See Myhre, *Kunnskapsbærerne*, 71.
Like in many other countries in the nation-building period, was carried by a popular movement that took a strong interest in educational programmes and ideals. This movement had a political stronghold in the Liberal Democratic Party Venstre. Educators within this movement advocated national cultural values, such as a written and spoken language based on Norwegian dialects, and sought to diminish the use of the Danish colonial language. Throughout the school system, the reading of Norwegian history (particularly that of the historical period before Danish rule) was encouraged to strengthen the national identity. At the same time, the history of antiquity and the study of classical languages were reduced.\(^{10}\) Traditional religious education was downsized to give room for natural science. Norwegian school children were supposed to meet enthusiastic seminar-educated teachers who were nationally and democratically-minded. These teachers would lead the students into the national culture, by means of introducing them to the imaginative world of the best writers, visual artists and historians. The main vehicle for this was the use all over Norway of Nordal Rolføsen’s reading book for the primary school.\(^{11}\) This book was first published in 1892 and contained literary and historical reading pieces, reflecting an egalitarian social ideology. The life of the common people and their work in coastal towns or inland farming villages are central features of the book. At that time, Norwegian society was less urbanised and industrialised than its neighbouring countries. The main theme of the book deals with the way the farmers and fishermen cope with their rather harsh natural surroundings. Although intellectual, political and military achievements of historical individuals are also present, the common people are always present as the acting subjects. The message is that co-operation, participation, social creativity and solidarity are needed to ensure survival and the ability to make a livelihood from

\(^{10}\) One of the most influential novelists in the late 19th century, Alexander Kielland, criticised the classical intellectual heritage as it was taught in the schools in the novel “Gift” (poison) from 1884, alluding to Latin as a dead and dusty language, having the effect of poisoning young, healthy brains. The protagonist, little Marius becomes obsessed with memorising Latin words, and after contracting a brain fever, he dies with the words “mensa rotunda” on his lips. After this book and the following debate, Latin was removed as a mandatory discipline in most gymnasiums all over Norway.

\(^{11}\) Rolføsen, Lesebok. At the age of 78 he upgraded the book by including more international perspectives, stating that only by knowing and appreciating the accomplishments of other nations and peoples, could the child truly learn to love and respect those of its own.
this landscape, rather than the formation of structures of hierarchy, power and dependency. The other message is that military and political heroes are those who act in accordance with or on behalf of the wishes and needs of the common people, rather than the power interests of the state. The values proposed in Rolfson’s book were the social foundation of the Norwegian nation in the process of gaining full sovereignty. In other words, nationhood is gained through the work, ideas, dreams and longing of everyday life, and not by the dreams of victory of military heroes on the battlefield or by the visions of strong political leaders. The book was then slightly modified over the years to adapt to the changing social, cultural and economic (industrial) realities of the developing national state. Between 1892 and 1950 it was re-published 8 times, and 8 million copies were distributed.12

The success of the political movement, Venstre, brought many changes to Norwegian political and social life; among them parliamentary reforms, women suffrage, many social reforms, and the programme of educational concepts developed alongside became hegemonic.13 The public school promoted a combined national and democratic education as the basis for the development of a personal character and civic identity. Children were to be raised as egalitarian citizens with access to the nation's cultural values and the National Democratic ideology should build their self-confidence and prepare them for a life as participating citizens. Kings and heroes of a distant past were presented in readers, but not as sources of authority that should be obeyed. Rather, they were pictured as sources of inspiration and idols for every Norwegian man and woman. The school books did not encourage the worship of the present head of state, as was the case in Wilhelmine Germany, where the cult of the Kaiser was a strong source of authority. After Venstre won the struggle for parliamentary reforms, the party dominated the cultural and educational politics of Norway for decades after the 1880’s. The ministers of the department for education had previously without exception been university-educated theologians. In the era of Venstre dominance, they were unanimously recruited from the ranks of seminar-educated teachers.

12 Skjelbred & Aamotsbakken, Norsk lærebokhistorie.
13 Slagstad, Nasjonale strateger.
The teachers’ colleges developed into ideological strongholds for the educational ideas of national consciousness and democratic civic ideals. Accordingly, teachers were expected to and actually also played a key role in this political project as the nation’s educators.

In the same period, university education was an exclusive elite privilege, at least from the establishment of the university in 1811 until the downfall of the old system and the breakthrough of parliamentary reforms. However, the successful campaign in the 1880’s for parliamentary reform affected the university and academic life strongly. Old elitist notions were replaced with egalitarian, democratic and national values and in the heat of the struggle the University was attacked from the parliament, and accused of constituting a reactionary stronghold of the old regime. In the 1890’s, the parliament, now dominated by Venstre, employed a few professors in the disciplines of history and folk culture against the will of the university, thus forcing the institution to adapt to the changing times. After a period of conflict and after the dismantling of the union with Sweden, the University embarked on a new research-oriented course. It shifted its traditional loyalty towards the old structures of power to the new, more democratic workings of the Norwegian state, including the admission of women as students and scientific staff. The first female professor was employed in 1912, and other women faculty members soon followed. Recruitment to studies was enhanced, and farmer’s sons were increasingly observed among the matriculates along with the sons from the old state functionary elite.

