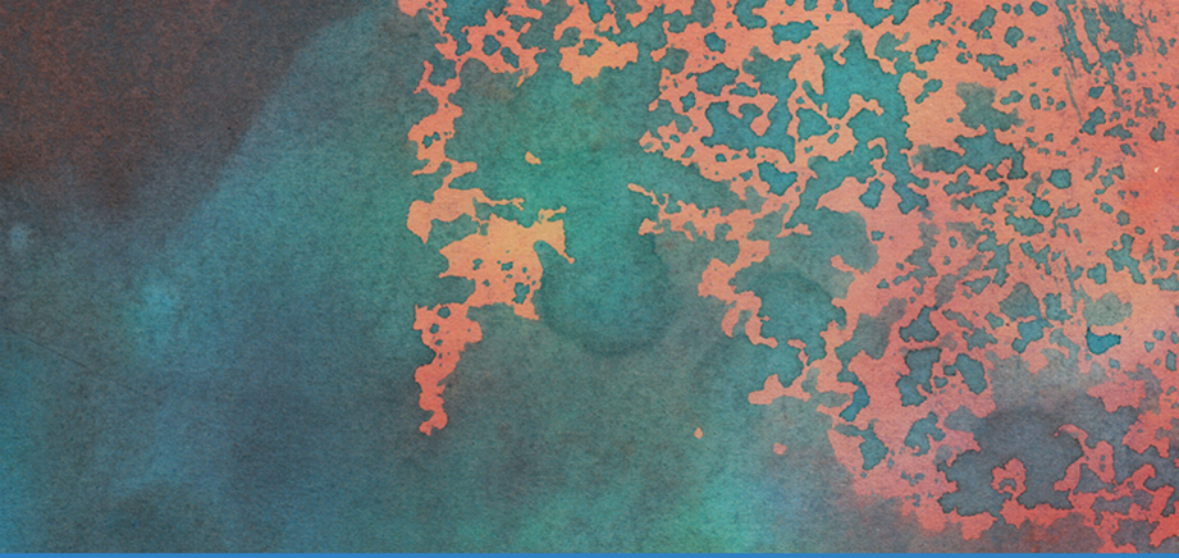
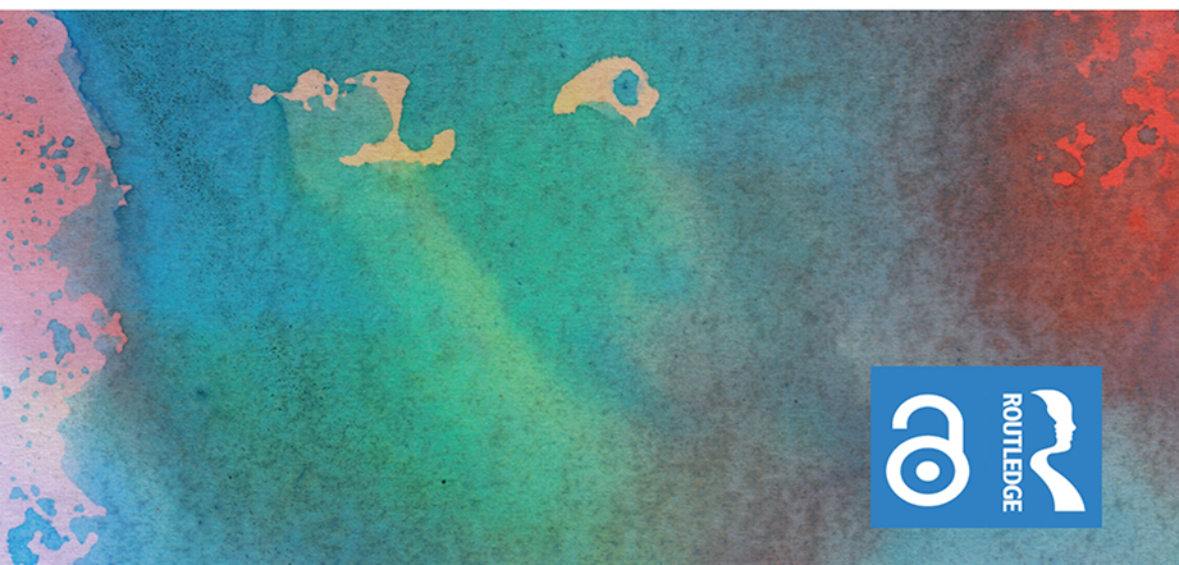


Oxford Studies in Comparative Education

SCHOOLTEACHERS AND THE NORDIC MODEL

COMPARATIVE AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

Edited by
Jesper Eckhardt Larsen, Barbara Schulte
and Fredrik W. Thue



Schoolteachers and the Nordic Model

Schoolteachers and the Nordic Model examines the cultural distinctiveness of the Nordic teaching profession and teacher training compared to examples from Europe and North America.

The book explores the concept of these 'teacher cultures' as various dimensions of professional identities, recruitment patterns, teachers' social status, values and knowledge. It considers how Nordic teachers' socio-cultural backgrounds and their shifting societal roles compare with continental European examples, analysing the societal consequences of teacher cultures for the current Nordic welfare states. Offering a unique focus on teachers, the book uses a shared comparative and historical approach to add new knowledge to the analysis of global convergence and divergence in educational systems.

The book will be of great interest to researchers, scholars and post-graduate students in the fields of comparative education, educational policy, the sociology of education and the history of education. It will also be of interest to policymakers, teacher educators and school leaders.

Jesper Eckhardt Larsen is Associate Professor in the History of Education at the University of Oslo, Norway.

Barbara Schulte is Professor in Comparative and International Education at the University of Vienna, Austria.

Fredrik W. Thue is Professor in the History and Theory of Professions at Oslo Metropolitan University, Norway.

Oxford Studies in Comparative Education
Series editor: David Phillips, University of Oxford

Oxford Studies in Comparative Education explores a range of issues relevant to the field of comparative education. With a focus on innovative research of wide international interest, it brings together the work of established and emerging authors and researchers. The series comprises both edited volumes and single-authored books that explore the vibrant field of comparative education and will be of wide relevance to academics and students interested in comparative inquiry, its methods and its lessons.

Previously published by Symposium Books from 1991 to 2018, this long-established series has a history of publishing quality titles across a huge range of topics.

Books in this series include:

North American Scholars of Comparative Education
Examining the Work and Influence of Notable 20th Century Comparativists
Edited by Erwin Epstein

British Scholars of Comparative Education
Examining the Work and Influence of Notable 19th and 20th Century Comparativists
Edited by David Phillips

Examining Teach For All
International Perspectives on a Growing Global Network
Edited by Matthew A. M. Thomas, Emilee Rauschenberger, and Katherine Crawford-Garrett

Schoolteachers and the Nordic Model
Comparative and Historical Perspectives
Edited by Jesper Eckhardt Larsen, Barbara Schulte and Fredrik W. Thue

For more information about this series, please visit: https://www.routledge.com/Oxford-Studies-in-Comparative-Education/book-series/OSCE

Schoolteachers and the Nordic Model

Comparative and Historical Perspectives

Edited by
Jesper Eckhardt Larsen, Barbara Schulte and Fredrik W. Thue

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2022
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Names: Eckhardt Larsen, Jesper, editor. | Thue, Fredrik W., editor. | Schulte, Barbara, editor.
Title: Schoolteachers and the Nordic model : comparative and historical perspectives / edited by Jesper Eckhardt Larsen, Fredrik W. Thue, Barbara Schulte.
Description: Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY : Routledge, 2022. | Series: Oxford studies in comparative education | Includes bibliographical references and index. | Identifiers: LCCN 2021036358 (print) | LCCN 2021036359 (ebook) | ISBN 9780367535858 (hardback) | ISBN 9780367535896 (paperback) | ISBN 9781003082514 (ebook)
Subjects: LCSH: Teaching--Scandinavia. | Teachers--Training of--Scandinavia. | Education--Scandinavia.
Classification: LCC LB1775.4.S43 S34 2022 (print) | LCC LB1775.4.S43 (ebook) | DDC 371.1020948--dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021036358
LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021036359

ISBN: 978-0-367-53585-8 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-0-367-53589-6 (pbk)
ISBN: 978-1-003-08251-4 (ebk)

DOI: 10.4324/9781003082514

Typeset in Bembo
by SPi Technologies India Pvt Ltd (Straive)

Contents

Figures

Acknowledgements

This book grew out of a research network, whose meetings and exchanges were funded by *The Joint Committee for Nordic Research Councils in the Humanities and Social Sciences* (NOS-HS) through a generous workshop grant titled *Nordic Teacher Cultures Compared* (2019–2021).

The workshop in Copenhagen was held at the venue Schæffergården and was supported by *Fondet for Dansk/Norsk Samarbejde* (Foundation for Danish/Norwegian Cooperation)

The work underlying this volume has been connected to the UiO:Nordic program *The Nordic Education Model* at the University of Oslo, which kindly hosted another workshop related to this book's topic.

Contributors

Beatrice Cucco is a PhD candidate from Università degli Studi di Torino. During her PhD, she studied the research-based knowledge in the Danish and Finnish pre-service teacher education using a comparative and historical methodology. She is also one of the members of the Nordic Teacher Culture Compared Network. Her interests are comparative education, pre-service teacher education and the Nordic countries.

Kathleen Falkenberg is a Lecturer at the Centre for Comparative and International Education at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Her comparative research focuses on teacher education and profession, assessment and mechanisms of selection, as well as global trends of marketisation in education. In her research, she employs mostly qualitative research methods and addresses methodological issues of international comparative research. Falkenberg also has an interest in (auto)ethnographic research about childhood memories in (post)socialist spaces.

Björn Furuhagen is Senior Lecturer and Associate Professor in History. He is also a trained high-school teacher and teaches future history teachers at Uppsala University. His main research interests are the history of education and history of crime, police and social control. Latest articles mainly concern reforms and development of teacher education in Sweden and Finland since the 1950s (together with Janne Holmen) and also the development of a modern police education and reforms of the police organisation in the Nordic countries during the 20th century.

Janne Holmén is an Associate Professor in the History of Education at the Department of Education, Uppsala University and a Senior Researcher at the Institute of Contemporary History, Södertörn University. A central theme in his research is comparative studies in the history of education, with an emphasis on the Nordic countries, particularly Sweden and Finland. He has, for example, compared the Cold War portrayal of the United States and the Soviet Union in school textbooks, attempts to democratise society through education, reforms of teacher education, governance of higher education, mental maps of the Baltic Sea and Mediterranean regions among secondary school students and diagrams of political systems in civics textbooks.

Christian Larsen is Senior Researcher at the Danish National Archives. He has conducted research in the field of Danish primary and secondary schooling in

the long 19th century, amongst others on the emergence of mass schooling, on teacher training institutions and private schools. His most recent works include 'A Diversity of Schools: The Danish School Acts of 1814 and the Emergence of Mass Schooling in Denmark', in *Nordic Journal of Educational History* (2017), 'The Danish Secondary Schools 1880–1950: National Legislative Framework and Local Implementation', in *Nordic Journal of Studies in Educational Policy* (2018) and 'Pedagogical Journeys or Pleasure Trips: Danish Schoolteachers' Educational Journeys, 1898–1932', in *Nordic Journal of Educational History* (2020).

Jesper Eckhardt Larsen is Associate Professor of Education at the Department of Education, University of Oslo. He served as the President of the History of Education Society in Denmark and is co-editor of the Danish Yearbook of the History of Education. His research interests combine historical and comparative approaches in educational studies with a special interest in the history of pedagogy, concepts of Bildung and approaches to the legitimation of knowledge. Contributions include the academisation of teacher education, humanities in society and colonial school history. He edited the volume *Knowledge, Politics and the History of Education* (LIT-Verlag, 2012).

Lars Erik Larsen is a PhD candidate at the Oslo Metropolitan University. His project studies the development in upper-secondary teacher culture in Norway 1960–2018 with emphasis on the relation between state and profession, and teacher collegiality.

Sølvi Mausethagen is Professor in Educational Studies at the Centre for the Study of Professions, Oslo Metropolitan University. Her research interests involve the teaching profession, professional development, education policy, educational governance and accountability, and she has published extensively on these topics. She co-leads the research group Studies of the Teaching Profession, Teacher Education and Education Policy (TEPEE), and has been involved in several projects on these topics. She currently leads the research project 'Renewed perspectives on research use in education'.

Marjo Nieminen is Senior University Lecturer in the Department of Education, University of Turku, Finland, and she worked earlier as a researcher at the Centre for Research on Lifelong Learning and Education (CELE). She has conducted research in the field of the history of education. Her recent research covered the history of education from primary schooling to the upper secondary and university levels, and they included methodological reflections on various historical sources, such as archives, written narratives and visual sources. Her special interests are in issues of women's history.

Tine S. Prøitz is Professor in Education Science at the University of South-Eastern Norway. Her research interests are in the fields of education policy, education reform and multi-level governance and autonomy in education. Prøitz is currently the principal investigator of the research project 'Comparisons of Leadership Autonomy in School districts and Schools' (CLASS).

Johanna Ringarp is Associate Professor in History as well as in Pedagogy and Senior Lecturer at Stockholm University/Uppsala University. Her research interests focus on the history of education, educational policy, teacher professionalisation, reform of teacher education, educational governance, new public management and international educational assessment.

Barbara Schulte is Professor in Comparative and International Education, University of Vienna, Austria. Her research focuses on the global diffusion and local appropriation of educational models and programmes, both from a historical and contemporary perspective. In her over 30 peer-reviewed publications, she has addressed topics such as education, privatisation and consumerism; new technologies/ICT, education and techno-determinism; as well as education, aid and development, with a particular focus on China. Ongoing research projects include a study of ethnic minority education in Southwest China and the role of 'innovation' in education in authoritarian regimes. Schulte's most recent monograph is an introduction to comparative and international education in Swedish (with Wieland Wermke: *Internationellt jämförande pedagogik*, Stockholm, 2019).

Fredrik W. Thue is Professor in the History and Theory of Professions at Oslo Metropolitan University. He is currently engaged in a research project on protestantism, professionalism and the welfare state, comparing the religious origins of modern professionalism in Scandinavia, Germany, and the United States with special emphasis on the 'caring professions' (teachers, nurses, social workers, etc.). He has previously studied the history of universities, the history of the Norwegian humanities, the transatlantic integration of the social sciences after the Second World War and the history and theory of Scandinavian historiography. Thue is editor-in-chief of the *Scandinavian Journal of History* and co-editor of *Professions & Professionalism*.

Lindsey Waine has been a Teacher Educator for over fifteen years, working with postgraduates in a number of universities across Europe, most recently at the University of Education in Freiburg. She is currently based at UCL, Institute of Education, where she is a Teaching Fellow on the master's programme in Comparative Education. Her doctoral research within the field of Comparative Education is an empirical study of the professional identity development of student teachers from a comparative perspective in France, Germany and England.

Wieland Wermke is Associate Professor in Special Education, Stockholm University. His research interest is on comparative education methodology and teacher practice at different levels of education. He recently has published, with Maija Salokangas, the book *The Autonomy Paradox: Teachers' Perceptions of Self-Governance across Europe* (Springer 2021).

Susanne Wiborg is a Reader in Education at UCL Institute of Education and the Programme Leader of the master's programme in Comparative Education. An expert in comparative politics of education, she focuses her research on

the politics of European education, interest group politics and market-oriented reforms in state services more broadly. She is the author of *Education and Social Integration: Comprehensive Schooling in Europe*, Palgrave MacMillan, 2009, and co-editor of *The Comparative Politics of Education: Teacher Unions and Educations Systems around the World* (co-edited by Terry M. Moe, Stanford University), Cambridge University Press, 2017. She has received media coverage in respect of her research in *The Guardian*, *The Times*, *The Financial Times*, *BBC*, *Newsweek*, *Prospect*, etc.

Introduction

Of myths and models – the unity and diversity of Nordic educational cultures

Jesper Eckhardt Larsen, Barbara Schulte and Fredrik W. Thue

> In England you find factories, in Germany barracks, and in Denmark schools.
> (Harvey and Reppien, 1915, p. 163)[1]

Complicating the 'Nordic model'

The Nordic model has often been presented as a promise: the living proof that there can be a 'quintessentially middle way between socialism and capitalism, a rationalist culture of social reform and democratic institutions' (Andersson, 2009, p. 231). By now, the 'Nordic model' has become a recurring figure in academic and political discourse: the term has pervaded social science literature as well as policy papers concerned with the Nordic countries, as if the model were a natural ingredient of the specific political, economic, and social cultures of the region. This includes research on education, where the Nordic model has come to epitomise the idea of comprehensive, child-centred schooling characterised by high quality and equal opportunities (cf. Blossing, Imsen and Moos, 2014). School teachers in the Nordic countries – the focus of this edited volume – are hardly imaginable if not seen against the backdrop of the Nordic model.

However, when seen from a longer historical perspective and contextualised within both international and local intra-Nordic developments, the Nordic model may be constituted more in retrospect than in actual implementation. This is not to question that 'a Nordic model has ever existed', as Mjøset (1992, p. 652) puts it rather bluntly, or that the model is only used for branding the Nordic region (cf. Marklund, 2017). Rather, in this introduction, we wish to historicise, and hence problematise and unpack, the seemingly self-explanatory concept of a 'Nordic model'.

As an idea, the Nordic model is as much the outcome of Nordic self-constructions as of non-Nordic projections: it has emerged within the complex historical dynamics characterising the entanglement of the region with the rest of the world – notably with continental Europe and the United States, but later also with Asia (see Chapter 4). Musiał (2002, p. 21) has termed these two different constructions 'autostereotypes' and 'xenostereotypes': typical 'Nordic' characteristics attributed by the countries themselves (autostereotypes) and by the international community (xenostereotypes), which continuously interact with each other. Hence, autostereotypes have often emerged in response to developments globally;

DOI: 10.4324/9781003082514-1

conversely, xenostereotypes of the Nordic countries have often been triggered and shaped by autostereotypes.

Nordic self-identification with a 'Nordic model' has historical predecessors. Partially inspired by movements outside the Nordic region, such as the unification process of the German states in the nineteenth century, the pan-Scandinavian movement sought to define a shared Nordic identity. Starting as both a cultural–intellectual and political project of Denmark and the Swedish–Norwegian union in the 1830s, pan-Scandinavianism lost its political impetus when Denmark failed to obtain military support from its neighbours during the war against Prussia and the Austrian Empire in 1864. Instead, a Nordic identity was built up through interaction and cooperation in softer areas, such as social welfare, law, culture, and education (Strang, 2016). Associational networks in civil society started to connect across the Nordic region and arranged regular, institutionalised meetings among professional groups, such as teachers, lawyers, and economists (Hemstad, 2016). The political realm also witnessed some networking activities: in 1907, the Union of Nordic Parliamentarians was founded, and in 1919, the Association for Nordic Unity. From the 1920s onwards, Finland and Iceland were also included in these Nordic meetings. The labour movement, in particular, proved to be a unifying force across the region, and succeeded in transforming the more romanticist, nationalistically minded pan-Scandinavianism into a solidarity-oriented 'labour Scandinavianism' (Hemstad, 2016, p. 187). With a shared, entangled history and a multitude of cross-border connections across civil society, the Nordic region can be considered a *Geschichtsregion*, constituting a 'heuristic concept for comparative analysis' (Hilson, 2013, p. 15).

