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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 school-boards 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*.

3 Rosenbeck, *Kvindetiden*, 28–29, 211; Højgaard, *Bidrag til den danske kvindebevægelses historie*; Rosenbeck, ‘Modernisation of Marriage in Scandinavia’, 71.

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.⁵ Sometimes the Nordic model is conceptualised as a model with five exceptions⁶ whereas some other studies emphasise differences between East (Sweden and Finland) and West (Denmark,

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).⁷ 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.⁸

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

7 Thorkildsen, 'Religious Identity', 139–140; Markkola, 'Introduction', 12–15; Melby & al, *Inte ett ord om kärlek*, 291–293.

8 Laine & Laine, 'Kirkollinen kansanopetus', 277–282; Taipale, *Rippikoulun syntyvaiheet*; Astås, *Kirke i vekst og virke*, 292; Wiggen, 'A sociolinguistic profile', 1524; Guttormsson, 'Island. Læsefærdighed og folkeuddannelse 1540–1800', 155; Guttormsson, 'The Development of Popular Religious Literacy', 20–25.

decree).⁹ 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.¹⁰ 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.¹¹ 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*.

10 Guttormsson, 'Sekulariseringstendenser i islandsk almuedannelse', 87–95.

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.¹² In both countries, learned schools and elementary schools (*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.¹³

In Norway and Denmark the introduction of the so-called middle school became a way to create an organic connection between *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 (*folkeskolen*) after which it was possible to study at a secondary school, *realskolen*, and then continue at an upper secondary school (*Gymnas*).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.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.¹⁶

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

12 Richardson, *Svensk utbildningshistoria*, 58ff; Florin & Johansson, 'Där de härliga'; Joutsivuo, 'Papeiksi ja virkamiehiksi', 166; Leino-Kaukiainen & Heikkinen, 'Yhteiskunta ja koulutus', 26.

13 Florin & Johansson, 'Där de härliga', 85–86; Carle, Kinnander & Salin, *Lärarnas riksförbund*, 157; Strömberg, 'Oppikoulun laajentuminen ja yhtenäistyminen', 138.

14 Dokka, *En skole gjennom*; Dokka, *Fra almueskole*; Dale, 'Dannelsesprogram og enhetskole'.

15 Skovgaard-Petersen, *Dannelse og demokrati*.

16 Florin & Johansson, 'Där de härliga'; For Iceland, Ármannsson et. al. *Saga Reykjavíkurskóla*, 70–84.

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.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.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.¹⁹

In 20th 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 1972.²⁰

17 For Finland see Klemelä, *Ammattikunnista ammatillisiin oppilaitoksiin*; Klemelä & Vanttaja, 'Ammatillinen koulutus'.

18 *National summary sheets*, 4–5; Iván, 'Upper Secondary School Reform in Norway', 197

19 Rinne, 'Searching for the Rainbow', 98–104. Kaarninen & Kaarninen, *Sivistyksen portti*, 297–298, 330.

20 Holmesland, 'The Comprehensive Schools', 252; Guttormsson & Gardarsdóttir, 'Íslenskir barnakennarar 1930 og 1960'; Today comprehensive education lasts ten years in Iceland and Norway, from the age of six to sixteen years.

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.²¹ 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.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.²³ In Finland respon-

21 For Finland, see Rinne & Kivirauma, *Koulutuksellista alaluokkaa etsimässä*; Jauhiainen, 'Työväen tyttöjen kasvatus naiskansalaiseksi'; Florin & Johansson, *Där de härliga*.

22 Frønes, 'The Transformation of Childhood', 21–22.

23 Reeh, '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-

24 Johansson & Florin, 'The Trinity of State', 63–76; Tegborg, *Folkskolans sekularisering 1895–1909*.

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*.

27 Huuhka, *Talonpoikaisnuorison koulutie*, 86; Kiuasmaa, *Oppikoulu 1880–1980*, 239; Kaarinen, *Nykyajan tytöt*, 150.

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.²⁸ In Denmark girls were granted access to the public gymnasium 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.²⁹

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.³⁰ 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.³¹ 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, *Núttímans konur*.

29 Nordström, *Pojkskola, Flickskola, Samskola*; Florin & Johansson, ‘*Där de härliga*’; Possing, *Viljens styrke*; Hilden, ‘Lærerindeuddannelsen’; Linne, ‘Lutheranism and democracy’.

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, ‘*Farskólalald 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.³² 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 høyskole* 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

32 Sjöberg, 'Working rural children', 123–125.

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

33 *Umeå universitet 25 år*; Nevala, *Joensuun korkeakoulun perustamisvaiheet*; Salo & Lackman, *Oulun yliopiston historia 1958–1993*; Salo & Junila, *Pohjoisen puolesta*; Larsen, *Danmarks Lærerhøjskole 1950–1964*; Nordenbo, *Bidrag*; For Iceland, see Kjartansson, 'Kennarastéttin, 198–215 and Garðarsdóttir in this volume.

34 Thorstendahl, 'Introduction: promotion and strategies'; Bendix, *Nation-building*; Bauman, *Legislators and Interpreters*; Jalava, *The University in the Making of the Welfare State*.

35 Bertilsson, 'The welfare state, the professions and citizens'; Svensson, 'Knowledge as professional resource'; Lundqvist & Petersen, 'Experts, knowledge and the Nordic welfare states'.

36 Becher, 'Professional education in comparative context'; Jauhainen & Rinne, 'Koulu professionaalisenä kenttänä'.

37 Etzioni, 'Preface'; Lortie, 'The Balance of Control and Autonomy'.

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-

38 Hargreaves, 'Four Ages of Professionalism and Professional Learning', pp. 157, 161; Hargreaves and Fullan, 'Mentoring in the new Millennium', p. 50-51.

39 See Erixon, Frånberg & Kallós (eds), *The Role of Graduate and Postgraduate Studies and Research*.

cities; 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.⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹ 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.⁴² 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.⁴³ 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.⁴⁴ Also Anne-Lise Seip's comprehensive studies in Norwegian social policies and health policies include the role of

40 Tjedvoll, 'Quality of Equality', 3–4; Husén, 'The Swedish School Reforms', 100–102; Ahonen & Rantala, 'Norden's Present to the World', 11.

41 On the multi-layered historicity of the welfare states, see Kettunen & Petersen, 'Introduction', 3–9.

42 Esping-Andersen, *Politics against Markets*; Erikson & al, *The Scandinavian Model*; Esping-Andersen, *Three worlds of welfare capitalism*; Kosonen, *Hyvinvointivaltion haasteet*; Baldwin, *The Politics of Social Solidarity*;

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

45 Seip, *Sosialhjelpstaten blir til*, 185–216, especially 206ff.; Seip, *Veiene til velferdstaten*, e.g. 261–264, 273–278, 369–373.

46 Petersen & Petersen, 'Indledning', 13.

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 pædagoger*; 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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