The favoured party for professors had been the liberal conservative party, Høyre, but after the turn of the century and the political turmoil, Venstre however, increasingly gained more of a foothold at the University. Eventually, Venstre was able to formulate an integrated educational policy for the whole system, stretching from the primary school for every child up to higher academic university education. The shift from a classical to modern and more nationally defined curricula continued. Latin was further reduced

14 Myhre, Kunnskapsbærerne.  
15 Kyllingstad & Rørvik, Vitenskapenes universitet.  
16 Sem Fure, Inn i forskningsalderen.
and the study of Norwegian and Old Norse linguistics expanded, and thus the gap between the higher and lower educational systems and educational groups slowly began filling in. Venstre, and the Liberal democratic ideology it represented, was firmly established in the interwar years as the favoured party for both university professors and seminar-educated school teachers. The students on the other hand, showed a more radical tendency. They had been among the radical fractions of Venstre in the constitutional conflicts of the 19th century, and in the 1920’s a substantial part of the student body turned to the communist and revolutionary left-wing group of the labour party, a group named Mot Dag (literary: Towards dawn). With the growth of the economic crisis in the late 1920’s, Norway, as most European countries, experienced the formation and growth of various right-wing and protofascist movements and parties. One of the most profiled organisations was established in 1925 with Fritjof Nansen as one of the founding fathers, with the purpose of unifying and promoting the parties which had a common front against socialism. Fedrelandslaget (patriotic league), attracted quite a few university professors and academics in its initial years, but as it became more radical and employed a more right-wing radical rhetoric; the support of these groups seemed to evaporate. The selection of Authoritarian, Fascist and National Socialist movements and parties that existed in Norway in the 1930’s were all small and achieved insignificant results in elections.17

However, these movements found a stronghold in groups other than the academic elite and educational professions. The NS (Nasjonal Samling) and Fedrelandslaget gained some support among the big farmers, in certain military, business and industrial circles and in some intellectual and artistic groups, the writer and Nobel laureate Knut Hamsun being among the most prominent. The NS, founded in 1933 as a blueprint of the NSDAP in Germany, had only two members holding the title of professor in the years from establishment until the German invasion. A student league, the NSSF (National Samling Studentfylking) was founded in 1933 in order to promote NS politics in the Student Society, and recruit students. Apart from a short

17 Brevik & Figueiredo, Den norske fascismen.
period in the mid-1930’s, the group made little success, which can be clearly seen by the fact that the subscription basis of the NS-student periodical, Huginn, dwindled away after a year: publishing would only restart after receiving German financial support after the invasion.

If a Norwegian Sonderweg should be suggested, it might be the gravitation towards the same political centre, the liberal-democratic ideology, with a tendency to left-wing rather than a right-wing orientation from both academic and non-academic educational elites. Egalitarian ideals were strong in the primary school, and increasingly gained a foothold also at the university. After 1890, the presence of students from a different social background than the traditional bourgeoisie or educated elites, Bildungsbürgertum, was far more common than for instance in Germany and Sweden. This broadened social and geographical recruitment to the university coincided with the gradual acceptance among the university professors of Venstre’s national, cultural, and liberal-democratic programme. The authoritarian or reactionary right-wing academic culture usually associated with social exclusiveness and upper-class mentality was a relatively marginal phenomenon in pre-war Norway.

The invasion and the occupation regime
The German invasion took place simultaneously in all the main coastal cities in Norway during the night between 8–9 April 1940, involving aircraft, the navy and army units in the largest co-ordinated military operation hitherto seen in the Second World War. The Norwegian government was confronted with an ultimatum, forwarded by the German ambassador, to capitulate and make arrangements with the invader or be exposed to a devastating war. The government, however, refused to comply and, almost without hesitation, decided to mobilise their tiny military forces for armed resistance against the invading forces. The fighting went on for two months. The decision to resist, however, might have been of little or no importance if it had not been for a second decision made the very same night to sink the Blücher in the inner Oslo-fjord, which had been carrying the key German military personnel whose mission had been to occupy the capital and capture the key leaders in
several fields. This allowed the parliament, government and King Haakon 7th to escape, to organise the military resistance and eventually establish an exile government in London. During the early stage of the military campaign, the King and the government reaffirmed the decision to fight the invaders.

During the morning hours on 9 April, Vidkun Quisling, the head of the Norwegian fascist party, *Nasjonal Samling*, took control over the national broadcaster, declared a new National Socialist government and appointed himself prime minister. A week later he was forced to resign, because the Germans sought a semi-legal arrangement for the future governing of Norway, in some ways similar to what was established in Denmark, where a form of pragmatic state collaboration was established, leaving the Danish governmental and state structure largely intact and semi-autonomous.

The King refused to abdicate the throne, thereby signalling that his loyalty was on the side of the legal, democratic political institutions and traditions, which were still considered to be constitutionally represented by the government, even if it was on the run heading for an exile on the British Isles. Thus, the negotiations that subsequently took place between the representatives for Hitler’s regime and the Norwegians were handled on the Norwegian side by a strongly reduced parliament, and by a rather self-appointed and arbitrary collection of representatives from the state, private organisations and private citizens, with no constitutional mandate. On the occupier’s side, negotiations were headed by Joseph Terboven, the leader of the *Reichskommissariat*, which was established shortly after the invasion, an NSDAP-veteran and former Gauleiter, who took his orders directly from Hitler. After the negotiations failed, Terboven decreed the rules for the power relations in the emerging occupation regime: the *Reichskommissariat* would remain the supreme civilian authority. By sweeping away Norway’s legal and democratic institutions—the monarch and the government were dismissed, and the parliament was ignored and not convoked, neither then nor later. All political parties were banned, with the exception of the Norwegian National Socialists. Terboven then established a monolithic power structure in

18 Skodvin, *Striden*.
19 Bohn, *Reichskommissariat*. 
accordance with the National Socialist principles of governance. The process of eradicating all democratic and legitimate institutions was completed in December, when all the members of the Supreme Court decided to resign as a protest against the constraints put on their authority.