In the educational realm, organised networking also started in the mid-nineteenth century. Plans to arrange regular 'Nordic school meetings' were made already in the 1860s; the first planned meeting, to be held in Copenhagen in 1864, was however cancelled because of the German-Danish War (cf. 'De nordiska skolmötenas silfverbröllop', 1895). Despite this inauspicious beginning, school meetings started to take place about every five years from 1870 onwards, rotating between cities in Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and Finland, and assembling each time thousands of teachers from these four countries, plus a limited number of Icelandic teachers (Landahl, 2015). The meetings served as an arena to discuss questions of pedagogy, school organisation, and education policy. Additionally, they helped create a consciousness among the participating teachers of being part of a new collective which transcended national borders. Until then, most school teachers were used to working (and reflecting) on their own, particularly in the rural areas. Thus, this new transnational arena provided space for developing a professional identity which could escape the narrowness of the individual teacher's school and village. The meetings continued to be held even after Norway terminated the union with Sweden in 1905, but interestingly stopped in the 1970s. According to a UNESCO report, the decreasing Nordic educational collaboration in the 1970s was due to dwindling interest from the Swedish side in such networking; in the 1980s, the same report states that Nordic collaboration was hampered by Denmark's neoliberal turn (Eide, 1990). Ironically, this means that educational cooperation ebbed away before the term 'Nordic model' was even coined – a paradox to which we will return below.

The Nordic region as a projection surface and Nordic self-representations

Nordic self-representations towards the outside world were not very numerous in the first half of the twentieth century, and, in fact, intensified only from the 1970s onwards. In contrast, the Nordic region aroused interest internationally already in the 1910s and 1920s.[2] As the quotation at the beginning of this introductory chapter indicates, Denmark was the first among the Nordic countries to attract international attention. Reminiscent of the later label of a 'third' or 'middle' way, the Irish writer and co-founder of the International Institute for Psychical Research in London, Shaw Desmond (1877–1960), diagnosed Denmark as having found the 'happy mean between the anarchy of Individualism and the benevolent bureaucracy of State Socialism' (1918, p. 135). In particular, Denmark's folk high school movement for adult education, the country's agricultural cooperatives, and Danish scholarship in the natural sciences, were met with admiration from international observers. The impression prevailed that Denmark had succeeded in democratising its education. Preoccupied with questions of rural education themselves, scholars from the United States, in particular, noted the effects of education on Denmark's rural areas. As US historian of education Edgar Wallace Knight (1886–1953) observes, the Danes were clearly 'the most intelligent rural people in the world' (1927, p. X). In turn, Denmark profited financially from the American interest in its education, receiving extensive funding from US foundations to establish and develop research institutions.

From the 1930s onwards, Sweden superseded Denmark as a role model, which was mainly due to increased domestic and international interest in the social sciences, and the concomitant expectation that these could solve social problems through reforms. Especially to progressive institutions in the United States – most notably the Rockefeller Foundation – Sweden constituted an impressive example of industrial recovery and social planning, in short: a 'rationally managed country of progress' (Musiał, 2002, p. 18), and thereby a template for successful modernisation. Sweden's concept of a social welfare-based 'home for the people' (*folkhemmet*) and its active integration of the social sciences into governmental decision-making prompted reform-minded American institutions to see Sweden as a sort of progressive micro-America: a social laboratory that could be exploited to test theories of social engineering. Similar to Denmark, Swedish institutions realised they could profit from this American interest and solicit funding for their 'social laboratory', and actively began to promote the Swedish path as potentially useful for the rest of the world. One of the best-known figures, the sociologist and economist Gunnar Myrdal (1898–1987), who began as an eager admirer of the American model, gradually turned into an influential missionary of the Swedish model instead.

When Childs' *Sweden: The Middle Way* (1936) was published, observation trips to the Nordic region as well as academic cooperation with the Nordic countries were already well underway, albeit largely limited to Denmark and Sweden until after the Second World War. As Musiał (2002) notes, drawing on Simon's *The Smaller Democracies* (1939), Finland and Norway were at best considered poor copies of Denmark and Sweden, while Iceland was hardly noticed at all. The Nordic countries themselves attempted to counter this selective international perception of the

region, and in 1937, joined forces to issue the first publication to present them as a distinctive bloc: *The Northern Countries in World Economy* (Delegations for the Promotion of Economic Co-operation Between the Northern Countries, 1937). The book begins by pondering the designation 'Northern countries' (as the term 'Nordic model' was obviously not yet used at the time): '"The Northern countries" – who invented that name? It is difficult to tell. It is more easy to explain why the term is needed and what meaning it bears' (ibid., p. 1). While the book is mainly devoted to the economic and industrial development of the Nordic region, it also stresses the high levels of social equality in general, and high standards of education and accessibility of education at all levels in particular.

This type of positive self-representation became more popular after the Second World War. Following in Myrdal's footsteps, Nordic intellectuals increasingly engaged in a sort of 'civilising mission' to spread the benefits of the Nordic model – still without calling it a model – to the rest of the world. As Danish author Henrik Stangerup (1937–1998) claimed in the newspaper *Politiken* on 23 April 1965, 'our experience […] will be of profit [to] the entire world around us' (quoted in Musiał, 2002, p. 14). Similarly, the Joint Committee of the Nordic Social Democratic Labour Movement worked actively to transform the Nordic path into a model, with the mission to enable the rest of the world to profit from it. Against the backdrop of the Cold War in the 1970s, the Nordic model emerged within a 'geopolitical framework' (Lundberg, 2005, p. 7) which left a small but attractive vacuum for countries representing the 'middle way'.

Overall, both the Nordic countries and their global environment – notably Europe and the United States – instrumentalised each other in order to push forward their own agendas. As noted above, Sweden and Denmark were able to profit from being considered distinctly Danish, Swedish, or Nordic, as this reputation could be transformed into funding. In turn, American and European countries and institutions could use the Nordic countries as positive (or sometimes negative) references for particular social policies. When powerful international agencies like the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) emerged, these were also used in order to make an idea, or a reform, domestically acceptable. Models of social welfare and ideas about education thus underwent multiple instrumentalisations: first, these ideas attracted interest among the more progressive institutions, particularly in the United States; second, the Nordic countries were used, or presented themselves, as a social and educational laboratory for testing these ideas, based on which the progressive institutions could argue for change; third, some of these ideas were channelled, and sanctioned, by the OECD – which in turn legitimised them also to Nordic policymakers. As a UNESCO report notes, the OECD's 'blessing' (Eide, 1990, p. 20) was frequently used thus, to lend support to ongoing education reforms in the Nordic countries.

The term 'Nordic model': a retroactive birth

In the 1970s and 1980s, the Nordic countries became more active in branding themselves as a distinctive region, with a so-called Nordic model (Musiał, 2002) – despite the fact that actual cooperation, for example, in the education realm,

actually decreased. Scholarship provides two different (but potentially complementary) explanations as to why the term 'Nordic model' emerged during this time. On one side, Musiał (2002) argues that it was only when modernity and modernisation were no longer seen as unilinear teleological processes that development could be conceived as taking place in the form of different 'models'. Consequentially, the growing awareness of different development paths in the 1960s allowed terms such as the Swedish, Danish, or indeed Nordic model to be coined. However, Musiał provides no source attesting to the use of the term 'Nordic model' in the 1960s or 1970s.

On the other side, Stråth claims that the term emerged precisely when the Nordic welfare states were being reorganised or partially dissolved, as if to 'save something which was considered threatened by development' (1993, p. 55).[3] An observation from a UNESCO report on the education activities of the OECD (Eide, 1990, p. 41) seems to confirm this claim: the more the OECD pushed towards reducing public expenses on education, the more 'defensive' the Nordic countries became of their model, and insisted on greater investment in, for example, equality work. Stråth further notes that the term 'Nordic model' is barely attested in Danish, Norwegian, or Swedish sources until the 1990s – the term 'Swedish model' does exist but was however coined in France to denote a middle way between the American and the Japanese models (Servan-Schreiber, 1967). 'Nordic model' itself only starts to be frequently used in Finland in the 1980s. In fact, the second UNESCO publication to use the term is an article about higher education by the Finnish authors Kivinen and Rinne, who write about Finland as 'the Nordic model' (Kivinen and Rinne, 1991, p. 426).

A look at the trend in English-language publications referencing the 'Nordic model' confirms that the term did not really pick up pace prior to the 1990s (see Figure I.1). In education research, it was not until the 2000s that the term was used more frequently. Recently, however, the term is booming: in education and for all subjects, the past five years (2016–2020) have witnessed more publications on the Nordic model than the 31 years between 1985 and 2015.

The Nordic model in OECD publications

This trend regarding the frequency of the term 'Nordic model' is also reflected in OECD publications. Prior to the 1990s, the term does not appear, except in a paper discussing inflation from 1973 and strategies for coping with it. Even here, the term appears only once in the entire publication (OECD, 1973), and there is no overlap with how we understand the Nordic model today. It is in 1996 that we first encounter it, in a publication about the Finnish economy – note, again, Finland – which mentions 'a Nordic model of welfare' (OECD, 1996, p. 63), and thus comes close to today's understanding. In subsequent years, references to the Nordic model occur in OECD publications (e.g., OECD, 2000) regarding the labour market and employment policies, and later including reconciliation between work and family life. Many of these publications draw on Esping-Andersen (1990), who, in his work on the three worlds of welfare capitalism, consolidated the idea of a 'Nordic model' by designating the region as practicing its own

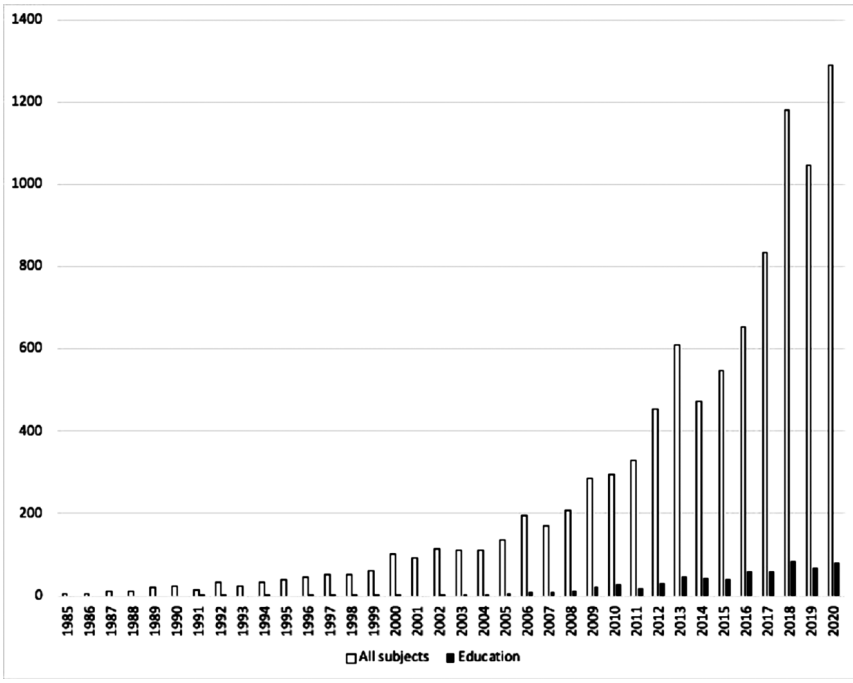


Figure I.1 English-language references to the 'Nordic model' in education and general research.

Source: authors' compilation based on data obtained from app.dimensions.ai.

('social democratic') type of policy regime. Given the timing of Esping-Andersen's publication and the OECD references starting from 1996, it cannot be ruled out that it was in fact Esping-Andersen's widely read book which contributed to the OECD's identification of a unique Nordic model.

In education, the Nordic model starts to be mentioned by the OECD when, in Stråth's analysis, the model was already under threat. The first publication to explicitly refer to a 'Nordic' (alternatively, 'Scandinavian') model of education is on lifelong learning in Norway (OECD, 2002). Here, the model is defined by a list of characteristics: a 'long democratic tradition', a 'regulated economic regime', a 'socially founded redistribution of benefits', a 'strong and relatively undivided union movement', 'a strong social-democratic party' etc. Regarding education specifically, Nordic countries are described as having been 'progressive and pupil centred underlining pupil activity in the tradition of John Dewey and the German concept *Arbeitsschule*' (OECD, 2002, p. 23). Later OECD publications on the Nordic model of education concern the organisation's Programme for International Student Assessment or PISA (interestingly, first with regard to Denmark; OECD, 2004), early childhood education (OECD, 2006), educational equity (OECD, 2018; however only referring to the Nordic model in the bibliography), and higher education (OECD, 2019). To date, there are only 23 OECD publications on education that mention the Nordic model, out of almost 13,500 OECD publications on the theme.

The Nordic model in UNESCO publications

UNESCO publications feature the 'Nordic model' to a slightly larger extent (34 publications in total). The first reference occurred a few years prior to the first OECD reference: the above-mentioned report about educational collaboration in the OECD (Eide, 1990), authored by the Norwegian civil servant Kjell Eide (1925–2011), a trained economist who, after working for the OECD in the 1960s, served as deputy under-secretary of state in the Norwegian Ministry of Education and Church Affairs for more than 30 years. In the report, Eide depicts the influence of the Nordic countries (particularly Sweden and Norway) on the OECD's educational activities. He presents the '"Nordic model" for educational policy' (ibid., p. 2) as a well-known fact about which '[o]ther countries seem to have a fairly clear idea', and associates it with the following characteristics: comprehensive education until the age of 16 and beyond, school-based vocational education after compulsory school, extensive adult education, education of equal quality, small school size, decentralised decision-making power, and pupil-centred pedagogy. Further UNESCO publications referring to the model focus mostly on lifelong learning, educational inclusion, and higher education.

The two explanations of why the 'Nordic model', as a term, emerged so late may be linked and complemented by a third perspective. Arguably, the 1990s witnessed a hitherto unprecedented acceleration in globalisation. Rather than a straightforward process of ever-intensifying homogenisation, globalisation turned out to be a 'dialectic phenomenon' (Giddens, 1991, p. 22), which displayed tendencies both of global convergence and of local divergence. Also in education, scholars have noted an 'interweaving of contrary currents' (Schriewer, 2000, p. 327), in which processes of 'internationalization' were accompanied by those of 'indigenization'. At the same time as the world seemed to become more and more similar, local quests for distinct identities and traditions also began to emerge – and were themselves an integral part of globalisation (see, e.g., Schulte, 2004). Seen from this perspective, the 'Nordic model' may be just that: a symbol of Nordic identity which became all the more vital as the region became more connected to the rest of the world. In a sense, this perspective integrates both Stråth's hypothesis that the term was coined only when the concept was already under threat, and Musiał's that modernity had first to be considered as consisting of multiple alternative paths for the Nordic tradition to be seen as a model among other models. Globalisation provided a conducive context for seemingly local models and traditions to arise; all the while, these traditions would not have emerged without the global setting against which they stand out. In Hobsbawm's meaning of an 'invented tradition', the Nordic model can thus be seen as 'a process of formalization and ritualization, characterized by reference to the past' (Hobsbawm, 1983, p. 4).

What does the Nordic model entail?

As is pointed out above, the countries most closely associated with the Nordic model have not been constant over time: while Denmark was the first to be considered a model, Sweden took over in the 1930s and remained the synecdoche for

the Nordic model for many decades, until the 1990s when an economic debt crisis and ensuing economic, political, and social struggles destabilised its position. Particularly in education, the long-celebrated supremacy of the Swedish system, not least due to its deteriorating PISA results, began to crumble, giving way to a hitherto little-acknowledged country to become the rising star: Finland (Dervin, 2016).

Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden have of course their own distinct education systems. In a strict sense, one would have to stretch the model considerably to accommodate all five. It is difficult to arrive at a shared set of indicators that compose, in their entirety, the Nordic model, and that are equally valid for all five Nordic countries. As the contributions to this volume show, there is great diversity within the Nordic region. Seen from a distance, the Nordic countries may come across as rather similar; however, the more closely they are studied and compared, the more differences are likely to emerge. At times, specific Nordic countries may share more similarities with a non-Nordic country than with their Nordic peers (see Chapter 13 in this volume on Norway, Sweden, and Germany).

Moreover, different Nordic states can claim rather different characteristics to be part of the Nordic model (Telhaug, Mediås and Aasen, 2006; Andersson, 2009; Wiborg, 2009; Sejersted, 2013). While in the Swedish understanding, workers' education was central to the educational project, Denmark and Norway would rather stress farmers' education as a core tradition. Similarly, secularisation was, for a long time, an important ingredient of Swedish education (though not necessarily in implementation), while Denmark featured numerous Christian denominational schools. Rationalist state-building was a trait shared by Sweden and Finland, but less so by Denmark and Norway.

If we search for historical commonalities shared across the Nordic countries, the countries' Lutheran heritage since the sixteenth century is one of the most frequently noted common traits. Besides, most Nordic educational trajectories can be characterised as state-friendly, centralised, and based predominantly on public forms of ownership – with the partial exception of Denmark, where the Free School Act of 1855 also made it possible for non-state schools to emerge (alongside the above-mentioned religious schools). After the 1920s, these often had a progressive education agenda (the 'reform pedagogy' movement). Regarding state–society relationships, and when compared with other countries internationally, all Nordic countries are characterised by high public trust in state (including educational) institutions. Furthermore, the Nordic countries largely subscribe to a child-centred pedagogy with mixed-ability classes and relatively egalitarian teacher–pupil relations – arguably with the exception of Finland, which traditionally was more influenced by Herbartianism than by progressive education. For Denmark and Norway, the progressive tradition can be traced back to Grundtvigianism, which broke with conventional (and bookish) conceptions of pedagogy (see Chapters 1, 2, 7, and 10).

What can be maintained for all five Nordic countries is that from the late nineteenth century onwards – and reaching back to some early school initiatives during the eighteenth century – there has been wide political support for education as a public good. During the twentieth century, a socially inclusive primary and lower-secondary comprehensive school has arguably been the basis of social and societal integration in the universal welfare state model (Wiborg, 2009; Sejersted, 2013).

Since 1900, the Nordic countries have utilised education as a deliberate means of supporting egalitarian values and social justice, and increasingly so after the Second World War. This includes a strong emphasis on what Brunila and Edström (2013, p. 301) have termed 'gender equality work' in education (see also Warin and Adriany, 2017). Compared to other countries, education systems in the Nordic countries are also highly supportive of relatively late curricular differentiation and thereby tracking of pupils. They also largely lack pronounced forms of high-stakes competitive assessment and tracking.

Overall, the Nordic model can be regarded as possessing four different dimensions that are of relevance for comparative analysis:

i The Nordic model denotes the social and empirical reality as experienced by, among others, pupils, parents, teachers, educational authorities and policymakers, and education researchers. As such, there is constant negotiation as to what is to be included in the Nordic model and for what reasons.
ii The Nordic model serves as a domestic tool for defining a Nordic (Danish, Finnish, Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish) cultural identity that is both nationally distinctive and regionally unifying. As argued above, the need for regional distinction may have become all the more pronounced as the Nordic countries became increasingly integrated into the global economy.
iii The Nordic model can be utilised by the Nordic countries to distinguish their region internationally, as a sort of agreed-upon mouthpiece to the non-Nordic world. Or, as we might perhaps put it today, the model can be used for branding and marketing purposes – although at least in the realm of education, Finland is less and less prone to use 'Nordic' as an identifier, but rather straightforwardly sells its education as 'Finnish'. This is somewhat ironic given that Finland, as explicated above, was the first country to frequently use the term 'Nordic model'.
iv Finally, and as our brief historical retrospection has illustrated, the Nordic model often serves as a projection surface: a sort of utopia (or at times dystopia), for a variety of people and countries outside the Nordic region. What is projected upon the Nordic model, and in which ways, is often more dependent on the projector (that is, the non-Nordic country) than the projected (the Nordic countries) (for multiple cross-national projections with regard to PISA, see Steiner-Khamsi and Waldow, 2019).

For teachers, all four dimensions are relevant. First, inasmuch as education continues to be a part of a nation-building (or nation-maintaining) process, teachers are expected to actively take part in this process by enacting an educational model that is by many still considered 'Nordic', in spite of all differences. Second, and perhaps increasingly, teachers are also recruited for the purpose of education export – to preach the benefits of the Nordic (or Danish, Finnish, Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish) model. Third, teachers have to cope with what we might call the 'backlash' of non-Nordic projections on the Nordic region: when particular (allegedly beneficial) characteristics of the school system keep being reported internationally, they become increasingly difficult to ignore, and often lead to a consolidation of

those characteristics in the system. For instance, Swedish gender equality policies can be understood as arising from the dynamics between domestic developments and increasing international attention to how Sweden has dealt with the issue. Similarly, there is high pressure on Finland to present itself as a country of education excellence after all the positive coverage by the media and international research following its PISA results. As an anonymous Finnish colleague expressed it to the Swedish educational researcher Ulf P Lundgren, 'it was a shock to be the best' (Lundgren, 2013, p. 28). This pressure means, among other things, that changes that were previously seen as necessary to improve the school system are impossible or difficult to argue for.

Nordic teacher education

The history of teacher education in the five Nordic countries reveals relatively uneven developments, leading some researchers to conclude that in the specific field of teacher education there is no such thing as a 'Nordic model' (e.g., Jóhannsdóttir, 2008). Institutions of teacher education called seminaries (*seminarier*; i.e., secular teacher education colleges) were established from the late eighteenth until the early twentieth century in all Nordic countries. Their task was to train primary and lower secondary school teachers, while upper-secondary (or *gymnasium*) teachers were educated at the universities. In the initial phase, we can observe strong German influences, particularly in Denmark and Norway. Denmark's first seminaries can be traced to the 1750s in the regions of Schleswig and Holstein (then belonging to the Danish Realm), whose first private, then state-run, teacher education institutions served as models for the seminary established in Copenhagen in 1791 (Blaagaard). Denmark's first national law on teacher education was passed in 1818. Norway's first public seminary was established in 1826. Sweden's earliest initiatives arose in the 1830s, and Finland introduced its first seminaries under Russian rule in the 1860s, whereas Iceland did not have a teacher seminary until 1907. However, Icelandic teacher students were commonly trained in other Nordic countries, particularly in Denmark (Buchardt, Markkola and Valtonen, 2013).

In all Nordic countries, teacher education during the twentieth century was characterised by relatively late academisation in comparison to German-speaking areas where, already in the late 1920s, the seminary tradition was transformed by the introduction of new academies for teacher education (*Pädagogische Akademien*). A comparable academisation did not gain strength in the Nordic countries until the 1970s, when Finland was an early adopter. Today, in Finland, Iceland, and to a great extent in Sweden, teacher education is solely located within universities. In Norway, teachers are mostly trained at university colleges; however, inasmuch as some university colleges have been upgraded to universities, their teacher education programmes now take place at the university. Denmark is located at the other end of the spectrum: there, teacher education is located exclusively in university colleges (Jóhannsdóttir, 2008; Nordic Council of Ministers, 2009).

In this area, Finland is probably the best studied of all the Nordic countries due to the country's reputation for having an excellent system of (teacher) education.

Many studies on best practices have taken 'Finnish lessons' because of the country's success in the PISA studies since 2000. In his bestselling book, Sahlberg (2015, p. 98) devotes a whole chapter to celebrating the 'good teachers' in Finland, and calls them 'the Finnish advantage'. Finland has clearly succeeded not only in ranking near the top in international assessment studies like PISA but in presenting itself – or being perceived – as a model worthy of following, in contrast to other high achievers like China or South Korea (Steiner-Khamsi and Waldow, 2019). This pertains in particular to Finnish teacher education, whose allegedly research-based character, as Schulte shows in this volume, attracts considerable attention also in China, even though the Chinese regions that have taken part in PISA have achieved top results themselves. Denmark, in contrast to both Finland and the other Nordic countries, has endorsed an official policy of 'development-based´ teacher education. This difference has been attributed to differing national knowledge cultures and their repercussions in present-day policies and politics of teacher education (Larsen, 2016).

Debates around teacher education are also related to questions of recruitment and retention. The higher social status of the teaching profession (e.g., as observed in Finland) has been connected to higher degrees of academisation and longer pre-service teacher education. As a consequence, this perceived correlation between excellence and academisation has propelled further academisation in the other Nordic countries. In the light of the fact that Nordic teacher education was originally more practice-oriented, these developments have spurred debates on what academisation implies for the theory–practice dynamics in teachers' work – a question to which we will return when discussing the new teacher professionalism below.

Nordic teachers, globalisation, and the new professionalism

Schoolteachers were, and continue to be, central agents in keeping the Nordic model alive and enacting it in a way that makes sense to pupils, parents, and teachers as a professional group. Historically, and depending on the context, we can observe two contrasting developments: on the one hand, teachers mainly followed a centrally designed top-down approach towards implementing universal education; this was the case particularly in the eastern Nordic countries (Finland and Sweden). On the other, teachers understood themselves as part of a wider popular movement, making education a crucial ingredient of a bottom-up enlightenment project. Jesper Eckhardt Larsen (in this volume) names these the 'colonising' and 'organic' types of teachers, respectively. Arguably, it was the 'organic' teacher type – and how it symbolised schools' democratising potential – which has left a more enduring imprint on the Nordic model of education, and on the model's impact on non-Nordic countries. Already in the 1920s, the organic teacher type was noted as far away as China: reform-minded Chinese educators noted the non-hierarchical relationship between Nordic (in this case, Danish) teachers and the rural population. Envisioning a popular education movement in the rural areas, these reformers were particularly enthusiastic about the integration of agrarian knowledge into the curriculum (Zhu, 1923).

To be sure, the 'progressive' Nordic teacher is not without contestation: rather than constituting a historically fixed and regionally unitary figure, Nordic teachers – particularly as represented by the teacher unions – have shown regional disparities and temporal discontinuities in their orientations and actions (Telhaug, Mediås and Aasen, 2006; Wiborg, 2017; see also Chapter 9 in this volume). Depending on individual countries' historical and political contexts, Nordic teachers could assume different roles: in Denmark and Norway, the tripartite relationship between educational policy, teacher recruitment and dispatchment, and the population had a more horizontal nature, while the Swedish enterprise of mass education was organised much more vertically (see, e.g., Boli, 1989). In the latter, segregation through education was an integral part of the educational system, and even though schooling was to reach all, not everyone was to enjoy the same kind of education – two complementary processes that Stoler and Cooper (1997) have termed *incorporation* (education for all) and *differentiation* (a tiered education system). Importantly, however, across all the Nordic countries, it is the progressive and democratising nature of teachers and their unions that has become part of Nordic self-understanding and self-branding, eclipsing developments that do not fit narratives of equality, rationality, and progressive democracy.

Against the backdrop of increasing globalisation since the 1990s, Nordic teachers find themselves in a paradoxical situation. In line with worldwide developments in education governance, the credibility and legitimacy of the teaching profession are constantly questioned, and teachers are increasingly held accountable for their performance – often in ways that obstruct, rather than improve, their work. At the same time, and as has been pointed out above, a defining characteristic of the Nordic model is the high level of trust in state–society relations, including between teachers and government. How to reconcile these seemingly contradictory forces is an ongoing debate. In recent years, for example, the Swedish government has established a 'Trust Delegation' (*Tillitsdelegationen*) to investigate how trust relations can be (re-)installed to raise the efficiency and quality of education, among other sectors (SOU, 2018:48). In its 2018 report, the delegation notes how deregulation and privatisation have made it more difficult for political decision-makers to govern, and that 'a more profession-based governance including inspection has been pushed back in favour of a model that is more bureaucratic or oriented towards the logic of the market' (ibid., p. 19). To date, it is uncertain whether these attempts will lead to more professional autonomy for teachers and school leaders, or whether they are simply the last gasp of the Nordic model.

Terms such as *profession* and *professionalism* in connection with teachers and teaching have experienced an upsurge in recent decades, in the Nordic as well as in other Western countries. This new 'discourse of professionalism' seems to represent a breach with the past, at least in the Nordic countries where there is not a strong tradition of defining primary school teaching as a 'profession'. The concept of profession was introduced rather late in the Nordic countries, primarily through US-dominated social sciences. Moreover, occupations such as primary school teaching, nursing, and social work were not seen as full-blown professions but rather as semi-professions, deficient in autonomy, social prestige, and epistemic rigour (Etzioni, 1969).

In the Nordic countries, it was education scholars and government agencies which initiated this new discourse of teacher professionalism, rather than teachers and their organisations. However, when facing demands from the outside to 'professionalise', Nordic teachers reacted by developing their own discourse of professionalism, centring on ideals of autonomy and responsibility (Mausethagen, 2015; see also Chapter 11 in this volume). This bifurcated process can be described in terms of Evetts' highly influential distinction between *professionalism from above* and *professionalism from within* (Evetts, 2003, 2013). In the Nordic countries, professions and 'semi-professions' have typically been shaped by interchanges between professionalism from above and from within (see also Chapter 13). Whether, or to what extent, recent attempts to professionalise teachers 'from above' are compatible with or in conflict with professionalism 'from within' is in dispute among scholars and stakeholders in primary and secondary education. In Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, scholars have widely described the situation as ambiguous and open-ended, while varying in their degree of optimism or pessimism about teachers' future professional status (Hjort, 2003; Dahl et al., 2016; Nilsson-Lindström, 2019).

The new discourse of teacher professionalism has emerged as a response to several trends that have challenged the traditional contract between teachers, the state, and society in the Nordic countries. New calls for professional accountability have been propelled by the widespread impression that teachers' social status and intellectual quality were in decline, by the change of the government paradigm from welfare-state corporatism to nationally adapted varieties of New Public Management, as well as by the 'PISA shock' – that is, the response to deteriorating results in PISA – which struck all Nordic countries in the early 2000s, with the notable exception of Finland. Thus, the call for 'professionalism' also reflected the need for a new social contract that could (re-)define the boundaries between teaching, policymaking, and school management (Dahl et al., 2016). Additionally, teacher professionalism was driven by the overhaul of various teacher training programmes, which followed different paths in the individual Nordic countries, as the contributions to this volume also show (see, e.g., Chapters 1, 2, 5, 7, and 8 in this volume; cf. also Hjort, 2003; Nilsson-Lindström, 2019; Nilsson-Lindström and Beach, 2019).

Most of the debate on teacher professionalism has centred on teachers at comprehensive schools, while academically trained teachers at upper-secondary schools have received much less attention. The latter group has historically enjoyed a more secure professional position, which, however, came under increasing pressure from the 1970s onwards, when the traditional *Gymnasium* in Sweden and Norway was integrated into a comprehensive secondary school system (Skarpenes, 2007). The 'professional turn' regarding teachers can, to some extent, be seen as an attempt to mutually adjust and thereby reduce the traditional gap between the two categories of teachers (see Chapter 9): comprehensive-school teacher training has become more academic and research-based, while the pedagogical components of high-school teacher training have been strengthened, at least in Norway and Sweden. In Finland, the early integration of teacher training at the universities went hand in hand with the sustained emphasis on pedagogy and didactics.

Has the new discourse of professionalism driven a wedge between Nordic teachers' historically developed identities and current constructions of their professional selves? To what extent do historical layers of occupational identity and institutionalised practice modify or condition the ways in which 'professionalism' is defined and implemented (Telhaug and Mediås, 2003)? On the one hand, it might be argued that the professionalisation of teachers from above hardly represents something radically new in the Nordic region. Particularly in Sweden, but also in the other Nordic countries, governments have repeatedly reformed teacher training as a means to create new, scientifically based, reform-oriented, and 'progressive' types of teachers and thereby a more democratic and efficient school (Nilsson-Lindström and Beach, 2019). On the other hand, teachers' recent professionalism from within has also been interpreted as an attempt to revitalise their traditional understanding of teaching as a vocation or calling, which they had previously rejected aggressively following a narrowly defined trade-unionist occupational strategy in the 1980s and 1990s (Grinder-Hansen, 2013).

The production of ambivalence regarding teachers' roles and role expectations is a constant, ongoing process in education and teacher development. New expectations are often superimposed on older ones (see also Chapter 13). A recent Norwegian government report on teachers' roles describes this as the historical sedimentation of 'layer upon layer' (Dahl et al., 2016, p. 41), which exposes teachers to complex and contradictory demands: democratic and elitist, collective and individualistic, and socio-ethical and performance-oriented. Such attempts at combining social-democratic and liberal-competitive norms and values in primary and secondary education may be particularly pronounced in the Nordic countries. These attempts at bridging opposing ideals are also connected to a shift that we can observe in all Nordic countries: from the *Didaktik* tradition inspired by German pedagogy, to the curriculum tradition which has, above all, been shaped by research traditions originating in the United States and the United Kingdom (cf. Westbury, Hopmann and Riquarts, 2015). The terms we have used above – *accountability, liberal, competitive, performance-oriented* – already bear witness to the current primary countries of reference for the Nordic region: the United States and other examples of liberal welfare regimes. Against this background, we find it timely to also consider alternative models that have been serving as relevant global benchmarks. However, this volume should not be considered a mission to promote the Nordic model; on the contrary, the contributions to this volume illustrate the heterogeneity behind the Nordic model. By contextualising the model(s), we aim to reveal the rich traditions and diverse cultural and political expectations that have fed into what today is called the Nordic model.

Nordic education and Nordic teachers: a brief presentation of this volume

The volume is divided into three parts. Part I – *The social roles, status and images of Nordic teachers* – scrutinises the question of what and whom teachers represent in the Nordic region: Who were they vis-à-vis state and society, from both a historical and a cross-national comparative perspective? How did they interact with urban

and rural populations, and what kinds of resources did they tap to fulfil their roles as educators? And, picking up on the distinction discussed earlier, between autostereotypes and xenostereotypes, what does Nordic education represent, and with it Nordic teachers, to the non-Nordic world?

In Chapter 1, *Jesper Eckhardt Larsen* looks at teachers through the lens of teacher types. Using data on teachers' social background and recruitment patterns from all Nordic countries as well as from Germany, Ireland, and the United States for the period from 1880 to 1920, Larsen differentiates between the 'colonising' and the 'organic' teacher types. While the former type is modelled on urban, elitist conceptions of teaching, the latter is grounded in folk models of education, with tight connections to the rural population. Making use of Elias's (1978) concept of nation-states as survival units, the two teacher types are then correlated with, on the one hand, culturally defensive types of nation-states, and, on the other, culturally expansive types. With the help of this matrix, Larsen breaks up the monolithic concept of a Nordic model, and illustrates how Denmark, Ireland, and Norway fall into the organic, culturally defensive category, while Germany, Sweden, and the United States are categorised as the colonising, culturally expansive type. Finland and Iceland, while featuring the colonising teacher type, can be considered culturally defensive nations, while the organic teacher type cannot be found in culturally expansive nation-states.

Fredrik W. Thue, in his chapter on the religious origins of Nordic teacher cultures (Chapter 2), explores the dynamics of two seemingly contrary approaches to pedagogy and education, namely secular and religious approaches in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. Employing a Foucauldian perspective on the teacher's technologies of governing the mind, Thue argues that the Nordic primary school teacher can in many ways be seen as the continuation of the Lutheran pastor, in that formerly Lutheran practices of forging the responsible, self-reflective subject are transferred into the educational realm. 'Nordic' educational characteristics, such as the focus on common social values or the child's subjectivity, do therefore not necessarily have to be read as the mere consequence of modern state-building, but are rooted in longer cultural traditions. Yet, the chapter also shows how the figure of the pastoral teacher has been enacted differently in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, due to their distinct development paths and teacher cultures.

Taking a close up look at teachers' everyday social roles in Denmark (in comparison with Norway and Sweden), *Christian Larsen* shows how teachers of the nineteenth century have constituted a bridge between the state and the peasantry. Danish teachers, in particular, were not only educational role models, but also agrarian pioneers: as each teacher was given a plot of land as (part of) their salaries, they would use these plots as exemplary farms to convey modern agrarian knowledge to the local population. Engaged in 'teaching by doing', these pedagogues emerged as genuine 'people's teachers'. Larsen's contribution thus fills in the historical development that prepared the ground for the 'organic' teacher type (referred to in Chapter 1 by Jesper Eckhardt Larsen) to emerge.

The fourth and last chapter in Part I (Chapter 4), by *Barbara Schulte*, takes a view from a distance, and looks at how Chinese education scholarship has referenced Nordic education between the mid-1990s and today. Developing further the

concept of the reference society as originally coined by Bendix (1967), Schulte explores how the Nordic region – in comparison with the United States – has served as a projection surface for Chinese scholars. Interacting with what we have called autostereotypes and xenostereotypes above, these projections shed light not only on what is perceived as particularly Nordic, but also on how the different Nordic countries (excluding Iceland, which is hardly noticed in China) perform different functions in these references. The chapter then zooms in on the Chinese discussions of Finnish versus Swedish teacher education, revealing how references to Finland and Sweden are used for different purposes: while the interest in Finland is more instrumental in character, aiming at the partial adoption of inquiry-based Finnish teacher education, the references to Sweden are much more political in nature, and serve to question the ideological foundations of current Chinese (teacher) education.

Part II – *The emergence of Nordic teacher education and teacher identities* – addresses the question of what characterises Nordic teacher training, both from an intra-Nordic perspective and in comparison with non-Nordic countries. As has been pointed out above, an important development in the professionalisation of teachers has been the academisation of teacher training. How has academisation evolved in Finland, which arguably boasts one of the most academised forms of teacher training, and how does this development compare to Sweden, where it has been less extensive? Which pedagogical traditions have come to play a role in Nordic teacher training, and how does that affect teacher students' perceptions of good teaching? How have changes in teacher education interacted with, on the one side, global pressures, and, on the other, with interest groups such as the teacher unions?

In Chapter 5, *Marjo Nieminen* investigates the history of Finnish primary teacher training between the 1860s and the 1960s through reports issued by government-appointed committees to analyse the situation of Finnish teacher education and recommend potential reforms. The committee reports are not only a valuable source for tracing the processes of the increasing academisation of the Finnish teacher training system, for which the Finnish education system has become world-famous. Through an analysis of the international references in these reports, Nieminen also shows that the other Nordic countries played only a minor role in the Finnish quest to modernise and academise teacher education. Thus, even though Finland was one of the first countries to utilise the concept of a 'Nordic model', as we have discussed above, Nordic countries were not significant sources of inspiration for the Finnish reforms of teacher education, which were instead remarkably international in their outlook.

Taking a closer look at the academisation of Finnish and Swedish primary teacher training in the twentieth century, *Janne Holmén* and *Johanna Ringarp* investigate the interaction between higher education reforms on the one side and reforms of teacher education programmes on the other. They show that even though Finland and Sweden had much in common in terms of developing welfare societies, the paths of the two countries are different when it comes to integrating the previous (and less academic) folk-school seminaries in the university system. While Finland succeeded in putting the successors to the folk-school seminaries on an equal footing with traditional universities, the Swedish university colleges

which have (partially) emerged from the folk-school seminaries, do still not command the same resources as older, established universities. Different political prioritisations thus created different trajectories whose effects we can still witness today.