In a restructured ministerial system with five new ministries, Terboven appointed members of the NS as ministers, with the exception of three ministries which were reserved for non-political experts. These appointed ministers were given the title Kommisarischer Staatsrat. They did not constitute a cabinet and were individually responsible to the Reichskommissar. The new collaborative system of Norwegian government had its mandate exclusively from the German occupation authority; no legitimization was given from any legal Norwegian institution. This total subordination of the new Norwegian governmental system to the occupation power, was demonstrated by the fact that each minister was tied to a parallel structure in the Reichskommissariat, with one superior holding responsibility for each field. This person monitored the minister’s ideas, plans and actions closely, and whenever these ran counter to German interests, he interfered with instructions and orders.

Quisling was given no official role at the outset, but the NS ministers secretly performed an oath of loyalty to him and had a meeting with him each week. This new collaborate arrangement gave the NS, which had never won enough votes in any election to ever reach a seat in parliament, the opportunity and power resources and access to state budgets and state administration. These ministerial posts were soon to be used as a basis for realising the revolutionary programme of the party.

The minister who was in charge of the educational sector and science was Professor Ragnar Schanke from the Technical High School in Trondheim. He represented a state and a government that had no democratic or constitutional base and thus weak legitimacy. He was motivated by an ideology that had never gained more than marginal support in educational and academic circles. Still, what the NS had were high ambitions and high confidence based on access to state power, ministries and the bureaucratic apparatus, primarily based on the mandate and power resources, including those of repression, given to them by the occupying power.
The NS policy of education and the teachers’ protest

In May 1940, almost immediately after the invasion, the tensions between the occupation regime and the academic world started. Students protested in the streets against German documentary films shown in public theatres on the national day, 17 May. High-school students and graduate students in particular were motivated to protest as a result of the double provocation of forbidding the traditional flag celebration of the national Independence Day and the demonstration of military triumph over defeated Norwegian troops. Terboven responded by summoning the university rector and the student leaders to a meeting, making it clear that in the future, no public demonstrations would be tolerated. In September, the Student Society called a large open meeting, inviting speakers who would give anti-Nazi speeches. The board of the society took the calculated risk of drawing German attention to the students, by holding what was (correctly) believed to be the last meeting in the atmosphere of free speech. Around 500 students came to the meeting and signalled their support for the appeals to civil courage and to reject the legitimacy of the new power holders. The student leader was arrested, the society was abolished and the archives were confiscated.

In the autumn of 1940, primary-school teachers got a foreboding of what was to come next. Gullbrand Lunde, the NS-minister for culture and propaganda, made it clear in public speeches what expectations he held for the teaching profession. He demanded their active support in implementing the new values and principles of the restructured state. He also announced that a form of loyalty declaration towards the new government and its explicit goals would be needed from everyone holding or entering an educational position. Already in November 1940, the teachers and rectors all over the country received information from the ministry about the new principles of state and governance, and the letter made it clear that the teachers were expected to adjust their teaching accordingly. Included in the new instructions was an obligation to ensure that pupils wanting to work for the new political order should be protected from harassment from other pupils.
letter was signed by the minister and his advisor. The teachers’ organisations responded by sending out a letter to every member, advising them how to answer if they were individually pressured to give a statement of loyalty. They should simply answer that they would continue to fulfil the duties of their profession in accordance with consciousness and professional skills, according to instructions given them by the “rightful authority”. This last part was a clear provocation, and in order not to challenge the whole profession at this stage, the ministry refrained from pushing the issue of asking for the explicit loyalty of every teacher.22

However, this would not last. In February 1942, these demands became real. The background for the new offensive was that Vidkun Quisling was finally given a formal position and title. The so-called State Act, in which he was given the title of “Minister President”, was little more than a theatrical gesture—aimed to satisfy his vanity and calm down his unrealistic demands for a peace agreement with Germany and the restoration of full national autonomy under his own leadership. Nevertheless, after this apparent empowerment of the party, the NS continued with renewed energy to Nazify the institutions seen as vital for the ideological restructuring of the Norwegian society. One of the most strategically important targets was the school, the school children and the teaching profession. It was a strongly held belief within the party, that if the teaching profession and the school sector could be controlled, other professions would follow in a domino-effect.

Immediately following the State Act, the NS issued two new laws, one introducing the mandatory membership of all teachers in a fascist style corporate teachers’ union. The other was a law, creating a youth service, with some equivalent features to the Hitler Jugend and Bund deutscher Mädel in Germany. The educational ideals of the NS negated parents’ autonomy in issues regarding the upbringing and education of their children, and held loyalty to the state and party interests; values and norms considered to be above individual judgement and self-realisation.

22 Birkemo, Kampen om kateteret, 97.
The combination of the two laws triggered the largest popular protest movement that took place in Norway during the occupation. The teachers’ organisations formulated a new letter for individual teachers to sign, in which they rejected membership in a union based on principles for education and teaching that they found to be in opposition to everything they had learned to value and respect. They also made it clear, that if the state insisted on the introduction of National socialist educational models and ideals in the Norwegian primary and secondary schools, it would have to do without the services of the individual teacher.

From the total number of 14,000 teachers, only around 1,200 accepted membership; the others refused. Following the teachers’ protest, letters of protest were also sent by church leaders, university staff and other professions, thus joining ranks with the teachers. Parents were also called upon to send in individual letters of protest and the leaflets of information about the campaign and how to participate in it were spread all over urban and rural Norway, mainly through women’s networking. The initiative came from a circle of academic women, who were concerned about securing the transfer of democratic knowledge and values in a situation where children were constantly exposed to Nazi propaganda in all official media channels. The gymnasium teacher, Helga Stene, and her sister Åsta, a university lecturer, played a key role in circulating information and mobilising mothers, especially, to protest. They also spread reading material illegally imported via Sweden, on democratic theory and democratic education, and initiated private reading groups for women having and taking on responsibly for forming and stimulating the moral and political values of children in opposition to the official propaganda.