In Chapter 7, *Beatrice Cucco* and *Jesper Eckhardt Larsen* also investigate teacher education but focus on the different pedagogical approaches used in Danish and Finnish teacher education. Through an analysis of both historical and contemporary developments, they show how different national educational schisms and different strategies of institutionalising pre-service teacher education have shaped the diverging historical trajectories that have impacted Danish and Finnish teacher training until today. Danish pedagogy, they show, built upon folk institutions of education to develop a dogmatic hermeneutical approach to pedagogical knowledge, while Finnish pedagogy has been driven by urban academic elites and a strong academisation, which has resulted in a cumulative positivist paradigm.

Lindsey Waine and *Susanne Wiborg*, in Chapter 8, use a Nordic/non-Nordic comparative approach to analyse the teacher education reforms that have taken place in Sweden, Germany, and England over the last decades. As we have discussed above, global pressures and new governance models have also affected expectations towards teachers, which has led to various strategies to seize control of, and reform, teacher education. All three countries investigated by Waine and Wiborg responded to the new pressures, but in different ways. Germany and England each started from opposite directions; while Germany sought to move towards less theoretically driven and more practice-oriented teacher training, England's traditional 'anti-pedagogism' left many student teachers without education theory. Waine and Wiborg argue that Sweden, as a Nordic country with a conventionally collectivist teaching body, has gone through the most drastic changes: subject expertise and individualised performance measures have been foregrounded at the expense of a more unified professional identity, leading to what could be called fragmented professionalism.

In the final chapter of Part II (Chapter 9), *Björn Furuhagen* and *Janne Holmén* delve into the interaction between, on the one hand, Finnish and Swedish teacher education and its changes, and on the other, teacher unions, over the last five decades. While this volume's contributions have so far paid most attention to political decision-making and pedagogical traditions as crucial factors shaping teacher education and teacher identities, Furuhagen and Holmén reveal the important role of teacher unions in this context. The ways in which teacher unions acted and allied themselves with political partners were markedly different in Sweden and Finland: in Sweden, the antagonistic existence of two teacher unions – one siding with upper-secondary school teachers and their emphasis on subject expertise; the other representing comprehensive school teachers and favouring general pedagogical skills – resulted in continuous ideological battles which were also fought in the party-political arena. In contrast, the Finnish teacher union acted as a unified agent, strengthening both the autonomy and the flexibility of teacher training vis-à-vis politics.

Part III of this volume – *Nordic variations on teacher professionalism* – returns to the discussion of teacher professionalism, and enquires how the professional status and practices of Nordic teachers have been affected by societal changes and educational reforms. How has teacher professionalism been impacted by the mass expansion of

education? To what extent have perspectives on teacher professionalism been integrated in teacher education? What are the dynamics of professional autonomy on the one side and teachers' grading and assessment practices on the other?

In Chapter 10, *Lars Erik Larsen* and *Fredrik W Thue* shed light on how the mass expansion of secondary education affected teachers' professional status and autonomy in different ways in Denmark and Norway, during the second half of the twentieth century. Both countries underwent upper-secondary school reforms, however, different cultural and political traditions left teachers with more or less agency. In the Danish case, gymnasium (upper-secondary) teachers seized an active role in shaping the reforms, preserving to some extent the elitist tradition of the gymnasium. Larsen and Thue explain this by the stronger presence of elitist pedagogical traditions and upper-middle-class culture in Denmark, as well as the widespread tradition of self-organisation of schools. In contrast, Norwegian upper-secondary teachers were marginalised in the reforms, which Larsen and Thue attribute to the social-democratic political hegemony in Norway, which has emphasised comprehensive education and a tradition of top-down school organisation.

Sølvi Mausethagen, in her chapter on teacher professionalism in Norway (Chapter 11), analyses the discursive construction of professionalism in different teacher education doctoral programmes, and relates these constructions both to the Norwegian policy discourse on teacher professionalism and Swedish and Danish views on professionalism. Mausethagen finds that professionalism – now a hegemonic discourse in Norway – has been operationalised in three different ways in teacher education. The first two ways, which Mausethagen calls 'instrumental' and 'relational', are closer to the government discourse and refer to the production and use of research-based evidence and practice research, respectively. The third, 'critical' way to conceptualise teacher professionalism concerns the production and use of meta-knowledge about teacher practices. Mausethagen concludes that much of the debate around teacher professionalism reflects the conflict between old pedagogical traditions and the newly emerged education sciences. Arguably, experience-based and contextual teacher knowledge is marginalised within new forms of professionalism.

Chapter 12 by *Kathleen Falkenberg* and *Johanna Ringarp* addresses one of the core practices of teachers: assessment and grading. Comparing German and Swedish guidelines, practices, and legitimation strategies regarding assessment and grading, Falkenberg and Ringarp point to both similarities and differences between the two countries. While their findings reveal diversity within the respective national contexts, they nonetheless suggest that teachers' justice beliefs interact with each context's institutional settings, national (or state-specific) guidelines, and the school system in overall. Falkenberg and Ringarp identify four underlying justice beliefs that are actualised to varying degrees in the two contexts, due to different preconditions, such as the extent of micro-regulation and normative expectations concerning grading, of collegial collaboration between teachers, of documentation guidelines, and of possibilities of individualised assessment. In conclusion, Falkenberg and Ringarp note that Swedish teachers are characterised by an organisational professionalism and hence by a professionalism from above, while their

German colleagues rather follow an occupational professionalism or a professionalism from within.

In the final chapter (Chapter 13), *Wieland Wermke* and *Tine S. Prøitz* discuss how teachers in Sweden, Norway, and Germany are confronted with different degrees of complexity in their daily work. Facing a broad range of, at times, contradictory expectations and regulations, teachers need to engage in 'risk management' by making choices that least jeopardise their work. Wermke and Prøitz relate the varying forms of risk management to these countries' diverse socio-historical trajectories as well as the varying complexity of the governance regimes emerging from these trajectories. While Swedish teachers, due to the quick pace of educational reforms, are exposed to multiple pressures and a complexity that is difficult to navigate, their German colleagues operate in a system that is characterised by a remarkable continuity, with traditions in place that have a 'complexity-reducing' effect. Norwegian teachers, although subject to new accountability measures and results-based governance logics, can rely on strong teacher unions and a consensus-based style of communication with government agencies, equipping them with greater autonomy than their Swedish peers. Importantly, Wermke and Prøitz conclude that inasmuch as Norway rather resembles Germany than Sweden, there is no uniform Nordic teaching profession.

Notes

1 According to the authors William J. Harvey and Christian Reppien, who were conducting a survey on Danish society, an anonymous Dane conveyed this statement to them.
2 In the following discussion of xenostereotypes, we draw on the study by Musiał (2002).
3 All translations from non-English sources are the authors' own translations.

References

Andersson, J. (2009) 'Nordic nostalgia and Nordic light: the Swedish model as utopia 1930–2007', *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 34(3), pp. 229–245. doi: 10.1080/03468750903134699.

Bendix, R. (1967) 'Tradition and modernity reconsidered', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 9(3), pp. 292–346. doi: 10.1017/S0010417500004540.

Blossing, U., Imsen, G. and Moos, L. (eds.) (2014) *The Nordic education model: 'A school for all' encounters neo-liberal policy* (1st ed.). Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands. doi: 10.1007/978-94-007-7125-3.

Boli, J. (1989) *New citizens for a new society: the institutional origins of mass schooling in Sweden*. Pergamon Press.

Brunila, K. and Edström, C. (2013) 'The famous Nordic gender equality and what's Nordic about it', *Nordic Studies in Education*, 33(4), pp. 300–313.

Buchardt, M., Markkola, P. and Valtonen, H. (2013) 'Introduction: education and the making of the Nordic welfare states', in Buchardt, M., Markkola, P. and Valtonen H. (eds.), *Education, state and citizenship*. Helsinki: University of Helsinki, pp. 7–30.

Childs, M. (1936) *Sweden: the middle way*. London: Faber.

Dahl, T., Askling, B., Heggen, K., Iversen Kulbrandstad, L., Lauvdal, T., Qvortrup, L., Salvanes, K.G., Skagen, K., Skrøvset, S., and Thue, F.W. (2016) *Om lærerrollen. Et kunnskapsgrunnlag*. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.

'De nordiska skolmötenas silfverbröllop' (1895) *Svensk Läraretidning*, 27, p. 334.

Delegations for the Promotion of Economic Co-operation Between the Northern Countries (1937) *The Northern countries in world economy. Denmark – Finland – Iceland – Norway – Sweden*. Helsinki: Otava Printing Office.

Dervin, F. (2016) 'Is the emperor naked? Experiencing the "PISA hysteria", branding and education export in Finnish academia', in Trimmer, K. (ed.), *Political pressures on educational and social research*. London and New York: Routledge, pp.77–93.

Desmond, S. (1918) *The soul of Denmark*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

Eide, K. (1990) '*30 years of educational collaboration in the OECD*', *International Congress 'Planning and management of educational development'*. Mexico City, 26–30 March 1990. UNESCO Report Ed.90/CPA.401/DP.1/11. Paris: UNESCO Archives.

Elias, N. (1978) *What is sociology?* New York: Columbia University Press.

Esping-Andersen, G. (1990) *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Etzioni, A. (ed.) (1969) *The semi-professions and their organization: teachers, nurses, social workers*. New York: Free Press.

Evetts, J. (2003) 'The sociological analysis of professionalism: occupational change in the modern world', *International Sociology*, 18(2), pp. 395–415. doi: 10.1177/0268580903018002005.

Evetts, J. (2013) 'Professionalism: value and ideology', *Current Sociology*, 61(5–6), pp. 778–796. doi: 10.1177/0011392113479316.

Giddens, A. (1991) *Modernity and self-identity. Self and society in the late modern age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Grinder-Hansen, K. (2013) *Den gode, den onde og den engagerede: 1000 år med den danske lærer*. Copenhagen: Muusmann forlag.

Harvey, W.J. and Reppien, C. (1915) *Denmark and the Danes. A survey of Danish life, institutions and culture*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

Hemstad, R. (2016) 'Scandinavianism, Nordic co-operation, and "Nordic democracy"', in Kurunmäki, J. and Strang, J. (eds.), *Rhetorics of Nordic democracy*. Helsinki: SKS Finnish Literature Society, pp. 179–193. doi: 10.21435/sfh.17.

Hilson, M. (2013) *The Nordic model: Scandinavia since 1945*. Repr. London: Reaktion Books.

Hjort, K. (2003) *Professionaliseringen i den offentlige sektor*. Frederiksberg: Roskilde Universitetsforlag.

Hobsbawm, E. (1983) 'Introduction: inventing traditions', in Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger, T. (eds.), *The invention of tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1–14.

Jóhannsdóttir, G. (2008) '*Academic drift in the development of the education of Nordic primary school teachers*', *Den 10. nordiske Læreruddannelseskongress*, Kennaraháskóli Islands, 21–24 May 2008.

Kivinen, O. and Rinne, R. (1991) 'Changing higher-education policy: three Western models', *Prospects. Quarterly Review of Education*, 21(3), pp. 421–429.

Knight, E.W. (1927) *Among the Danes*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

Landahl, J. (2015) 'Det nordiska skolmötet som utbildningspolitisk arena (1870–1970)', *Utbildning & Demokrati*, 24(3), pp. 7–23. doi: 10.48059/uod.v24i3.1040.

Larsen, J.E. (2016) 'Academisation of teacher education: sites, knowledge and cultures and changing premises for educational knowledge in Norway and Denmark', in Hoffmann-Ocon, A. and Horlacher, R. (eds.), *Pädagogik und pädagogisches Wissen. Ambitionen in und Erwartungen an die Ausbildung von Lehrpersonen*. Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt, pp. 221–228.

Lundberg, U. (2005) *A leap in the dark. From a large actor to a large approach: the Joint Committee of the Nordic Social Democratic Labour Movement and the crisis of the Nordic model*. Stockholm: Institute for Future Studies.

Lundgren, U.P. (2013) 'PISA as a political instrument: one history behind the formulating of the PISA programme', *Profesorado*, 17(2), pp. 15–29.

Marklund, C. (2017) 'The Nordic model on the global market of ideas: the welfare state as Scandinavia's best brand', *Geopolitics*, 22(3), pp. 639–639. doi: 10.1080/14650045.2016.1251906.

Mausethagen, S. (2015) *Lærerrollen i endring? Om nye forventninger til lærerprofesjonen og lærerarbeidet*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Mjøset, L. (1992) 'The Nordic model never existed, but does it have a future?', *Scandinavian Studies*, 64(4), pp. 652–671.

Musiał, K. (2002) *Roots of the Scandinavian model: images of progress in the era of modernisation*. Baden-Baden: Nomos.

Nilsson-Lindström, M. (2019) 'Utbildningsfältets omvandling och läraryrkenas professionalisering', in Brante, T., Svensson, K. and Svensson, L.G. (eds.), *Ett professionellt landskap i förvandling*. Lund: Studentlitteratur, pp. 127–169.

Nilsson-Lindström, M. and Beach, D. (2019) 'Utbildningsfältets professionalisering', in Brante, T., Svensson, K. and Svensson, L.G. (eds.), *Det professionella landskapets framväxt*. Lund: Studentlitteratur, pp. 147–208.

Nordic Council of Ministers (2009) *Comparative study of Nordic teacher-training programmes*. Copenhagen: Nordic Council of Ministers.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (1973) *OECD economic outlook, Volume 1973 Issue 1*. Available at: https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/content/publication/eco_outlook-v1973-1-en. (Accessed: 10 May 2021).

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (1996) *OECD economic surveys: Finland 1996*. Available at: https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/content/publication/eco_surveys-fin-1996-en. (Accessed: 10 May 2021).

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2000) *Policies towards full employment*. Available at: https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/content/publication/9789264181632-en. (Accessed: 10 May 2021).

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2002) *Reviews of national policies for education: lifelong learning in Norway 2002*. Available at: https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/content/publication/9789264196421-en. (Accessed: 10 May 2021).

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2004) *Reviews of national policies for education: Denmark 2004*. Available at: https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/content/publication/9789264017948-en. (Accessed: 10 May 2021).

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2006) *Starting strong II. Early childhood education and care*. Available at: https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/content/publication/9789264035461-en. (Accessed: 10 May 2021).

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2018) *Equity in education*. Available at: https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/content/publication/9789264073234-en. (Accessed: 10 May 2021).

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2019) *Benchmarking higher education system performance*. Available at: https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/content/publication/be5514d7-en. (Accessed: 10 May 2021).

Sahlberg, P. (2015) *Finnish lessons 2.0: What can the world learn from educational change in Finland?* (2nd ed.). New York and London: Teachers College, Columbia University.

Schriewer, J. (2000) 'World system and interrelationship networks', in Popkewitz, T.S. (ed.), *Educational knowledge: Changing relationships between the state, civil society, and the educational community*. Albany: State University of New York Press, pp. 305–343.

Schulte, B. (2004) 'East is East and West is West? Chinese academia goes global', in Schriewer, J., Charle, C. and Wagner, P. (eds.), *Transnational intellectual networks. Forms of academic knowledge and the search for cultural identities*. Frankfurt and New York: Campus, pp. 307–329.

Sejersted, F. (2013) *Sosialdemokratiets tidsalder. Norge og Sverige i det 20. århundre*. Oslo: Pax Forlag.

Servan-Schreiber, J.-J. (1967) *Le défi américain*. Paris: Denoël.

Simon, E.D. (1939) *The smaller democracies*. London: Victor Gollancz Ltd.

Skarpenes, O. (2007) *Kunnskapens legitimering. Fag og læreplaner i videregående skole*. Oslo: Abstrakt forlag.

SOU (2018:48) *En lärande tillsyn. Statlig granskning som bidrar till verksamhetsutveckling i vård, skola och omsorg*, Tillitsdelegationen. Stockholm: Norstedts Juridik.

Steiner-Khamsi, G. and Waldow, F. (2019) *Understanding PISA's attractiveness: critical analyses in comparative policy studies*. London: Bloomsbury.

Stoler, A.L. and Cooper, F. (1997) 'Between metropole and colony: rethinking a research agenda', in Cooper, F. and Stoler, A.L. (eds.), *Tensions of empire. Colonial cultures in a bourgeois world*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 1–56.

Strang, J. (2016) 'Introduction: the Nordic model of transnational cooperation?', in Strang, J. (ed.), *Nordic cooperation: a European region in transition*. Oxon and New York: Routledge, pp. 1–26.

Stråth, B. (1993) 'Den nordiska modellen. Historisk bakgrund och hur talet om en nordisk modell uppstod', *Nordisk Tidskrift*, 1, pp. 55–61.

Telhaug, A.O. and Mediås, O.A. (2003) *Grunnskolen som nasjonsbygger: Fra statspietisme til nyliberalisme*. Oslo: Abstrakt forlag.

Telhaug, A.O., Mediås, O.A. and Aasen, P. (2006) 'The Nordic model in education: education as part of the political system in the last 50 years', *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, 50(3), pp. 245–283. doi: 10.1080/00313830600743274.

Warin, J., and Adriany, V. (2017) 'Gender flexible pedagogy in early childhood education', *Journal of Gender Studies*, 26(4), pp. 375–386. doi: 10.1080/09589236.2015.1105738.

Westbury, I., Hopmann, S. and Riquarts, K. (eds.) (2015) *Teaching as a reflective practice: the German Didaktik tradition*. New York and London: Routledge.

Wiborg, S. (2009) *Education and social integration: comprehensive schooling in Europe*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wiborg, S. (2017) 'Teachers unions in the Nordic countries: solidarity and the politics of self-interest', in Moe, T. and Wiborg, S. (eds.), *The comparative politics of education*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 144–191. doi: 10.1017/9781316717653.006.

Zhu, Q. 祝其樂 (1923) '研究鄉村教育的途徑與方法' Yanjiu xiangcun jiaoyu de tujing yu fangfa, *Jiaoyu Zazhi*, 15(9), pp. 6–15.

Part I

The social roles, status and images of Nordic teachers

1 Nordic elementary schoolteachers

Organic intellectuals, agents of a colonising state, emancipatory groups, or all of these?

Jesper Eckhardt Larsen

Introduction

Elementary schoolteachers in Western societies between 1880 and 1920 have provoked ambiguous interpretations in historiography. Was this rapidly growing group a large, grey mass of the humblest servants of the state? Were teachers progressivist and avant-garde fighters on behalf of oppressed groups and minorities in a struggle for power on a national level? Or were they the carriers of primordial cultural values into fights about defining national identity? This chapter will argue that, no matter their role, in disseminating values and ideas to new generations, teachers played a defining part in the development of national self-understandings.

In most or all Western countries, during the first half of the nineteenth century, the village schoolteacher was likely to be a farmer's son. Urban schoolteachers including home teachers were a more mixed group including both male and female teachers of higher and lower social backgrounds. By the turn of the century, however, with industrialisation and rapid urbanisation, the persistent over-recruitment of elementary schoolteachers from rural or small-town backgrounds, as well as the large influx of female teachers, came to be considered increasingly problematic.

The conclusions of an American survey conducted by Lotus Delta Coffman (1875–1938) at the Teachers College, Columbia University (New York) in 1911, show how this recruitment pattern was seen as contributing to the (poor) state of public schooling. Feminisation and predominantly rural recruitment were identified as the most significant problems. Teachers at rural and small-town schools did little voluntarily for self-improvement; there was a want not only of training, but also of 'aptness to teach and of personality' (Coffman, 1911, pp. 82ff).

These perceived recruitment 'problems' are, however, extraordinarily dependent on context. The almost exclusively rural recruitment of elementary schoolteachers in Norway, e.g., has received almost the directly opposite assessment. Lauglo describes the period from 1880 to 1920 as the 'golden age of the teacher-politician' (Lauglo, 1995, p. 267). Teachers with rural or 'popular' origins formed a sort of countercultural movement, with issues such as political rights, nationalism, *nynorsk* Norwegian language revival, anti-establishment Christianity, and the temperance movement on their agenda.

For the Norwegian national self-understanding, the idea of the so-called 'folk teachers' went through what can be seen as its final test in the cultural and political

DOI: 10.4324/9781003082514-3

confrontations with the German occupation authorities during the Second World War. Just after the establishment of the Nazi government under Vidkun Quisling (1867–1945) in February 1942, a law was issued, obliging all teachers to join a new, Nazified, teachers' union. In the following weeks, approximately 12,000 out of the country's 14,000 schoolteachers and secondary-school lecturers had sent letters of protest and read statements aloud in their classrooms. This happened alongside a parallel protest by pastors in most churches against a Nazi youth organisation (Hagemann, 1992, p. 201). Quisling was unable to cope with this opposition and, in March 1942, the *Reichskommissär*, Josef A. H. Terboven (1898–1945) ordered the deportation of 1,000 schoolteachers to work on fortifications in northern Norway (ibid., p. 205). It was arguably in the defence of Norway as a *survival unit* (to use a term discussed in more detail later in this chapter) that Norwegian teachers got their final stamp as the co-definers and defenders of the nation's political and cultural existence.

American historiography shows the special *emancipatory* significance that elementary schoolteachers, as an occupation group, have had in the United States. Here, teachers as progressivist avant-garde fighters on behalf of oppressed groups and minorities struggling for power on a national level have played a central role for *assertive and struggling groups*. Indeed, African Americans have been better represented among teachers than in any other professional group. In this regard, the teaching profession has been an important avenue for the development of an educated cadre of leaders in the African American community (Rury, 1989, p. 10).

What are the historical circumstances and characteristics of the national paths in this period that have determined the differing national importance of schoolteachers? In our own time of identity politics, it is instructive to review how the circumstances of earlier times led to frontline leaders emerging from among schoolteachers who, I argue, gained legitimacy from their social, geographical, cultural, and racial origins, sometimes from their gender, and sometimes from their families' social and occupational backgrounds.

Methods and data

This chapter combines descriptive statistical analysis of quantitative data on teacher recruitment patterns (sociocultural background, rural/urban origin, gender, etc.), and information on the rationale behind the geographical placement of pre-service teacher educational institutions, with qualitative and historical analysis. By mixing methods, it becomes possible to assess the quantitative data on 'urban' versus 'rural' and 'elite' versus 'folk' recruitment, and the male/female recruitment ratios in the Nordic region during 1880–1920, before moving to an assessment of the broader cultural and political significance of these recruitment patterns in an international comparative perspective.

Statistical overviews of individual pre-service teacher education institutions from the period itself, or immediately after, often only give the occupational details of the fathers of student teachers. From this material alone, it is difficult accurately to categorise recruitment as being rural or urban, or to categorise it in relation to

social status or class affiliation. Statistical material and historiography on recruitment since the 1930s or so has, by contrast, categorised these recruitment patterns primarily according to status and class, making data and secondary interpretations less comparable over time. The recruitment data can, however, serve as indications of overall national patterns. Especially relevant in this data are the percentages of student teachers from farming families (indicating the 'common' or 'folk' origin of teachers), the level of self-recruitment in the teaching profession, i.e., how many come from teacher families (indicating the level of professionalisation), and the gender ratio.

Structure of the chapter

The next section introduces the theoretical framework of the chapter, with a tentative placement of the eight national cases (see Figure 1.1). This framework structures the following parts of the chapter. The first set of national cases, of 'organic teachers in culturally defensive countries' – Ireland, Denmark, and Norway – will then be analysed, followed by an analysis of 'colonising teachers in culturally expansive countries' – Germany, the United States, and Sweden. The next section discusses 'colonising teachers in culturally defensive countries' – Finland and Iceland. This is followed by reflections on how these cases reflect co-occurrences, rather than causal relationships, between nation-state and teacher types. Finally, the conclusion opens up the discussion to broader comparative interpretations of the impact of these teacher types.

Teacher type / Type of nation-state	Colonising	Organic
Culturally expansive	Germany United States Sweden	
Culturally defensive	Finland Iceland	Ireland Denmark Norway

Figure 1.1 Framework of teacher types.

Aims, questions, and conceptual framework

One aim of this volume is to investigate the particularities of Nordic teacher cultures, i.e., to identify and describe the characteristics of teachers collectively, by looking at the groups of individuals in the teaching profession in the various Nordic countries. In this chapter, I also compare Nordic teacher cultures with those of Ireland, Germany, and the United States. This demands some reflections on the historical causes of these characteristics which, in turn, requires a theoretical framework of such consistency that it allows for cross-regional comparison. Simply put: what exactly are we comparing when we compare 'teacher cultures' or nationally dominant 'teacher types'? And, secondly, can we operationalise a theory that explains similarities and differences across many cases? In this chapter, I attempt an assessment of the cultural significance of recruitment into and placement of initial teacher education institutions ca. 1880–1920. The research questions of this chapter are:

i Where did Nordic student teachers come from, socially and geographically, compared with those in Ireland, Germany, and the United States?
ii What significance is ascribed to these patterns of recruitment by actors and contemporary observers as well as by later historiography?
iii Where were pre-service teacher education institutions placed and why?
iv What role, if any, did concepts of 'folk' and similar notions play in discussions about teacher education, its recruitment, and location?
v How are the differing dominant teacher types connected to national self-understandings including national cultural strategies?

I will place teacher groups into a framework of nation-states which are, as discussed below, seen as *survival units*. Teachers have often, at least in times where national sentiments and loyalties are paramount, played a role as the guardians of nationhood. Teachers have, especially in times of relative secularisation, been responsible for reproducing in the next generation a certain minimum of loyalty towards the nation-state. The period this chapter is concerned with, from around 1880 until the 1920s, saw unprecedented public nationalism, the relative secularisation of civil society, and in many cases, active efforts to build or consolidate the nation. I introduce here, a simple matrix of ideal types as a starting point for an explanatory framework.

The connections suggested in Figure 1.1, e.g., in the top-left quadrant between a culturally expansive strategy of a nation-state, and a colonising teacher type, intuitively seem to be confirmed by many historical cases. In the case of South America, which is not developed further here, Caruso has shown that teachers during the nineteenth century actively spread language, ideas, and values from the centre towards the periphery in a colonising way, almost as a continuation of the colonial strategies of European powers in the previous century (Caruso, 2012). However, the matrix also shows less intuitive co-occurrences. As will be discussed below, Finland and, to some extent, Iceland are countries with culturally defensive strategies, e.g., in the field of protecting their national languages in the light of foreign

dominance but have a colonising teacher type. The only 'simple' indication is that we exclusively find the organic teacher type in nations with a culturally defensive strategy (i.e., in the bottom-right quadrant).

The correspondence between colonising/expansive, as well as organic/defensive was a working hypothesis. But with the two outliers we identified, these co-occurrences must be questioned and investigated for each case in turn. Thus, the categories in Figure 1.1 primarily serve as heuristic tools to show differing co-occurrences rather than to suggest any deterministic or linear causation. These can clarify what to look for in individual cases and thus serve as a *tertium comparationis* in the overall comparative analysis.

The two teacher types in Figure 1.1 refer mainly to teachers' roles on a societal or nation-state level. The *colonising teacher type* has affinity to the centre in relation to the periphery. The centre sends out its educators to promote loyalties to the nation-state in all its geographical regions, as Göttlicher finds in Austria, Schulte in China, and, as mentioned above, Caruso in South America (Caruso, 2012; Göttlicher, 2019; Schulte, 2014). These efforts are apparent not only in rural areas, but also in urban areas, in the latter between socially distinct areas. The colonising teacher type is often educated in larger, central cities and the connection with his or her sociocultural background (if not urban middle class) is not deemed anything other than a possible obstacle to becoming a tool of the civilising aspirations of the ruling group at the centre. If a student teacher is from rural or lower-class origins, forgetting previous values, habitual behaviours, group affiliations, and even traces of a dialect or sociolect, is part of becoming a teacher.

The *organic teacher type* is the opposite: this type is defined as bringing previous values, habitual behaviours, group affiliations, and dialects/sociolects into play when incarnating the role of a teacher. This type, conceptually inspired by Antonio Gramsci, has also been described in the Irish case (Johnson, 1992). This teacher type is often educated in smaller towns or rural settings, where there is a conscious effort to preserve the primordial sociocultural heritage of student teachers. The affinity of the student teacher with place and culture is instrumental in bringing about a culturalisation of new generations into a cultural loyalty towards the nation-state.

Though inspired by his work, this application has no direct references to Gramsci's own categorisations, as he most often places schoolteachers in the category of *traditional* intellectuals. He separates intellectuals not only into the *traditional* and *organic* types, but also into the *rural* and *urban* types according to the place where they worked. The rural type, he declares, is for the most part 'traditional' – a group that includes the countryside 'priest, lawyer, notary, teacher, doctor, etc.' (Gramsci and Hoare, 1971, p. 14). Additionally, Gramsci does not believe that groups of peasants would develop their own organic intellectuals (ibid., p. 6). Rather, when intellectuals, like priests, were recruited from peasant backgrounds, they would leave their original loyalties behind (as with the colonising teacher type, above). It can however be argued that Gramsci is mostly referring to Southern European contexts, and rural teachers with farming backgrounds in Ireland, Denmark, and Norway do exhibit traits that arguably resemble those of organic intellectuals. Thus, in this northern context, the organic teacher type is seen as

connected to farmers as a group, in opposition to the way that Gramsci uses the term, where organic intellectuals were almost exclusively from urban working-class backgrounds.

It is important to stress that rural recruitment does not invariably result in an organic teacher type. The emergence of the type depends on the character of pre-service teacher education, which also raises the question of the location of pre-service teacher education institutions. Göttlicher, in writing about Austrian country schools, explains that although some recruitment for teacher education institutions was from the countryside, the location of the teacher training institutions in the larger cities turned teacher training into a form of 'class travel', i.e., a change in social standing and cultural habitus of the individual student teacher (Göttlicher, 2019). The 'culture' of rural recruits was overruled in the process of obtaining a centralised urban pre-service teacher education. Each of the national cases therefore demands a closer analysis of the character and geographical location of teacher education institutions.

Cultural strategies of nation-states

For Norbert Elias, the nation-state is a *survival unit* within an environment of other, potentially hostile, states. The consequence is that the nation-state must organise itself to procure at least a sufficient defence. This defence should be regarded in the broadest possible terms, ranging from soldiers and military weapons to culture, ideology, and social organisation (Elias, 1978; Reeh, 2016). In this perspective, the education of a population can be seen as a means by which the state secures a certain cultural and political cohesion in its more-or-less open strife with other states for survival. This does not just become relevant during wars, but also in day-to-day consolidations of national self-understandings, as I discuss below in the case of Nordic 'folk' ideology. Reeh argues on the basis of Norbert Elias and others that all nation-states must primarily be seen as survival units, and connects this to, in turn, religion, education, and nationalism. In his analysis, long before the overt discourse of 'competition states', religion, cultural nationalism, and mass education have served the object of mobilising the population for state survival and wars to come (Reeh, 2016). On the basis of this ubiquitous need for a cultural survival strategy, I shall distinguish between two ideal types: a *culturally expansive* strategy and a *culturally defensive* one.

A nation-state with a culturally expansive strategy has sufficient power and resources to hold its territory, as well as the soft power to dominate other neighbouring regions culturally. The United States during most of the twentieth century demonstrated this cultural strategy. A prime example is the Harvard Report from 1945, titled *General Education in a Free Society*. The concept of freedom in this report is to be understood as a contrast to both Nazism and Socialism, and it emphasises a self-understanding marked by the United States' new global role as the defender of freedom and inheritor of the Western democratic cultural heritage. In this understanding, the role of education and learning is to extend the classical notion of liberal education, i.e., the culture of the free, noble, and high classes, to all citizens (Buck et al., 1945).

A nation-state with a culturally defensive strategy has, on the contrary, issues with upholding its territory and cultural independence. It lacks both the hard power to back its territorial claims and the soft power to expand its cultural values to other surrounding nations. This can be seen in the case of Denmark, which was threatened by state bankruptcy in 1813, the loss of Norway in 1814, and wars with Germany in 1848–1850 and 1864. Already in 1816, the Danish pioneer of a 'folk ideology' N. F. S. Grundtvig (1783–1872) called for building a *spiritual wall* against European influence and likened it to the fortress raised against the German invasions in the early middle ages (*Et åndeligt Danne-Virke*). This, he wrote, would serve to protect the Danish culture and language (Grundtvig, 2016 [1816]).

Nordic folk ideology

The Nordic countries have been described as being discursively dominated by a continuity of positive political connotations of the 'folk' concept since the late nineteenth century (Trägårdh, 1990). This concept can be translated as 'common people', as well as 'a nation'. The historical emergence of a Nordic model of education builds on specific political alliances and discourses that differ from both German and American trajectories. A decisive difference is noticeable in how nationalism and folk ideology influenced educational reform processes in the Nordic countries during the late nineteenth and well into the twentieth century. From the comparative work on the divergent paths of the '*Volk*/folk' discourses in Germany and Scandinavia, it is apparent that the concept of a 'folk' has left an important mark on Nordic liberal and social democratic party politics and, by extension, on Nordic educational self-understanding (Lauglo, 1995; Trägårdh, 1990). Briefly summarised, an alliance between liberal farmers and reformist social democratic workers formed in the early twentieth century. The Nordic conception of 'folk' was thus coloured by liberalism in combination with democratic reformist socialism and was distinguished by class compromise. Thereby it departed from the *völkisch* ideologies instrumentalised from the 1920s onwards in Germany (Ibid.).

Struggling with the concepts of 'folk' and 'folk teachers', Lauglo, in his contribution on teachers as *community leaders* in Norway compared to other Western countries, chooses to call the specific Nordic path a variant of *populism* as a political and cultural force.

> In negative terms, populism – often taking the form of protest movements in the name of the cultural, economic, and political values and beliefs of ordinary people – is a reaction against elites. In positive terms populism represents a direct and local democracy that seeks to empower ordinary people.
>
> (Lauglo, 1995, p. 256)

Following Lauglo, it is clear that belonging to a folk is not (only) a social distinction, but a cultural one. Populism differs from socialism in that it doesn't delimit its loyalties through social class distinction, but rather through cultural or ethnic distinctions. In the above framework, however, it is not totally self-evident that the

cases which promote organic teachers are also more concerned with strengthening democracy or directly empowering ordinary people. One may problematise the frequent claim that the Nordic countries are more democratic, or even more directly democratic, because of their folk ideology. It has also been argued that statism is very strong in the Nordic countries (e.g., Wiborg, 2009).

Ireland, Denmark, and Norway: organic teachers in culturally defensive nations

In this section, I argue that elementary schoolteachers played similar roles in Ireland, Denmark, and Norway. The Irish case is an obvious example of a conscious policy of 'creating' schoolteachers who were expected to incarnate and adhere to a narrower definition of a primordial national culture in the midst of a conscious nation-building process. This both influenced the deliberate geographical placement of teacher education institutions and their intentionally rural recruitment. The Irish case is not fully developed here but is used as a parallel case to two west-Nordic countries, Norway and Denmark.

Ireland: the intentional political construction of the teacher as an organic nation-builder

Johnson describes in detail how the deliberate recruitment of schoolteachers from the Gaeltacht areas in the west of Ireland, who had Gaelic as their mother tongue, gained strategic importance in the first part of the twentieth century, as the movement towards Irish independence gathered pace. The Irish language was to emerge as the foundation of primary education and the west of Ireland, where there was the greatest concentration of Irish speakers, was to become 'the *synecdoche* of Irish identity'. This region, Johnson explains, was to be the beneficiary of a cultural policy that would recruit teachers as 'organic intellectuals' to implement the state's language revivalist policies (Johnson, 1992, p. 175).

In Dublin in 1921, a National Programme Conference was held with representatives of a variety of educational interests. The conference recommendations were immediately implemented by the Irish parliament in late 1922 but a lack of competent teachers to carry out the linguistic part of the curriculum quickly posed problems. The government, therefore, had to seek a way whereby competent teachers of Irish might be secured for the future. In 1926, it was decided to establish a preparatory college system in secondary education to recruit teachers for the training colleges. In order to imbue students with a heightened consciousness of being Irish speakers, it was asserted that with the exception of two colleges to be established in Dublin, they should be situated in the Gaeltacht, 'where the language and tradition of Gaelic Ireland are still a living force' (Department of Education, 1927; quoted in Johnson, 1992, p. 178). Seven colleges were established, three for Catholic boys, three for Catholic girls, and one Protestant coeducational college. Johnson views this as an attempt to deliberately mediate between the state and civil society through the instrumentalisation of schoolteachers acting as organic intellectuals.

Denmark: a country divided

The role of schoolteachers in local rural communities in Denmark during 1880–1920 has been widely debated, and many scholars have pointed to the ambiguousness of this group. On the one hand, the developments in teacher education, combined with the growing prominence of commercial farmers as a group, gave rise to teachers as the organic intellectuals of these farmers, e.g., representing them politically on a national level. On the other hand, this was also a time of decline in the status of teachers from a socioeconomic viewpoint.

In Chapter 7, Cucco and Larsen argue that a 'Danish schism' can be said to characterise the national self-understanding. The educated urban academic groups stood against countercultural movements defined by Grundtvigian folk ideology. To a very large degree, teachers were active on the folk side of the schism.

Until the middle of the nineteenth century, teacher education was a state monopoly in Denmark, after which pressure from the Farmers' Friends Party (*Bondevennerne*) and Grundtvigian circles led to its liberalisation in 1857 and again in 1867. This created a window of opportunity for groups in civil society to establish their own alternative teacher education institutions, e.g., Grundtvigian groups, Inner Mission groups with countercultural agendas, and groups of women with an emancipatory agenda. Many of these institutions remained viable well into the twentieth century and became more and more integrated into Danish statehood. The Grundtvigian influence diffused quite significantly into state institutions. Hjermitslev concludes that by 1920, Grundtvigian ideas were mainstream in most private and state teacher seminaries in Denmark (Hjermitslev, 2020). These ideas included both low-church Christianity and nationalistic ideas of primordial Danishness. According to the jubilee book of the Grundtvigian Jelling seminary in 1918, any local school board which chose to employ a teacher educated at this seminary could rest assured that it would get a 'Christian man, a Danish man' (cited in Grinder-Hansen, 2013, p. 125).