The conflict intensified in the winter of 1942, when Quisling sought and received Terboven’s permission to begin arresting people. 1,000 protesting teachers were to be detained and sent to a labour camp, and lists of particular obstinate teachers were made by local NS officials all over the country. In the Grini prison camp, detainees were put in ice-cold barracks, and forced

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23 Hagemann, *Skolefolk.*
24 Birkemo, *Kampen om kateteret.*
to crawl for hours through wet snow. A small number gave up and accepted membership. In some cases this was the case with the elderly and physically less strong, and was usually a decision based on consensus within the group, but most did not. Some were held back at Grini, and some were released. Altogether 500 male teachers were subsequently sent together with 50 guards on the ship Skjerstad to Finnmark, a ship with a normal transport capacity for 150 individuals. Under terrible conditions, this journey that lasted a couple of weeks became a symbol of un-rendering positions for both sides of the hardened fronts. The mistreatment and physical hardship of the teachers made headlines in all allied and underground media. As a result, the NS harvested an equivalent propaganda defeat.

It became apparent that the conflict had no solution, as long as the teachers did not give in. Quisling’s instinct, as always, was to resort to the use of stronger force. The situation was eventually ended by Terboven, who refused to give Quisling support for continued reprisals. This saved the lives of many teachers, who were sent home just days before mass death would have been the result of the harsh living conditions and the deteriorating health among the prisoners.

Terboven feared that the continued use of force would eventually bring the whole of Norwegian society, especially the workers, to a point of no return and that a general strike would break out.25

The prevalence and strength in these protests forced the minister in charge, Ragnar Schanke, to call off the plan of enrolling all teachers in a political teachers’ union. Although the union was never abolished, it had lost its intended function as a tool for implementing National socialist principles in the educational praxis. Locally, however, party officials and school boards, headmasters and parents, would still get into symbolic fights over whether a portrait of Quisling should hang in every classroom or not.

The large-scale protest was a decisive blow to the party’s authority. The defeat not only exposed the lack of popular support and power to implement the party programme in Norwegian society, it also meant a diminu-

25 Hoidal, Quisling, 432.
tion of prestige in the eyes of the German superiors. Not only had the NS failed in the attempt to Nazify a key institution, it had also raised a storm of civil protest that threatened to destabilise the balance of power of even the Reichskommissariat. The social unrest necessitated a radicalisation of measures of containment and repression of resistance from the German side—which in turn usually triggered more and not less resistance. In fighting the illegal press, the German police stepped up the brutality of repression methods by announcing that every person caught in this activity risked the death penalty.26 Vidkun Quisling subsequently blamed the teachers not only for being an obstacle to the implementation of the national socialist educational programme, but for undermining the whole attempt at reorganising Norwegian society into a new corporate system order.27

The University conflict

At the same time, the problems at the University in Oslo grew. In February 1942, Schanke issued a decree giving students with NS-credentials privileged admission to restricted studies. This decree was seen by the students and the faculties as an attack on one of the most important principles in academic life: namely the priority of skills and talents over political views and network connections as the basis for access to the limited medical training programmes specifically, or more general access to academic degrees and positions. The conflict over the admission rules grew in strength, and finally escalated in 1943 when the professors in all the faculties (except the 5 NS-appointed professors) signed a statement in which they, like the teachers, threatened to lay down their work if the basic academic principles were not respected.

Parallel to this conflict, the NS student union, Studentersambandet, made an attempt to organise the students in a mandatory union, similar to the one that was set up for the teachers the year before. The organisation of all professions in such unions or guilds, which should be represented in a national corporately-organised assembly, Riksting, was one of Quisling’s

26 Luihn, Det fjerde våpen.
27 Hoidal, Quisling, 572.
key concepts for the new political order. At the university, all voluntary and democratically-elected student bodies were already abolished in 1941, and since then, only the NS-union was functioning as a student union, although it was largely boycotted and had little influence on everyday student life. In February 1943, the students faced a new threat from the NS-initiated work service; they were in the right age group, and some had already received draft letters. This situation was exploited by the NS student-union. The leader assembled the students to a meeting, promising to give vital information about the work service for students. He explained that the students would be exempted from ordinary service, if they volunteered to spend some weeks in the summer holiday helping to secure the firewood reserves for the university. This seemed to be a good deal, and the majority of the assembly accepted it by raising their hands. The day after, the largest newspaper declared with large headings that the students had finally accepted the Student Union as their interest organisation, and indirectly they were now seen as full-scale members, also accepting the new political order as being a reality on campus.

This scandal became a turning point for the students, many being ashamed for having been so easily manipulated collectively. A small group now organised a letter campaign. In a few days, some 2,400 students sent identical declarations with full signature to the ministry, declaring that they did not accept individual membership in the NS-union, nor did they accept this organisation as a legitimate caretaker of student interests. Although arrests were made, the police never found the initiators behind the campaign.