Danish historiography of teacher recruitment paints an ambivalent picture of the rural Danish schoolteacher from the 1880s until the turn of the century. On the one hand, it is clear that teachers' social position generally deteriorated. Economically and agriculturally, they were placed alongside lower-class farmers (*husmænd*) – and, like them, were dependent on the wealthier commercial farmers. However, in these years, many teachers came to play a prominent role in society at both local and national levels. If the teacher saw an opportunity in the local community and had the ability, will, and initiative, then he and the school might become a sort of centre of gravity for the community. This opportunity could be the establishment of evening schools, lecture associations, and the construction of community assembly halls – but teachers were also often among the initiators of the cooperative movement (Hansen, 1977, p. 45).

Grinder-Hansen's description of the teacher in this period is also ambivalent. He defines the folk teacher as a special teacher type (Grinder-Hansen, 2013, p. 119). In this context, it is obvious that the concept of folk teacher must be perceived in parallel with Gramsci's concept of a teacher who also functions as an organic intellectual. The Danish village teacher could, by virtue of his social

background in the farming population, his low social status, and being paid in kind, take a position as *primus inter pares* – the foremost farmer among farmers (see Chapter 3).

In spite of the large number of women who passed the teacher exam around the turn of the century, female teachers played a minor role in the countryside prior to 1900. Women held around 15% of teaching positions outside Copenhagen in 1895 including preschool teachers (*Tabellariske Meddelelser vedrørede Borger- og Almueskolevæsenet udenfor Kjøbenhavn for Aaret 1895*, 1899). We do not have many sources on their social backgrounds, but one source investigates 720 women who had passed the teaching exam and held positions as teachers.[1] Of these, 62% were employed in the Copenhagen area, 24% in larger provincial towns, and only 14% in the countryside. Around half were the daughters of officials, businessmen, or craftsmen in Copenhagen, a third were daughters of officers or craftsmen in provincial cities and smaller businessmen in Copenhagen, and only 13% were daughters of farmers and village craftsmen (Hansen, 1977, pp. 36ff). This picture changed somewhat when political initiatives were taken to educate female preschool teachers for rural areas. From 1894 onwards, between 25 and 100 female preschool teachers were educated each year in special seminaries (Larsen, 2005). However, these teachers never gained the same quantitative significance in Denmark as they did in Sweden, as will be described below.

Data from 1859 and again from 1869 to 1896 show a high degree of self-recruitment: around a quarter of all student teachers belonged to teacher families. However, during this period, the most prominent group comprised children of commercial farmers at 27%, dropping to 24% in 1897–1925. The proportion of teachers recruited from families of small farmers decreased, from a quarter of all teachers in 1869–1896, to just above 20% around the turn of the century, to 10% in 1920 (Hansen, 1977, p. 130). Female recruitment increased considerably after the turn of the century, as men and women were increasingly educated at the same institutions. Women constituted 38% of candidates who passed the teacher exam in the period 1897–1925. Female recruitment became broader but remained comparatively more urban and bourgeois than the male, a tendency that held until after the Second World War (ibid., p. 174).

In Denmark, therefore, the period 1880–1920 was dominated by rural recruitment combined with substantial self-recruitment and an increase in female recruitment. The high degree of self-recruitment has been seen as an indication that a well-established profession was already in place in the first half of the nineteenth century. This, as will be seen, was also the case in Germany. The large proportion of sons of commercial farmers is interesting in the light of the research question as to whether teachers were from the 'people' – and here we see persistent recruitment from the economically assertive commercial farmer group, whereas recruitment from small farmers decreased after the turn of the century. With well over half of all teachers coming from rural backgrounds up to the 1920s, we see a fairly pronounced local and rural recruitment pattern. 'The man from the plough' became the teacher, right up until after the Second World War.

This recruitment pattern, and the countercultural dominance of pre-service teacher education institutions which were most often placed in rural settings,

shows that the thesis about teachers as the organic intellectuals of the group of commercial farmers is defendable in the Danish case. In Denmark, unlike in Ireland, this teacher type emerged more slowly, and with a less overt political intention of creating teachers as organic intellectuals. However, it can be argued that Grundtvigian groups pushed for the development of this teacher type also on a national political level.

Norway: celebrated folk teachers

The narrative of the folk teacher is far more widespread in Norwegian historiography. Certainly, folk teachers seem impressive – at least from a distance. Slagstad, writing quite recently, is highly enthusiastic (Slagstad, 1998, 2008); Dokka, from an earlier generation, is cooler (Dokka, 1967); and contemporary nineteenth-century Norwegian views were quite derogative. The liberal press of the time was especially hard in its verdicts on these rural seminarists, calling them 'schoolmaster-caricatures', 'half-educated vagrants', 'trained apes', 'marionettes, un-folkish halfwits, unnational idiots', 'the most screwy caricatures', or 'seminary-cut school-master types' (Dokka, 1967, p. 234). Nearer to the present, Lauglo, a Norwegian comparativist who was active in London, seems to seek neutral ground, but still tends to the celebratory when it comes to his country's folk teachers (Lauglo, 1982, 1995). This brief overview makes it evident that historiography contributes strongly to the construction and consolidation of a national cultural self-understanding, and that the countercultural movements, often including teachers as dominant figures in the late nineteenth century, have 'won' a very important status in Norway.

The window of opportunity that opened in Denmark, in which groups in civil society could create their own alternative teacher training institutions, also opened in the Norwegian case from about 1890 to 1920 (see also Chapter 2). This resulted in the emergence of 'folk' institutions like the private seminary established in 1895 in Volda, Western Norway, which became a famous hub of the so-called 'West-Norwegian teachers' (*Vestlandslæreren*) described as ardent supporters of the *nynorsk* linguistic and cultural movement and as 'nation-builders of the periphery' (Høydal, 1995). Adding to this, most state seminaries established since 1826 were also located in the countryside.

The Norwegian recruitment pattern is the most rurally dominated of all the cases described in this chapter. In Norway, during 1875–1876, 98% of students at seminaries and teacher schools had rural backgrounds (*bygdebakgrunn*). Only 5% were sons of teachers, pointing to a low level of self-recruitment. In 1867–1881, the Hamar seminary had 436 student teachers, of whom only three were from urban backgrounds. In 1877–1882, the Kristiansand seminary (formerly at Holt) had 230 student teachers, of whom 24 were from urban backgrounds. The same pattern occurred in the private teacher schools (Dokka, 1967, p. 234; Hagemann, 1992, p. 39).

This resulted in a migration of teachers from the rural, often western parts of Norway, to the south, north, and east. Not only in the cities, but also in the smaller villages of eastern Norway, it was commonplace for virtually all teachers to come from outside. Generally, teachers came from the periphery and from lower social

strata. In other words, teachers were, very often, more or less strangers to the milieu in which they worked (Dokka, 1967, p. 235).

In 1860, it became possible for women to become teachers in rural areas and, from 1869 onwards, also in the towns. This is late in comparison with other Nordic countries. From 1875 to 1895, the percentage of female teachers in rural schools increased from 2% to 21%. In Christiania (later Oslo), the feminisation of teaching occurred even more strongly as the percentage of female teachers rose from 29% to 62% between 1870 and 1890. This led to the establishment of a union for female teachers in 1912, which became central to promoting not only their equal status to male teachers, but also pedagogical reform and women's rights on a national level (Hagemann, 1992). Female teachers were more likely to come from urban business and academic families than their male counterparts. This tendency held as late as 1948–1949, but at this point, there was also substantial recruitment of female teachers from rural backgrounds (ca. 42%) (Strømnes, 2006, p. 122).

Teachers were, as a social group, over-represented in the Norwegian parliament in the late nineteenth century. This over-representation has been interpreted as a product of a social phenomenon. Bull argues, in tune with Gramsci, that every broad, popular movement needs its intellectuals, i.e., people who are more or less professionally trained to think systematically, and to shape their thoughts in speech and writing. In European bourgeois liberalism, lawyers largely filled this role, while in Norway it was filled by teachers (Bull, 1967; ref. to by Jordheim, 1988, p. 68). Slagstad characterises Norwegian teachers as a 'new popular elite group' and explains how these groups succeeded in gaining national hegemony: the existing urban elite disintegrated, and a reforming wing within this elite entered into a coalition with folk teachers (Slagstad, 2008).

The rural placement and countercultural tendencies of many pre-service teacher seminaries, and the overwhelmingly rural dominance in recruitment during most of the 1880–1920 period contributed to the development of an organic teacher type in Norway. The female influx into the profession was more urban, but many rural women also became teachers. Again, it must be stressed that the organic teacher role emerged slowly and was not a result of direct political intervention as in the Irish case. The organic teachers of Norway nevertheless grew to having a significant influence on the national political level and to co-define Norwegian cultural self-understanding.

Germany, the United States, and Sweden: colonising teachers in culturally expansive nations

It may seem odd to place these quite differing countries in the same category, of nation-states with a culturally expansive strategy. Obviously, all three have been militarily expansive in their turn. In the period dealt with in this chapter, Sweden was still a dominant power – Norway was under the Swedish throne until 1905 – and arguably had a culturally dominant position and self-understanding in spite of its comparatively small population. Germany and the United States were both rising world powers at the start of the twentieth century. But, in the case of teachers, their decisive characteristic in the three countries may be self-confidence as the

emissaries of culturally dominant nations. In all three cases, teachers were carriers of a superior culture to all areas of the country, with a mission to both educate children and sometimes even their parents, and to heighten their culture.

Germany: a first mover with an ambiguous cultural strategy

In his analysis of the civilisation process, Norbert Elias describes the German national identity as formed in a defensive bourgeois showdown with the French aristocratic culture that had dominated the German states during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This became a German ideology of *culture* (*Kultur*) set against French *civilisation*. The German urban bourgeoisie formed the centre of German national self-understanding, characterised by a lateral relationship between the educated middle classes in German cities, the *Bildungsbürgertum* (Elias, 1995, pp. 7ff). In spite of this self-understanding, which might otherwise place it in the category of nation-states with a defensive cultural strategy, Germany also shows traits of an expansive cultural strategy. The decisive indicator here is that of the urban bourgeois dominance in national cultural self-understanding.

German states, with Prussia as their leading example, introduced pre-service teacher education already during the eighteenth century. In 1806, there were 11 state-driven seminaries in Prussia (Bölling, 1983). This push for state-driven professionalisation spread to other German states as well as to Denmark and, in turn, Norway. In this way, Prussia was a first mover in the professionalisation of teachers. Germany has thereby been a case of its own kind and radiated influence to all its neighbouring countries as well as the United States (Albisetti, 1993, p. 260).

In German historiography, elementary school teaching has been seen as a stepping stone or platform for upward social mobility into the dominant group of the educated middle class, not least because of the many examples of successful advancement over two generations (Bölling, 1983, p. 76). In the German context, the narrative of the growth of the bourgeoisie (*Bürgertum*) where teachers' sons and daughters were a central group from which new members of the educated middle class (*Bildungsbürger*) were recruited has, however, been contested by other studies that point to a more general recruitment of petite bourgeois into this group (Bölling, 1978, p. 22). There appears to be a strong urge among elementary schoolteachers to emulate high-school teachers. Firstly, a move from rural to urban school positions is evident, not least motivated by better working conditions for the individual teacher. Secondly, accusations of 'half-learning' (*Halbbildung*) made elementary schoolteachers intensively seek further education. The largest German teachers' unions established numerous libraries and arranged courses for teachers. Already in 1848, and again around the turn of the century, there were demands from the teacher unions to move teacher education from seminaries into the universities. This was, according to Bölling, not only to enhance the status of the profession, but also to seek the higher degree of 'spiritual freedom' that was prevalent at the universities, compared to the strict patronage and discipline that dominated German pre-service teacher seminaries. Since the scientific training to which they aspired was the hallmark of the grammar schoolteacher, these became models of collective self-identification for elementary schoolteachers (Bölling, 1978, p. 18).

A general picture of the German development is hard to develop, not least because of the large differences between states as well as the particularities of individual seminaries and their geographical locations. A 1928 study of all male student teachers at Bavarian seminaries in 1872–1920 shows that almost a third were the sons of teachers. During this period, the recruitment of farmers' sons fell from 20% to 10%. The recruitment of the sons of professionals (doctors, priests, etc.) and state officials increased from 10% to 26% (Bölling, 1978, p. 21). These numbers mirror those in Prussia which, in many respects, was recognised as the schooling model for all German states during the nineteenth century. In four small-town Prussian seminaries in Brandenburg, between 1880 and 1925, 16% of student teachers were farmers' sons, 16% were teachers' sons, 44% were sons of merchants and workers, and 24% came from the families of higher and lower officials and other white-collar workers (Bölling, 1983, p. 78).[2]

In some German states, it was possible for women to receive teacher education already from the beginning of the nineteenth century. However, all-male seminaries dominated, numbering 111, compared to five all-female seminaries in 1876 (Enzelberger, 2001, p. 102). This late feminisation has been connected to early professionalisation. In 1913, only around 21% of the teachers in Germany were female (Albisetti, 1993, p. 255). In the larger city of Leipzig, female teachers were of much higher social backgrounds than their male counterparts: in 1903, 34% were the daughters of academics or military officers, and 37% of businessmen (Bölling, 1983, p. 80).

The recruitment numbers changed markedly with the introduction of the *Pädagogische Akademien*, which provided academised teacher education, in 1925. An overview of recruitment in 1929–1930 shows only 6% of male students were farmers' sons. The self-recruitment of both genders from teachers' families stood at 21–22%. Recruitment from higher and lower officials, and from white-collar workers' families was high for both genders (43% of the male group and 30% of the female group), while a much larger part of the female student teachers came from academic family backgrounds (27%) compared to their male counterparts (only 3%). Thus, a more socially exclusive tendency in teacher recruitment accompanied academisation, may be explained by the higher expenses it entailed for families (Ibid., p. 77f).[3]

The high level of self-recruitment characterising the German case has been interpreted as a result of early professionalisation (Albisetti, 1993). In the new century, rural recruitment was still seen as a problematic issue in the German case (Fischer, 1916). But the tendency of these rural schoolteachers was to emulate their secondary school colleagues, not to form a countercultural movement. Comparatively, early academisation contributed to more urban and middle-class recruitment. The resulting pattern was that of a colonising teacher type.

The American teaching profession: grey masses or co-definers of a progressive nation?

In the United States, in 1850 and 1900, rural backgrounds were most common even among urban teachers (Rury, 1989, p. 27). A 1910 study gives a more detailed breakdown of the rural/urban ratio in recruitment. A disproportionately high

number of teachers came from farming families: in the male group, 70%, and in the female group, 45%. In comparison, the census of 1900 shows only 40% of all men and 18% of all women were in agricultural occupations, showing that the share of teachers with an agricultural background was far larger than expected. The second-largest group was the sons and daughters of artisans, who contributed 8% of male teachers and 16% of female teachers. This was followed by the children of businessmen who comprised 15% of the female group and 6% of the male group (Coffman, 1911, p. 73).

In the United States, elementary school teaching had by 1840 already become a preponderantly female occupation. In 1850, however, there were large regional differences. The mostly urban Northeast had 80% women, while the predominantly rural Midwest had the highest percentage of women at 82%, which breaks with the pattern of all other cases in this chapter where female teachers are mostly dominant in urban areas. In the largely rural South, women comprised only 35% of teachers (Rury, 1989, p. 17, Table 1.1). At a time when politics was heavily dominated by men, high percentages of women most likely did not contribute to the development of a tradition of rural leaders recruited from the group of schoolteachers, as seen in Norway and Denmark. Another, more general, explanation is that the strong control of education by local school boards in the United States placed teachers in a dependent position, especially in small towns and rural areas (Lauglo, 1995, p. 267). However, the large group of women in education contributed to the organisation and political mobilisation of women on a national level, e.g., during the struggles for women's suffrage in this period (Urban, 1989).

As also noted in the introduction to this chapter, American historiography thus shows the particular emancipatory significance that the occupation has had for some groups in the United States. Here, teachers as progressivist avant-garde fighters on behalf of oppressed groups and minorities, striving for power on a national level, played a central role for *assertive and struggling groups*. African American teachers confronting the realities of school segregation and the low quality of schooling for blacks, especially in the South, organised more and more during the 1880s and 1890s. By 1900, black teacher organisations existed in all southern states. The agenda of the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools (NATCS), established in 1907, was that of promoting better educational opportunities, not least for the generations of new black leaders to come (Perkins, 1989).

Swedish teachers: state-driven but late certification, early feminisation, urban–rural split

There are a number of reasons for the comparatively late legislation on schooling and state-driven teacher education in Sweden, compared to Denmark and Norway. The system of home-schooling under the supervision of the church was long defended by the clergy, and school initiatives on the national level were stalled for reasons of funding during most of the first half of the nineteenth century (Westberg, Boser and Brühwiler, 2019). The first normal school and teacher seminary in Sweden was founded in 1830 by the Society for the Promotion of Monitorial Education (*Sällskapet för växelundervisningens befrämjande*) which was itself founded

in 1822. In comparison with the Danish case, the introduction of the monitorial[4] system in Sweden was not a top-down state-driven process but a civil society initiative, not unlike in the United Kingdom (Reeh and Larsen, 2014).

When the government did take control, however, a state-driven and centralised system emerged. Just after the Swedish School Act of 1842, which established mandatory schooling, 13 new seminaries for elementary schoolteachers for folk schools were founded in larger Swedish towns, all of them diocesan cities: Lund, Göteborg, Uppsala, Stockholm, Kalmar, etc. (Dahn, 1936). The *folkskoleseminarier* had a self-recruitment rate of around 10% from 1890, growing to around 20–25% in some cities like Uppsala and Göteborg by the turn of the century (Dahn, 1936, pp. 204f). Sweden thus had comparatively late certification at state seminaries, and low self-recruitment rates.

Adding to this picture, however, was a state initiative to promote schooling in remote areas of the country. Under the 1853 law, these so-called 'small schools' (*småskolor*) were also opened up to female teachers. Although this was a state initiative, it was more locally organised and run than the elementary schools (*folkskolor*). During the 1860s and 1870s, a large number of seminaries for the education of small-school teachers opened, in both larger and smaller towns. Many of these seminaries, numbering almost a hundred, were stationary but others were ambulatory, and could provide as little as a few weeks of instruction. The ones located in the centre – in cities and important towns – had more systematic syllabuses and regular inspections (Florin, 1987, pp. 121f). The state tightened its control of the sector in 1870 and reformed the small-school seminaries into *landstingsseminarier* which were more centrally located, though not as much as the teacher seminaries for the *folkskola*.

Thus, professionalisation of the teaching profession in terms of a certified education occurred comparatively late in Sweden, compared to the German, Danish, and Norwegian cases. Moreover, teacher education was established as a quite centralised endeavour, although the urgent need for many small-school teachers to teach in local rural schools during the 1850s and 1860s was met through the more decentralised system of small-school seminaries.

From the start of the twentieth century, Swedish teacher education institutions were dominated by teacher educators with a relatively high level of academic training and a close affiliation to the universities. Holmén and Ringarp (Chapter 6) find that a very high academic level characterises teacher educators from this time on, and note that a reason for the higher share of teacher educators with a doctoral degree in Swedish seminaries might be that they were generally located in larger cities. It was thereby easier for them to recruit teachers with parallel careers in grammar schools or universities. Thus, we see a German pattern in the emulation of academically trained teachers even among elementary schoolteachers.

A special feature of the Swedish case, which is not to be found in any of the other Nordic countries, is that the small-school teachers were almost all female, and there was even a political decision that the new *landstingsseminarier* would be exclusively female. The small schools employed around 7,600 female teachers in 1910 and almost no male teachers (Florin, 1987, p. 41).

In recruitment to the higher-status folk-school seminaries, a swift squeezing out of lower-class rural women (*allmogedöttrarna*) can be observed. In 1907, 25% of

female student teachers at folk-school seminaries were of rural origin in Kalmar and Skara; in Umeå 17%; and in Stockholm only 1% (Dahn, 1936, p. 203). Dahn's national overview for 1922–1926 shows that 60% of students during this time were male and 40% female. In the male group, less than 30% were farmers' sons, and in the female group, just under 20% were farmers' daughters. The opposite trend is evident for children of civil servants and professionals, who comprised 28% of the female group and 20% of the male group.

On the basis of these developments, the feminisation of the Swedish schoolteacher group can be seen to occur in two waves: a first wave with a rural lower-class pattern, and a second wave with an urban pattern. This comparatively early feminisation, in some respects, resembles the American case. In spite of this recruitment pattern, the teaching occupation was a respected occupation in the Swedish case. The female teachers were not just 'social marionettes', they were the 'pioneers of civilisation', as Florin writes. Especially in the vast sparsely populated rural areas, in small villages, it was women who established Swedish people's education (*folkbildning*) (Florin, 1987, p. 14). A microhistory of Ester Vikström (b.1882), a small-school teacher in the sawmill town of Furuögrund in north Västerbotten in Northern Sweden, shows a teacher who had aspirations to social mobility, rather than to be a spokesperson for the town's working-class population. Her social life was as a central character in the local community. In this social environment, she connected mostly with families of high social status, such as the pastor, the doctor, the inspector, and two sea-captains' families. But she found her husband-to-be, and a close friend, in a worker family (Marklund, 2017, p. 406).

A comparison of the Nordic countries opens up many questions about their differing teacher cultures. Differences are discussed in more detail elsewhere in this volume; e.g., Chapter 2 describes Swedish teacher culture as both more *statist* and more *secular* than the west-Nordic ones. From the above outline, it is clear that in Sweden, the placement of most seminaries in central cities, late professionalisation, and perhaps the comparatively early feminisation, may all be seen as underlying the absence of teachers playing a central role as leaders in countercultural rural movements that can be observed in both Denmark and Norway. Additionally, there is a large difference in the pace and organisation of female teacher education, which was private and more or less elitist in Denmark from its beginnings in the 1850s until the 1894 state legislation, while the female influx into the teaching profession in Sweden already from 1842 was a 'state public concern, a matter for the legislative power' and targeted a 'much broader social group' than in Denmark (Hilden, 1993, p. 49). As regards the more expansive national cultural self-understanding, the Swedish nation-state faced fewer challenges than either Denmark, which lost almost a third of its territory to Prussia in 1864, or Norway, which only gained full sovereignty in 1905.

Finland and Iceland: colonising teachers in smaller and culturally defensive nation-states

Finland, and perhaps Iceland, differ from the other Nordic countries as both culturally defensive nation-states and with colonising teacher types (see Figure 1.1). Whereas the Finnish case is arguably a clear example of this combination, as will

be described below, Iceland is a bit ambiguous as it stands out due to its remarkable bottom-up tradition of lay teachers during most of the nineteenth century and a dominant rural recruitment. However, as urbanisation increased in the twentieth century, Reykjavík was for long, the dominant centre and the only site of teacher education in Iceland.

Finland: the 'urban connection' of the teaching profession

This volume contains several detailed accounts of the development of Finnish teacher education (see Chapters 5–7). This brief overview of the Finnish case shall therefore concentrate on the fact that urban elites kept their cultural hegemony, even with the slow turn from Swedish towards Finnish cultural dominance of the nation-state. This combination of a colonising teacher type with a defensive national self-understanding is explained by the fact that, in the threatened Finnish nation-state, the defining Finnish cultural awakening of the late nineteenth century was against foreign elites, not local urban ones. The cultural and linguistic differences between the Finnish majority and the elite Swedish-speaking minority were not directly connected to the survival of the Finnish nation during this period. Thus, the dominance of urban elites in defining Finland's self-understanding was less challenged than in Norway and Denmark. The area of education, from bottom to top, was dominated early – already under Russian rule – by efforts to secure the prime position of Finnish language and culture (Iisalo, 1979).

The central and prevailing tension between the towns and the countryside in Finland (Rinne, 1988, p. 106) can, however, be seen as parallel to the discussions in Norway and Denmark on having teachers coming from 'common' (rural) people teach the children of common people. The discussions in the Finnish journal *The Teacher* on admission to and length of teacher education programmes refer to a desire to recruit from 'common folk' around 1913. College entry based on primary school would ensure that the majority of teachers would themselves have risen from the common folk and from agrarian backgrounds, and would thus understand the background of the children they taught better (Jauhiainen, Kivirauma and Rinne, 1998).

But despite very late urbanisation (almost 90% of the population lived in the countryside at the beginning of the twentieth century), the urban elites retained a hegemony on defining Finnish cultural and educational self-understanding. Popular teachers in the countryside had very low status – even at the turn of the century, they still did not have the right to vote, while their urban colleagues did – but were still perceived as representatives of an 'uncommon civilisation' in the rural communities (Rinne, 1988, p. 124). The urban connection of the teaching profession was also supported by the efforts of the teachers' union. Initiatives in the educational field tended to emanate from the urban centres towards the rural peripheries, but were only slowly adopted in these rural settings (Rinne, 1988).

Between 1880 and 1920, Finland experienced increasing oppression by the Russians and, finally, civil war. The Finnish case, therefore, is categorised in Figure 1.1 as a culturally defensive nation-state. The field of education was, however, characterised by a continuity of urban elite dominance, with a cultural agenda set by

the Finnish nationalist movement, Fennoman. This resulted in teachers with a civilising role and a relatively high status – in the terms introduced above, a colonising teacher type.

Iceland: from self-educated lay teachers to centrally educated professionals

Due to its sparse population, in Iceland, ambulatory schooling was the rule throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and made all the way into the middle of the twentieth century. The census of 1901 showed a population of around 80,000 people: around 6,600 lived in Reykjavík, and a handful of other towns had around 1,000 inhabitants each. Schools had very different enrolment rates in the central and peripheral parts of Iceland, from 90% in towns to 20% in the most remote counties in 1903–1904 (Garðarsdóttir, 2013, p. 143). The 1907 law on compulsory schooling did not change much in the short run. It did, however, raise the expected level of education for children, which slowly brought about a shift in educational arrangements in both urban and rural settings.

Teacher education was initiated very late. Short courses for teachers were provided in connection with the Flensborg secondary school in the town of Hafnarfjördur from 1892 and were extended to one-year courses in 1896. A law to establish a teacher training college was passed in Parliament in connection with the 1907 school law. In 1908, the Icelandic Teacher Training College was founded in Reykjavík and provided a three-year teacher training course, open to both men and women. Around 1900, we also find many examples of teachers who were educated abroad, most of them in Copenhagen (Garðarsdóttir, 2013, p. 149).

Before 1900, there were no data on recruitment into the teaching profession. The census of 1903–1904 gives some indications, with 35% of the teaching staff being 'home-educated or self-educated' and another 24% having received some kind of vocational education (ibid.) In 1909–1910, there were 16 male and 20 female registered teachers in Reykjavík. Half of the female teachers belonged to higher-status families while two-thirds of the males were farmers' sons. Thus, the pattern of higher social status of the female teachers found in the other Nordic countries is repeated in Reykjavík (Garðarsdóttir, 2019, p. 210, Table 2; Garðarsdóttir and Guttormsson, 2014, fn. 10). In the countryside, in 1909–1910, teachers primarily were male (85%) and came from farming families (72%). The father's occupation is unknown in many cases (15%). Only a few of the teachers in the countryside came from teacher backgrounds (less than 4%).

By around 1930, the number of teachers in Reykjavík tripled to 100, of whom 56 were men and 44 women (Garðarsdóttir, 2019, p. 210, Table 2). A large number of the female teachers in this group, 39%, were from farming backgrounds. The next largest group comprised daughters of academics or officials (25%), followed by daughters of teachers (16%). Among the male teachers in Reykjavík, as many as 75% were sons of farmers, and some were sons of teachers (7%), and craftsmen (7%). There was thus substantial recruitment of teachers from the countryside into Reykjavík. Outside the capital, by around 1930, the number of teachers had risen to 785 (72% male, 28% female). While 78% of all male teachers were farmers' sons, 73% of all female teachers were from farming families (Ibid., Table 2).

These numbers show high and persistent recruitment from farming families, with an increase between 1909–1910 and 1930–1931. In the 1930s, these percentages were higher in Iceland than in Norway and Denmark. However, these data have not been weighted with respect to the occupational demographics of the general population.

The case of Iceland does not show any indications of a cultural split between an urban academic elite and countercultural teacher education institutions. This may be due to the late establishment of both compulsory schooling and teacher education. When these finally came about, in the early twentieth century, Reykjavík became the natural centre for both teacher education (1908) and academic education at the University of Iceland, founded in 1911. Later, during the development of the welfare state, the former Teacher Training College was academised and transformed into a university college in 1971. We can thus observe a parallel to the Finnish development of early integration between teacher education and the universities.

Iceland's prolonged dependence on Denmark resulted in a culturally defensive nation (see Figure 1.1), giving, for instance, high priority to the development of the national language. Yet, the connection to Denmark remained culturally important, and as noted above, many teachers completed their education in Copenhagen. Iceland's school legislation was quite autonomous, although the country did not become a fully independent republic until 1944. The Icelandic schoolteacher was hardly a stranger to rural communities, as the predominantly rural recruitment pattern shows. However, after 1908, all teachers were educated in Reykjavík or abroad, which may be tentatively taken to have resulted in teachers of the colonising type.

Discussion: co-occurrences and causes

As noted in the introduction, the framework presented in Figure 1.1 shows no direct causal connections between the type of nation-state and the type of teacher, but serves as an overview of co-occurrences. Thus, premature conclusions that expansive <=> colonising, or defensive <=> organic are to be avoided. With two 'outliers', Finland and Iceland, this hypothesis had to be questioned. Therefore, in this brief discussion of the cases, some alternative explanations need to be investigated.

These outliers demonstrate that the colonising teacher type does not only co-occur with culturally expansive strategies, but also in the case of Finland and, less strongly in Iceland, we see a co-occurrence between a defensive cultural strategy and a colonising teacher type.

In these cases, an alternative explanation relates to the urban bourgeois dominance in the national cultural self-understanding. This could explain the Finnish case and also the ambiguity we find in the German case between the initial national awakening (ca. 1800) and the later unification (1871 onwards).

In Finland, the combination of a colonising teacher type with a defensive national self-understanding is explained by the fact that, in a nation-state under first Swedish, then Russian control, the defining cultural awakening of the late nineteenth century was against foreign elites, not local urban ones. The Fennoman movement didn't cater to either Swedish or Russian foreign dominance. By this

time, the cultural and linguistic differences between the Finnish majority and the elite Swedish-speaking minority were not directly connected to the survival of the Finnish nation. Meanwhile, already under Russian rule, the area of education, from bottom to top, was dominated by efforts to secure the prime position of Finnish language and culture. Here, therefore, the dominance of urban elites in defining Finland's self-understanding was less challenged than in the two Nordic countries that also demonstrate a culturally defensive strategy: Denmark and Norway. In Norway, the Danish language and culture were continuously celebrated by urban groups (the *Dannomane*), which reinforced the anti-urban nature of the countercultural movement. In Denmark, after its defeat to Prussia in the 1864 war and the loss of its German-speaking territories, the nation-state redefined itself along ethnic lines, and this new national self-understanding increasingly came to be defined by Grundtvigian countercultural movements of rural origin, and anti-German sentiments.

The ambiguity of the German case lies in the cultural strategy of the nation, not in the teacher type. As noted earlier, German national identity formed in a *defensive* bourgeois showdown that set German *Kultur* against French *civilisation*. But the reaction was not to turn to rural national culture as it happened in Denmark in late nineteenth century; instead, the German urban bourgeoisie formed the centre of national self-understanding, characterised by a lateral relationship between the educated middle classes in German cities. However, in spite of this originally defensive self-understanding Germany also shows traits of an expansive cultural strategy, not least after unification occurred in 1871. Therefore, the German case is not unlike the Finnish one, with traits of cultural defensiveness combined with an urban dominance of the educational sphere.

But if urban dominance is the key to a colonising teacher type, how does this fit with other cases that also demonstrate a colonising teacher type? Sweden, Iceland, and the United States differ in the ways they sought a sort of compromise between urban elites and rural interests. Sweden and Iceland share the positive connotations of the Nordic folk ideology which implies a certain class compromise and, by extension, a geographical compromise. The United States after the Civil War was also arguably built on a geographical compromise between urban elites and rural stakeholders. A common trait is that these nations did not have countercultural movements establishing their 'own' institutions of pre-service teacher education. In these cases, therefore, the educational spheres were not culturally divided as in Norway and Denmark.

Another indicator of the emergence of an organic teacher type is a rural countercultural movement that was strong and enduring enough to establish teacher education institutions of its own. In Denmark and Norway, the countercultural movements were strong enough that civil society actors were able to establish pre-service teacher education institutions. Yet, even this is not a necessary prerequisite. A case not outlined here, that of Switzerland, also shows traces of an organic teacher type which emerged without a strong, organised countercultural movement (Bascio, 2018). And Ireland's relatively late independence created a political consensus on the (new) national level creating such a teacher type from above rather than through a countercultural movement.

Thus, the variables of national cultural strategy, urban bourgeois dominance, class-compromising ideologies, and countercultural movements do not sum up cleanly to clear and linear lines of causal inference. Rather, different paths lead to the emergence of both the *organic* and the *colonising* teacher types.

Conclusion

Teachers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were a non-homogeneous group, characterised by a certain social plasticity. Sometimes they were socially mobile, with ambitions of climbing the social ladder into the educated middle classes. In other instances, they comprised a group with strong anti-elite sensibilities, advocates, and ambassadors for the 'people' as *primus inter pares* among assertive new groups such as Danish farmers, or they were carriers of emancipatory agendas, aiming to gain empowerment and positions on a national level – not least female teachers in the Nordic countries, who promoted women's rights on a national level.

The construction of the folk teacher was, in Norway and Denmark, built on a segmented institutional landscape, with special, often rural, institutions established for teacher education. These institutions became carriers of a civil society counter-culture, which slowly gained a nationally dominant status, not least through the agency of teachers as organic intellectuals, emerging from *the soil*. Arguably, the colonising teacher type was equally important for the national self-understanding of Sweden as a modern, emancipatory power. Iceland, and especially Finland, which are more culturally defensive nation-states, also had traits of a colonising teacher type, which was largely uncontested on a national level.

Teacher lives were often socially divided, with backgrounds in manual labour families, and a working practice of more intellectual labour. Most of these teachers grew up in 'practical' homes and were the first intellectuals in their families. This may be the root of the 'practicism' found in American progressivism of the time, as well as in the Grundtvigian critique of 'dead learning' in Denmark. A risk, especially of the organic teacher type, is therefore that this potential anti-intellectualism becomes a celebrated trait of the profession. This tendency can, at least partly, explain the still active opposition to academisation in Danish pre-service teacher education (Larsen, 2016).

What, then, is the significance of distinguishing between 'organic' and 'colonising' teacher types? As the title of this chapter indicates, both teacher types can be viewed as important vehicles of national mobilisation, in Elias's sense of building the cultural as well as the political survival capacity for the nation-state. In both types, the centre sends out educators to promote loyalty to the nation-state in all its geographical parts. The key difference is that, in the case of the colonising type, the centre's own culture defines the values of its civilising efforts, while where organic teacher types prevail, the ruling elites ally with peripheral, and maybe primordial, cultures to promote nationally cohesive values.

This raises questions as to the real role of schoolteachers more generally, if we consider the nation-state as a survival unit, to use Elias's term. It seems as if the aims of national mobilisation are the same, but the means may differ. The mobilisation of primordial folk culture into national self-understanding via the agency of an organic teacher type may, in effect, be equal to the Protestant Reformation,

which brought about a Christianising 'in depth' (see Chapter 2). In Norway, the alliance between the urban elites and the new popular elites, i.e., the folk teachers, led to a group of teachers with unquestioned loyalty to the nation. The Nordic cases all show a high level of societal trust and trust in their state apparatus (Wollebæk et al., 2012). And teachers, who are emissaries of the state but mediate with civil society – and who meet the people on an equal standing as folk teachers – can perhaps preserve a nationalism and state loyalty that is less often seen with purely colonising teacher types.

The opposite argument can, however, also be made. In defining which ideologies to disseminate, teachers, regardless of type are 'not just social marionettes' (Florin, 1987). An intimate connection exists between the self-understanding they share as groups, and what they in fact disseminate to pupils and parents. This relates to how the teaching occupation has been an opening for upcoming leaders of struggling, yet assertive, groups. It may be argued that what we observe in the late nineteenth century is a mobilisation of struggling groups which lacked the rights or the means to pursue elite education and career trajectories. Ambitious women, African Americans, and Danish farmers were thus forced – or inclined – first to go *back to school* as teachers, and then, as a second step, use this vocation as a platform for their assertive struggles for equal opportunities, empowerment, positions, and rights on the national level.

Notes

1 The overview by C. Larsen shows 1,434 women and 4,597 men were educated at seminaries for elementary schoolteachers during 1866–1889, i.e., 24% women and 76% men (Larsen, 2005). These figures are not comparable, as Copenhagen is not included in the 1895 statistical overview, which shows 612 female teachers (15%) and 3,379 (85%) male teachers outside Copenhagen (*Tabellariske Meddelelser vedrørende Borger- og Almueskolevæsenet udenfor Kjøbenhavn for Aaret 1895*, 1899). The 720 female teachers mentioned in the text are from a contemporary source (N. Tuxen 1890 quoted in Hansen, 1977, p. 37).
2 The percentage of offspring of 'merchants including workers' is the sum of two of Bölling's categories: *Handwerker, Kaufleute, Gastwirte usw.* plus *Arbeiter*. The percentage noted under 'higher and lower officials' as well as other 'white-collar workers' is a sum of three categories: *Untere Beamten*, *Mittlere Beamten*, and *Angestellte*. The reason for these summations is that Bölling is more interested in status groups or social positions in the recruitment patterns than in specific occupations or rural/urban distinctions (Bölling, 1983, pp. 76ff).
3 Here, there are similar problems of categorisation as in endnote 2 above, as Bölling listed data according to social stratification, not rural/urban distinctions.
4 The 'monitorial' or 'Lancaster' system of instruction was a structured and systematised approach in which pupils mutually taught each other. It was introduced in Denmark around 1814 and later in other Nordic countries, imported from the United Kingdom (Caruso, 2010; Reeh and Larsen, 2014).

References

Albisetti, J.C. (1993) 'The feminization of teaching in the nineteenth century: A comparative perspective', *History of Education*, 22(3), pp. 253–263.

Bascio, T. (2018) '*Metaphors of naturalness in the context of Swiss teacher education 1975–1985,' International Standing Committee for the History of Education, ISCHE 40*, Berlin, 29 August to 1 September 2018.