At first, Quisling attempted to intimidate the students and staff into obedience, by arresting 60 students in October, and he threatened the professors with loss of jobs, rolling of heads, confiscation of private belongings and long-term imprisonment. These arrests, however, had the opposite effect. The students were radicalised, and the whole situation got out of hand for the Norwegian NS-authorities. Terboven stepped in, and ordered the arrest of every male student in Oslo on 30 November 1943. Due to effective warning, based on a German source, many got out of town in time, but 1,200 students were detained. From this group, 650 students were selected for de-
portation in two groups. One was sent to an SS-training school in Alsace, for an ideological schooling programme. The other group was sent to the concentration camp Buchenwald in Germany. From late 1944, all Norwegian student prisoners were gathered in Buchenwald. For most of the students the imprisonment lasted until the end of the war. The Reichskommissar in Norway subsequently closed down the University in December 1943 for all further teaching activities.28

Alternative channels of socialisation and ideological recruitment of the young generation

The aggressive attempts to take over and restructure core pedagogical and academic institutions failed during 1942 and 1943. Ideological traditions and professional and political orientations among the majority of staff and students, made these groups sceptical from the outset or downright hostile to National Socialism. The groups who were in favour of such policies, consisted of a small minority with little influence on their daily surroundings. It subsequently became apparent that control over state administration and state power was not enough. When the conflicts took a sharper edge and the NS had no other option than the use of brute force, the ideological battle over educational institutions was long lost. This experience told some of the more rational and long-term strategic thinking elements within the NS leadership that they had to explore other ways to reach the young generation.

One of the NS student leaders, faced with the low recruitment to the NS student union, concluded at a point that there was no need for the NS to reach all students. Rather, it was more important to reach the few; the future leaders, the elite.29 The other students would have to accept the fact that the NS was in power, and as long as they did not challenge this, they could be left alone.

The mass-movement character of the NSDAP, and the ideological total control over institutions such as had been realised in Germany after 1933,

28 Sem Fure, Universitet i kamp.
29 Huginn 2. issue, 1942.
was never likely to happen overnight in Norway. That was one of the hard lessons the party drew after the conflict with the teachers and the students. Thus, the NS changed its rhetoric. Instead of presenting itself as a party that already voiced the interests and needs of the masses, they took on the role as visionary forerunners. The logic behind this thinking was that the party would eventually be appreciated by all Norwegians, although in the meantime the ideological clear-seeing front troops would have to consolidate an inner circle of solidarity, strong ideological belief and conviction.

Although this is not the place to go into the whole range of such party elite recruiting channels, some should be mentioned. The NS-run ministry of education did, with the state resources available to them, develop a few alternative educational programmes. The high school, *Gymnaset* (age group 15–18), was seen as a strategic educational institution. Everyone who passed the Exam Artium at this school, could be matriculated as a university student, and embark on an academic study. In light of the unsuccessful recruitment to the NS among ordinary university students, it was crucial to form a new generation of young academics from the outset, to ensure that they had been socialised from a young age within the ideological framework of the NS. One state-driven Gymnasium was founded on this concept, the so called *Statsgymnas* at Gjøvik. It was a school open for students showing a mixture of academic talents and an outspoken political identification (or the parents had such) with the NS ideology. A total of 31 students obtained their degrees from this school. Another one was planned in Levanger, central Norway, but was never realised. In addition to the *Statsgymnas*, the NS-movement organised activities all over the country for children and young people, in places where the total membership number was large enough to sustain such sup-groups. Especially in the large cities and around Oslo, these groups, called *Småhirden* for girls and *Guttehirden* for boys 10-14, grew in number during the occupation. The children were dressed in uniforms or national romantic outfits and were often displayed at propaganda sessions where Quisling was portrayed as an iconic father figure. The NS-organisations for children and adolescents had elements of scouting activities, sport, nature hiking and ideological schooling.
The aim was to use positive activities and attractive surroundings to enhance the socialisation of the young generation into the political culture of the regime and make them identify themselves as future leaders, guiding others in political matters and forming the future society along the National Socialist lines.

These children were given a strong sense of belonging to a privileged elite, of being chosen for national responsibilities and leadership, and they were stimulated to enter the higher positions within the state and party service. Many Norwegian NS-children, who spent some years in this ideological environment, had serious problems adjusting to post-war democratic society as adults. Where the political party of their parents had once been the only legal one, it was now forbidden, stigmatised and criminalised. The denomination NS-Children (NS-barn) was officially used by an interest organisation that was founded some decades after the war to give this category of children a common voice. An NS-child is a person who was a child or adolescent during the period of occupation, having one or two active NS-members as parents. They were socialised as a privileged group as long as the occupation lasted, but after it ended many suffered as the roles were reversed. Some Norwegians treated the children of NS-parents with the same contempt, exclusion mechanisms and social repression as their parents. The stigma of treason was hard to grow up with in post-war Norway.

The NS movement also, in co-operative or competitive constellations with the German occupation authorities, used other educational channels to reach out to young men especially. Some folkehøyskoler were used for ideological party instructions. The educational flagship of the NS-movement was the elite school, Førerskole, at Jessheim, a school giving instruction to young party cadres who should later enter leading positions in the party and state. Summer courses in German-controlled Europe, usually in occupied Poland. The intention of these courses was to introduce young Norwegians to the large-scale plans for colonisation and Germanisation of the Slavic east.

Plans were also made to introduce a mandatory work service in Norway, and this political offensive towards the young, provoked one of the most spectacular sabotage actions performed by a resistance group in Oslo.
A sabotage group set out in 1944 to blow up and destroy the archives containing the contact data on many cohorts. Obligatory work service for young men in 1944 tasted of the indirect mobilisation of military manpower to the increasing desperately-fought lost war at the caving fronts.

The German occupation regime, and the different power centres and agencies within it, had their own competing agendas for recruiting young men into service, especially into the police and military services. This was also a problem for the NS, because the ambition to form a generation of Norwegian national socialist leadership and military power, soon ran into tension with the all-Germanic SS-ideology, which wanted to blend Norwegians into a greater Germanic state body and abolish the forms of petty bourgeois nation-state thinking, like the one Quisling was associated with.

The wider context of civil resistance

Norwegian occupation history, such as it is remembered in official war memorials and reflected in popular literature and film, is usually highly concentrated on the forms of resistance activities that required military means, like sabotage, intelligence, underground organisations, weapon smuggling and military training, and the participation of Norwegian airmen, soldiers and partisans on the war theatres. The military defeat of Nazi Germany was of course the prime goal for every un-free country, and for every man and woman yearning for liberation. But the occupation of Norway did not only pose a threat to the society in this sense. The radical attempts to Nazify core institutions, and not least the hearts and minds of young malleable individuals, represented a threat to the Norwegian society on another, just as crucial level.

The civil resistance that slowly began to form in 1941 was an answer to the NS policy of trying to implement a new ideological and institutional arrangement to Norwegian culture and society; nyordning. In May 1941 the first common protest action involving 41 civil organisations, representing some 700,000 members, was launched against Terboven, for not respecting the rule of law.

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30 Moland, Gunnar Sønsteby.
31 Sørsensen, Quisling eller Hitler; Emberland and Sem Fure, Jakten.
32 Wyller, Nyordning.
Most of the protesters were arrested and/or removed from their leading posts. Organisations ranging from businesses, labour unions, medical and educational institutions, professions, cultural life, sports and athletic organisations had taken part in the protest. The industrial and employer unions had not signed the protest, since the economic collaboration in the first period of occupation seemed to have been widely accepted or less problematised. The NS responded by systematically attacking the autonomy of the protesting organisations. First, the leaders were pressured into agreeing to the new terms dictated by the party, or resign. In most cases, the leaders and the boards stepped down, letting the organisation be taken over by an NS-appointed leader. Later on, however, the membership body rapidly diminished, and leading persons in the organisation would later form an underground parallel structure, issuing instructions to former members on how to deal with the new situation. This was done at the university, where students formed such an underground network; later the professors did the same. The NS was soon left sitting on “empty” organisational shells.

These underground networks of civilian leaders soon developed into co-ordinated forms, and contact was established through a system of couriers to Sweden; they later also interacted closely with the exile government in London, exile groups in Sweden, and with the underground military organisation that formed during 1943 and 1944. The two organisations were called Sivorg and Milorg. An important part of the civil resistance activities was the production and distribution of illegal leaflets and newspapers, an activity which involved many high school and university students.

The civil resistance front, on which the school sector took a leading part together with the church, thus had many functions and meanings in occupied Norway. First of all, it aimed at defending organisations and institutions from Nazification; secondly, it supplemented the military forms of resistance and helped to form a public opinion that legitimated the use of force, like sabotage. The early decisions of non-abdication and non-collaboration of the King and the government during the military fighting in the summer

33 Grimnes, Hjemmefrontens ledelse.
of 1940 was interpreted as the first signal of resistance that could and should be followed if necessary and if possible. The third, and maybe still underestimated function of the Norwegian civil resistance movement, was the political effect it had abroad, especially in Great Britain and the USA. The news that there was a popular protest campaign in Norway against Nazi-policy in important sectors of society had challenged and deeply modified this policy, and represented an inspiration and motivation for those countries sending soldiers to risk their lives for democracy and freedom on the battlefield. They were fighting to liberate occupied countries, where the will to fight totalitarian rule and to risk something doing so, had been demonstrated by civilians showing civilian courage.

Summary
The conflict over education and adolescents could be regarded as a central part of Norwegian occupation history for many reasons. Education and socialisation was of immense importance to all Fascist and National Socialist parties, movements and state regimes, and this was also the case in occupied Norway. If the regime could get a firm grip on the raising of the young, open-minded and malleable generations, the building of a future utopian society and the breaking away with old political loyalties and praxis forms would succeed.

This quotation from a speech held 1 May 1937 gives an idea of how important Hitler himself saw the question of education:

“The youth of today is ever the people of tomorrow. For this reason we have set before ourselves the task of inoculating our youth with the spirit of this community of the people at a very early age, at an age when human beings are still unperturbed and therefore unspoiled. This Reich stands, and it is building itself up for the future, upon its youth. And this new Reich will give its youth to no one, but will itself take youth and give to youth its own education and its own upbringing.”

After Hitler’s grasp to power in 1933, the forced secularisation of Catholic schools and prohibition of private instruction in evangelic religion of children was given high priority. The socialisation and indoctrination had to start with the young, and claim as much of their time as possible, be it in school or outside.\textsuperscript{35} The model society for the Norwegian NS party was Germany after 1933, and the Norwegian NS tried to copy every detail of legislation and political measures. This included the setting up of mandatory organisations for all educational personnel and for young people, abolishing every democratically-organised activity, controlling the publication of reading materials and monitoring of the recruitment of school teachers, students and faculty staff.

Defending the grounds of democratic thinking and education against the Nazi-policy of knowledge and education was equally essential for the majority of those being affected by this policy. The defence of the humanistic and egalitarian values and liberal democratic traditions which the majority of teachers and students felt committed to, became a central object for the organised civil resistance movement. The mobilisation of massive protests effectively prevented the organisational and ideological Nazification of this key civil sector. The Nazification of the German school system after 1933 had largely succeeded, but then it had some important structural preconditions that did not exist in Norway.

The Nazi movement in Germany had grown strong since mid-1920 and a Nazi-teachers’ union (founded already in 1929) and Nazi student-unions had been built up and increasingly gained support even before Hitler took power. Thus, when the policy of totalitarian homogenisation began, organisations and leadership were already well prepared for the new situation of ideological monopoly. In Norway, the NS movement was at its lowest point in 1940; the party only had a few hundred registered members, and no organised party-groups of educators or academics.

The NS movement in Germany grew from within society, and was partly a response to the humiliation many Germans felt after losing the war in 1918.

\textsuperscript{35} Pine, \textit{Education}.
It presented solutions to extremely painful social and economic crises, like mass unemployment and massive loss of livelihood, and a threatened social existence for the middle class. In Norway, the economic crisis and class conflicts were also deep in the 1920’s, even though Norway had not taken part in, much less lost, a devastating war. The NS-movement tried to gain momentum by addressing the existing problems. Still, by the mid-1930, the most serious crisis had been overcome by a political compromise between social democracy and the conservative farmers’ party, Bondepartiet. The need for radical solutions or even a revolution from the right was not acknowledged by the electorate, and the NS remained a sectarian fringe party.

The lack of support for the NS before 1940 can thus be explained by internal Norwegian political factors. After the German invasion, the party was heavily associated with the intruder and aggressor, and was stigmatised from the outset by the label of treason.

The lack of popular support was also mirrored in the lack of resources in the form of personnel. In the case of the University, a handful of NS-professors were appointed in 1940, but the reservoir soon dried out. There were simply no more than 4–5 persons in Norway who simultaneously held a doctoral degree and an NS-membership. The same problem occurred in the ministries. Competent administrators who could not only formulate ideological programmes, but also implement them, were few and far between. The NSDAP, and also the SS in Germany, managed to recruit members, functionaries and key personnel in all existing institutions and create new institutions and an infrastructure where the political targets necessitated innovation.36 The NS, by comparison, did not command the same kind of resources, thus a speedy education of young, ideological motivated party-functionaries was a high priority.

The National Socialist education policy in Germany provoked strong reactions among parents, church members and teachers who held different ideological or religious views, but it did not meet any significant open and organised resistance. The reason is partly the widespread acceptance of the

36 Wildt, Generation.
new ideology, and partly the existence of an extremely repressive and effective power structure, rendering all opposition extremely costly. In Norway 1941–1942, the NS policy did meet organised and effective resistance. It was not risk free, and although the responses from the regime could not always be calculated, the repression measures were held within boundaries and balanced by the fact that Norwegians, in a biological sense, held a favoured status within the German Nazi ideology.

However, the developments in the school and the university conflict did cost lives. Of the 500 deported teachers, many returned with broken health and one was killed in an accident. Also, one of the organisers of the protests, Einar Høidal, lost this life under police interrogation, when he threw himself out of a window. Of the 650 deported students, 17 lost their lives in prison, due to epidemics, accidents and maltreatment.

For the war of propaganda, and the political motivation to fight the Germans and their axis powers through military means, the news from Norway actually did have an effect on popular opinion. The successful rejection of Nazi-control over central institutions gave hope and inspiration to continue the struggle, certainly for the Norwegians fighting alongside the allies. But the Norwegian case of civil resistance also had an important effect in forming popular opinion in the States about what the war against the Germans was all about.

There seem to be parallels to the strong linking of nation building and democratic education in both Finland and Norway; two nation states with late won and later threatened independence. Denmark and Sweden had both been imperial powers, losing territories and colonies and being reduced to smaller, ethnically more homogeneous nation states in a process different from Norway and Finland, who both gained independence through secession. Sweden remained neutral during the Second World War, but Denmark, like Norway, was occupied by Germany. However, the Danish experience, at least in the first three years, came to be very different, due to the different course of events in April 1940. The system of governance, which was negotiated after Danish capitulation, left parts of the Danish state
system and democratic institutions intact and relatively undisturbed. The combination of being the weak partner in an asymmetric power relation, under the military and political control of a totalitarian super power, while still enjoying a kind of semi-autonomous statehood, was a difficult act to balance. This inspired intellectuals and academics to debate the nature of Danish identity, tradition and citizenship and to renew and intensify the notion of being Danish as being equivalent to being a democrat. While such topics could be relatively freely discussed and distributed openly in Denmark, they had to be kept underground and secret in Norway.

The political and cultural cleavages that existed in Norway before the war were temporarily cancelled as an effect of fighting a common enemy and of most Norwegians having the same goal; the restoration of their national freedom and independence. After the liberation, all pre-war parties sat together and created a common political platform in 1945, in an effort to utilise the national solidarity and consensus of the wartime in a joint effort of reconstruction and rebuilding of a post-war society. After the period of this programme, and the first election was held, it became clear that the liberal democratic ideas of Venstre, which was probably the most important ideological fundament of the civilian resistance movement, somehow lost the ability to define post-war reality. However, another party did appear, strongly claiming to represent the Norwegian people. This party was also given a broad electoral mandate to draw up the lessons learnt from the war—also for the educational sector and the challenges it faced, namely the Social Democratic party, Arbeiderpartiet.

37 Röhr, ‘System’.
38 Hecker-Stampehl, ‘Erziehung’.
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List of Contributors

METTE BUCHARDT is Assistant Professor at the Section of Educational Science, Department of Media, Cognition and Communication, University of Copenhagen, Denmark. She is trained in academic theology with topic-related theme studies in church history and the history of theology and holds a PhD in educational science. From August 2011 to January 2012, she has been a NordWel Research Fellow at the Department of History and Ethnology, University of Jyväskylä and at the Department of History, Stockholm University. Her research is in the disciplinary field of history and sociology of curriculum and includes areas such as the history and sociology of culture as a pedagogical and curricular category; relations between religion, the school and the state in Northern Europe; the history of education in the Nordic welfare states and transnational exchange; migration, migrants and education in Danish state schooling; and colonial perspectives in the Danish history of education.

JORUNN SEM FURE is Director of the Telemark Museum in the county of Telemark, Norway. She holds a PhD in Central European history from the University of Bergen. From 2002 to 2011, she worked as a Senior Researcher at the University of Oslo, at the Forum for University History. During this time she published two full volumes of the history of the University of Oslo, covering the periods 1911–1940 and the period of German occupation, 1940–1945. Her research has focused on topics covering ethnic cleansing in Eastern Europe, war memories and war traumas, national socialist ideology and politics, and the history of the German occupation of Norway. Another central topic of hers has been university history and the history of knowledge, education and research during totalitarian occupation. Between 2009 and 2011 she held the position of Henrik Steffens Norwegian Guest Professorate at the Humboldt University in Berlin.
ÓLÖF GARDARSDÓTTIR is Professor in social history at the School of Education, University of Iceland. She has published extensively on 19th and 20th-century Icelandic social and demographic history. Her research interests include family history, infant and childhood mortality, fertility trends, migration, history of education and history of childhood. The book *Barnen och välfärdsfritiden. Nordiska barndomar 1900–2000* (2011), written with five other Nordic scholars, is one of her recent publications. Other publications include an article entitled ‘Infant mortality in the Nordic Countries 1780–1930’, published in *Continuity and Change* 2008 and another entitled ‘Public health measures against neonatal tetanus on the island of Vestmannaeyjar (Iceland) during the 19th century’, in *The History of the Family* in 2009. Currently, Garðarsdóttir is involved in a research project on the history of Teachers in 20th-century Iceland.

ANETTE FAYE JACOBSEN holds a PhD in history from the University of Copenhagen and is currently working on a project entitled ‘Danish School History’, financed by the Carlsberg Foundation under the Department of Education (DPU) at Aarhus University. She has been an examiner and part-time lecturer in history, and for many years was also responsible for education at the Danish Institute for Human Rights. Anette Faye Jacobsen has published a number of books for teaching use in primary, lower and upper-secondary schools, in particular on children’s rights, human rights, democracy and citizenship. Academic publications include *Husbondret. Retthedskulturer i Danmark 1750–1920* (2008). For the Danish School History project she is contributing to two volumes on the periods 1850–1920 and 1920–70, which is expected to be published by Aarhus University Press in the coming years.

MARIANNE JUNILA holds the position of Adjunct Professor at the University of Jyväskylä and works as a research fellow at the Department of History, University of Oulu, Finland. She has written her doctoral dissertation (2000) on the coexistence of the Finnish civilian population and the German soldiers in Northern Finland, 1941–44. Marianne Junila has published extensively on the social history of 20th-century Finland, e.g. on the social
conditions in war-time Finland, on child welfare and health care (for publications see http://www.oulu.fi/history/node/4449). Junila was a member in the research project *Forcing the Way—Women in Professional Networks of Power and Knowledge in 20th-Century Finland*, funded by the Academy of Finland (2007–2009). In her study, she analyses the question of power and intraprofessional relationships within the teaching profession from a gender perspective.

**Mervi Kaarninen**, PhD, is Lecturer in Finnish History at the School of Social Sciences and Humanities, University of Tampere, Finland. Her current research fields include the history of education and universities, gender and history, history of youth and youth culture, and the history of childhood. She has published widely on the history of education and on history of young people, as well as on Finnish women historians. Her recent publications include ‘Die Ersten finnischen Studentinnen? Studien, Berufe und Karrieren’ *Arcturus. Deutschsprachiger Raum und europäischer Nordosten* 5 (2008) and ‘The Long War of the Orphans’, in *Tampere 1918. A Town in the Civil War*, edited by Pertti Haapala and Tuomas Hoppu (2010).

SOFIA KOTILAINEN, PhD, MSSc is Research Fellow and Academy of Finland Postdoctoral Researcher at the Department of History and Ethnology, University of Jyväskylä, Finland. Her research interest include the long-term cultural, family and gender history of Finnish naming practices, intangible capital in social relations and the history of literacy and education (from the beginning of the 18th to the mid-20th century). Her recent publications include ‘The Genealogy of Personal Names: towards a more productive method in historical onomastics’, Scandinavian Journal of History, 36: 1 (2011). She is also a member of the board in the Genealogical Society of Finland and is responsible for the strategic planning of the publishing activities of the society.


HELI VALTONEN is Academy Research Fellow and holds the position of Adjunct Professor in History at the University of Jyväskylä, Finland. She has published on the history of education, management, business, agriculture, and unemployment. Her doctoral dissertation analysed the discursive realities of the 20th-century Finnish women who worked in white-collar occupations (2004). She has also written two large parts for the first volume of the History of the University of Jyväskylä (2009). Her recent publications
include ‘La educación finlandesa desde 1850 hasta el presente’ in ISTOR Revista de Historia Internacional, XII (2012) with Matti Rautiainen. Currently she is involved in various research projects, including the history of Finnish teacher education. Her main project concentrates on the analysis on business leaders’ narratives on business and management, which is funded by the Academy of Finland.
This publication includes contributions from Nordic researchers in the history of education and knowledge, exploring the history of educational institutions, knowledge and schooling. On the basis of Nordic research from primary school to university level, this volume addresses the ways in which studies in the development of educational institutions and educational thought in the Nordic countries can enlarge the scope of welfare state history. This is done by focusing on how, in different periods between the middle of the 19th to the middle of the 20th century, the educational system aspired towards schooling into citizenship – to educate the future citizens and to develop understandings of citizenship and the forms of state.