Bölling, R. (1978) *Volksschullehrer und Politik. Die Deutsche Lehrerverein 1918–1933*, vol. 32. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Bölling, R. (1983) *Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Lehrer. Ein Überblick von 1800 bis zur Gegenwart*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Buck, P.H., Finley, J.H., Demos, R., Hoadley, L., Hollinshead, B.S., Jordan, W.K., Richards, I.A., Rulon, P.J., Schlesinger, A.M., Ulich, R., Wald, G. and Wright, B.F. (1945) *General education in a free society. Report of the Harvard Committee*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Caruso, M. (2010) *Geist oder Mechanik. Unterrichtsordnungen als kulturelle Konstruktionen in Preussen, Dänemark (Schleswig-Holstein) und Spanien 1800–1870*, vol. 19. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Caruso, M. (2012) 'Politics and educational historiography: Criticizing "civilization" and shaping educational politics in Latin America', in Larsen, J.E. (ed.), *Knowledge, politics and the history of education*. Berlin: Litt-Verlag, pp. 151–175.

Coffman, L.D. (1911) *The social composition of the teaching population*. New York: Columbia University.

Dahn, P. (1936) *Studier rörande den studerande ungdomens geografiska och sociala härkomst*. Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup.

Dokka, H.-J. (1967) *Fra allmueskole til folkeskole. Studier i den norske folkeskoles historie i det 19. århundrede*. Bergen: Universitetsforlaget.

Elias, N. (1978) *What is sociology?* Mennell, S. and Morrissey, G. (trans.). London: Hutchinson of London.

Elias, N. (1995) *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation. Soziogenetische und psychogenetische Untersuchungen*, vol. 1. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Taschenbuch Verlag.

Enzelberger, S. (2001) *Sozialgeschichte des Lehrerberufs. Gesellschaftliche Stellung und Professionalisierung von Lehrerinnen und Lehrern von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*. Weinheim and München: Juventa Verlag.

Fischer, R. (1916) *Beiträge zu einer Statistik der deutschen Lehrerschaft. Ergebnisse der von der Statistischen Zentralstelle des Deutschen Lehrervereins am 1. April 1913 veranstalteten Erhebung*. Leipzig: Schriften der Statistischen Zentralstelle des Deutschen Lehrervereins. H.4.

Florin, C. (1987) *Kampen om Katedern. Feminiserings- och professionaliseringsprocessen inom den svenska folkskolans lärarkår 1860–1906*. Umeå: Umeå universitet.

Garðarsdóttir, Ó. (2013) 'Teaching on the eve of public schooling: Demographic and social features of Icelandic schoolteachers in the beginning of the 20th century', in Buchardt, M., Markkola, P. and Valtonen, H. (eds.), *Education, state and citizenship*. Helsinki: Nordic Centre of Excellence Nordwell, pp. 138–159.

Garðarsdóttir, Ó. (febrúar, 2019) 'Kennslukonur í Barnaskóla Reykjavíkur í upphafi 20. aldar', in Jónsson, G. (ed.), *Nýtt Helgakver. Rit til heiðurs Helga Skúla Kjartanssyni sjötugum 1*. Reykjavík: Sögufélag, pp. 201–220.

Garðarsdóttir, Ó. and Guttormsson, L. (2014) 'Changes in schooling arrangements and in the demographic and social profile of teachers in Iceland, 1930–1960', *Nordic Journal of Educational History*, 1(1), 7–20. doi: 10.36368/njedh.v1i1.31.

Göttlicher, W.G. (2019) *Die österreichische Landschulreform von den 1920er- bis zu den 1960er-Jahren. Untersuchung einer vergangenen Schulreformdebatte*. Vienna: Universität Wien.

Gramsci, A. and Hoare, Q. (1971) *Selections from the prison notebooks*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Grinder-Hansen, K. (2013) *Den gode, den onde og den engagerede. 1000 år med den danske lærer*. Copenhagen: Mussmann' forlag.

Grundtvig, N.F.S. (2016 [1816]) 'Danne-Virke', in *Grundtvigs Værker*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.

Hagemann, G. (1992) *Skolefolk: lærernes historie i Norge*. Oslo: Ad notam Gyldendal.

Hansen, V.H. (1977) *Lærernes sociale rekruttering 1869–1925. En undersøgelse af fire statsseminariers dimittender 1869–96 samt en oversigt over det samlede antal dimittender 1897–1925*. Copenhagen: Københavns Universitet.

Hilden, A. (1993) 'Lærerindeuddannelse 1800–1950', in Skovgaard-Petersen, V. (ed.), *Dansk læreruddannelse 1791–1991*, vol. 3. Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, pp. 19–303.

Hjermitslev, H.H. (2020) 'Grundtvigske seminarier 1840–1920', *Uddannelseshistorie*, 54, pp. 63–96.

Høydal, R. (1995) *Periferiens nasjonsbyggjarar. Vestlandslæraren og Volda lærarskule 1895–1920*, vol. 39. Oslo: Noregs forskingsråd.

Iisalo, T. (1979) *The science of education in Finland, 1828–1918*. Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica.

Jauhiainen, A., Kivirauma, J. and Rinne, R. (1998) 'Status and prestige through faith in education: The successful struggle of Finnish primary schoolteachers for universal university training', *Journal of Education for Teaching*, 24(3), pp. 261–272.

Johnson, N.C. (1992) 'Nation-building, language and education: The geography of teacher recruitment in Ireland, 1925–55', *Political Geography*, 11(2), pp. 170–189.

Jordheim, K. (1988). 'Læreren i norsk samfunns- og kulturliv. En oversikt for det 20. århundred', in Rinne, R. and Iisalo, T. (eds.), *Läraren i 1900-tallets kultur och samhälle*. Åbo: Turin yliopisto, pp. 67–93.

Larsen, C. (2005) 'Dimmittender 1793–2002', in Skovgaard-Petersen, V. (ed.), *Dansk læreruddannelse 1791–1991*, vol. 1. Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, pp. 422–427.

Larsen, J.E. (2016) 'Academisation of teacher education: Sites, knowledge cultures and changing premises for educational knowledge in Norway and Denmark', in Hoffmann-Ocon, A. and Horlacher, R. (eds.), *Pädagogik und pädagogisches Wissen: Ambitionen und Erwartungen an die Ausbildung von Lehrpersonen. Pedagogy and Educational Knowledge: Ambitions and Imaginations in Teacher Education*. Bad Heilbrun: Verlag Julius Klinkhardt, pp. 211–228.

Lauglo, J. (1982) 'Rural primary schoolteachers as potential community leaders? Contrasting historical cases in Western countries', *Comparative Education*, 18(3), pp. 233–255.

Lauglo, J. (1995) 'Populism and education in Norway', *Comparative Education Review*, 39(3), pp. 255–279.

Marklund, E. (2017) 'Ett år med Ester: En mikrohistorisk undersökning av det sociala nätverket och känslolivet hos en småskollärare vid sekelskiftet 1900', *Historisk Tidskrift (S)*, 137(3), pp. 379–410.

Perkins, L.M. (1989) 'The history of blacks in teaching: Growth and decline within the profession', in Warren, D. (ed.), *American teachers: Histories of a profession at work*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, pp. 344–369.

Reeh, N. (2016) *Secularization revisited-teaching of religion and the state of Denmark: 1721–2006*, vol. 5. Switzerland: Springer International.

Reeh, N. and Larsen, J.E. (2014) 'From competing technologies of mass schooling to the spiritual enlightenment of the nation: The reception of the monitorial system of education in Denmark 1814–1849', in Caruso, M. (ed.), *Classroom struggle: Organizing elementary school teaching in the 19th century*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Rinne, R. (1988) 'The formation and professionalization of the popular teachers in Finland in the 20th century', in Iisalo, T. and Rinne, R. (eds.), *Lärarren i 1900-tallets kultur og samhälle. Nordisk utbildningshistorisk forskarträff i Åbe den 18–19 augusti 1987*. Turun/Åbo, pp. 106–148.

Rury, J.L. (1989) 'Who became teachers? The social characteristics of teachers in American history', in Warren, D. (ed.), *American teachers: Histories of a profession at work*. New York, London: Macmillan, pp. 9–48.

Schulte, B. (2014) 'Grenzen im Inneren: Die pädagogische Missionen chinesischer Rückkehrer im Hinterland zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts', in Caruso, M., Koinzer, T., Mayer, C. and Priem, K. (eds.), *Zirkulation und Transformation. Pädagogische Grenzüberschreitungen in historischer Perspektive*. Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, pp. 211–230.

Slagstad, R. (1998) *De nasjonale strateger*. Oslo: Pax.

Slagstad, R. (2008) 'Profesjoner og kunnskapsregimer', in Molander, A. and Terum, L.I. (eds.), *Profesjonsstudier*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, pp. 54–70.

Strømnes, Å.L. (2006) *Folkeskulelærarar i Fattig-Noreg. Ein studie frå første halvdel av det tjuande hundreåret*. Trondheim: Tapir Akademisk Forlag.

Tabellariske Meddelelser vedrørende Borger- og Almueskolevæsenet udenfor Kjøbenhavn for Aaret 1895. (1899) Copenhagen: Ministeriet for Kirke- og Undervisningsvæsenet.

Trägårdh, L. (1990) 'Varieties of völkish ideologies. Sweden and Germany 1848–1933', in Stråht, B. (ed.), *Language and the construction of class identities. The struggle for discursive power in social organisation: Scandinavia and Germany after 1800*, Report from the DISCO II Conference, Gothenberg: Göteborg University.

Urban, W.J. (1989) 'Teacher activism', in Warren, D. (ed.), *American teachers. Histories of a profession at work*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, pp. 190–209.

Westberg, J., Boser, L. and Brühwiler, I. (2019) *School acts and the rise of mass schooling: Education policy in the long nineteenth century*. Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wiborg, S. (2009) *Education and social integration: Comprehensive schooling in Europe*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wollebæk, D., Enjolras, B., Steen-Johnsen, K. and Ødegård, G. (2012) 'After Utøya: How a high-trust society reacts to terror—trust and civic engagement in the aftermath of July 22', *PS: Political Science and Politics*, pp. 32–37. doi: 10.1017/S1049096511001806.

2 Preaching and teaching

The religious origins of Nordic teacher cultures

Fredrik W. Thue

One of the most obvious and historically far-reaching commonalities between the Nordic countries lies in their Lutheran heritage. The Reformation led to a unification of state and church, quite swiftly in the Danish–Norwegian kingdom, and more gradually in Sweden, where the church preserved a higher degree of autonomy (Thorkildsen, 1997).

An important expression of this Lutheran integration of state and church was the early rise of compulsory elementary education. In Denmark–Norway, this was introduced in 1739 by royal decree, reaching out in principle to every single child of the realm. In this sense, it was driven as a project of the absolutist state. The curriculum, however, was entirely religious in character from the beginning. The aim of elementary education was to prepare children for their compulsory confirmation into the church, and teachers' instruction, as well as children's knowledge, was closely monitored by ministers.

In this chapter, I will argue that Nordic elementary school teachers, who started out as the ministers' humble subordinates, developed their vocational identity in close interaction with that of the pastorate. The process whereby they, in a sense, emancipated themselves from clerical dominance and came of age as a self-conscious occupation group in the late nineteenth century could alternatively be described as the counterpart to the ministry's concurrent transformation from officialdom to a special kind of profession. A core claim is that there is historical as well as structural continuity from the role of the Lutheran minister to that of the elementary school teacher, and that this continuity is still traceable in today's Nordic teacher cultures, albeit in a somewhat indirect manner.

Nordic educational history has often been told as a grand narrative about how compulsory elementary education was progressively nationalised, democratised, and secularised, as clerical control of the school was pushed back, and new civic and national elements were included in the curriculum. According to this paradigm, teachers came of age as a self-conscious occupation group as part of this emancipation from clerical dominance.

This narrative is in one way indisputable: secularisation, in the sense of reduced clerical influence on elementary schooling, its curriculum, and its teachers, is a well-established fact, verifiable by a succession of national educational laws and curricular and teacher-training reforms from the second half of the nineteenth century into the post-Second-World-War era. However, this linear trend of

DOI: 10.4324/9781003082514-4

secularisation is less apparent if we turn our attention to teachers' vocational practices, self-conceptions, and ideologies. It is primarily at this level that I will search for the enduring religious sources of the 'Nordic model of education'. The focal question of this chapter can thus be formulated as follows: to what extent, and in what sense, has Nordic elementary education been enduringly infused by a religious or 'pastoral' dimension through the practices, ideals, and self-definitions of the teaching profession?

The chapter focuses on the Danish–Norwegian kingdom and its successor states of Denmark and Norway, whose histories of primary education are mostly strikingly parallel, but also, in interesting ways, subtly different. Sweden will be brought in more cursorily as a related, yet partly contrasting case.

Preaching as teaching: ambiguities of Lutheran pastoral power

As a heuristic framework for this analysis, I will draw on Michel Foucault's reflections on pastoral power and the genealogy of modern governmentality in his 1977–1978 lectures on *Security, Territory, Population* (Foucault, 2007). Here, Foucault laid out a new approach to a general problem in European historiography: the interaction between religion and politics from the mediaeval to the modern era. Instead of studying the changing relationship between church and state, he focused on the interplay of *pastorate* and *government*. The pastorate was a distinctive method of governing other people, radically different from classical notions of political power based on law or contract. Foucault sought the origins of the pastorate in ancient religious images of the shepherd and his flock, and traced variations of this leitmotif from pre-antiquity up to the early modern period. A core claim was that pastoral and political forms of power had become increasingly intertwined since the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, giving rise to qualitatively new forms of 'governmentality'.

Foucault's shift of perspective from church/state to pastorate/government has inspired the change of perspective I propose in this chapter, from approaching the secularisation of Nordic elementary education in terms of a loosening of institutionalised clerical control towards studying the (latently) religious dimension of teaching.

Foucault's reflections on the pastorate and modern governmentality are pertinent to my analysis for at least three reasons. First, the close affinity of pastoral power to teaching, also noted by Foucault (2007, p. 180), is particularly striking in Protestantism. While Foucault's notion of pastoral power tends to centre on the confession or penance, reflecting a special affinity with the Catholic side of Christendom (ibid., pp. 171, 182f), Protestantism defines the minister first and foremost as a preacher of the Word and teacher of the correct doctrine. The roles of pastor and subject are thereby in a sense reversed: whereas Foucault's pastor cautiously attends to the secret truth revealed by the confessor, the Protestant minister is, rather, the truthteller to whom parishioners must listen carefully, both as a congregation and as individual subjects (Tilli, 2019, p. 115). This kinship between minister and teacher, between *preaching and teaching*, is a basic precondition of Nordic school traditions and teacher cultures.

Second, Foucault's analysis of how pastoral and political power combined in a new governmentality provides a key to understanding how spiritual and worldly concerns interacted in the rise and development of elementary education in the Nordic countries. This intertwining of pastoral and political rationalities and practices was a crucial part of the context in which elementary education emerged and developed.

Third, compulsory elementary teaching offers a striking illustration of some of the ambiguities of pastoral power identified by Foucault: it is a beneficial power that cares both for the individual and the 'flock' (or class). It can at least partly be described as 'spiritual guidance' or a 'conduct of conduct' (ibid., pp. 126ff.; Foucault, 1982). This is a form of power that subjects pupils to strict control and discipline while at the same time transforming them into self-reflective, self-regulating subjects. Although the means and ends of teaching have changed radically, this dual nature of the teacher's assignment is still with us.

This ambiguity is particularly profound, and has a distinctive form, in the Lutheran tradition. On the one hand, Luther's doctrines of the two kingdoms and of the three estates were used to justify the subject's duty to obey all authorities and unconditionally accept its place in a God-given social order. On the other hand, the Lutheran principles of *Sola Scriptura*, of justification by faith alone, and of the universal priesthood, accentuated the equality of all believers before God, the immediate and personal nature of divine revelation, and all believers' freedom and responsibility to disseminate the Word. As argued by Finnish historian of religion Elisa Heinämäki (2017), this ambiguity has provided Lutheranism with a strong capacity to both discipline and control the individual in depth, and to constitute it as a responsible, self-reflective subject with an irrepressible inner conscience. This dual character of the Lutheran tradition comes strikingly to the fore in the history of Nordic elementary education.

Lutheran orthodoxy, state pietism, and the rise of compulsory schooling

The historical correlation between Lutheranism and the early introduction of state compulsory schooling is widely recognised. The Lutheran Reformation has been characterised as 'a quintessentially educational movement' (Witte, 2002, p. 258). Born within the university, it led to a series of educational reforms from the university down to the teaching of elementary school children. While seeing education as essential to the preservation and dissemination of the Law and Gospel, Luther insisted that the magistrate should be responsible for establishing and maintaining schools. This principle, based on the doctrine of the two kingdoms, represented an upheaval from Catholic educational culture (ibid., pp. 265ff).

While actually a protracted process involving the state and church as well as landowners and local communities, the rise of mandatory elementary schooling in the kingdom of Denmark–Norway is conventionally dated to 1739, when the rural commoners' schools were enacted.[1] This was an immediate consequence of a royal decree three years earlier, which had made confirmation a compulsory *rite de passage* to adulthood for all subjects of the realm. The schools' task was to instil in

children the religious knowledge required to pass the minister's examination before the altar. The curriculum was therefore completely dominated by catechesis, which required elementary reading skills (Telhaug and Mediås, 2003, pp. 39ff).

The commoners' schools were direct extensions of the church's religious teaching of the people and have rightly been called 'the church's daughter'. However, compulsory confirmation and schooling were introduced by the state, and the clergy that controlled the schools and their teachers was its largest and most well-educated officialdom. It is therefore difficult to separate clerical drives for mass elementary education from those of the state. The motives were complex and have been subject to different interpretations. While many scholars have emphasised the Lutheran principle that the king is obliged to care for his subjects' salvation, and particularly the Pietist demand for a deeper, more personally acquired faith, others have pointed to more worldly concerns, such as the Danish state's need to improve the quality and morale of its soldiers in order to strengthen its position vis-à-vis its arch-enemy Sweden (Reeh, 2011; Appel and Fink-Jensen, 2013, pp. 393–396).

However, there is little reason to believe that the king and his officialdom saw religion *merely* as a useful instrument for producing an obedient population. It was understood rather as the very foundation of the kingdom, and the acquisition of a correct and detailed interpretation of the official Evangelical Lutheran confession was therefore the relevant form of 'civic' education (ibid., pp. 87ff). The paramount importance of religious teaching was reflected in Lutheran terminology. In Luther's doctrine of the three estates, the clergy constituted the *Lehrstand* (which could mean both the learned estate and the teaching estate), and from the 1770s onwards, the label *folk teacher* was used synonymously with minister in both Germany and Scandinavia, reflecting the rationalist ideal of the minister as a popular disseminator of both religious and scientific knowledge (Siegert, 1999, p. 62).

With the rise of compulsory education, a new, subservient echelon of the *Lehrstand* emerged: the elementary school teachers. In Denmark, teaching was often assigned to the *degn* (sacristan) of the parish. In the central parts of the country, this was sometimes a theology student or even a theological candidate waiting for a vacant pastorate. But elsewhere in the kingdom, notably in Norway, teachers were mostly recruited from the lower strata of peasant society. Here ambulatory schools, with teachers moving between farms or hamlets, dominated. These humble teachers, as well as their more educated colleagues in central Denmark, were in a quite literal sense, the ministers' subservient assistants (Telhaug and Mediås, 2003, pp. 36–52; Appel and Fink-Jensen, 2013, pp. 295–329).

In Sweden, elementary education was organised in a rather different way. The Church Act of 1686 obliged every father to teach his household to read the most basic texts of the church such as the catechism, postil, and hymnal. The parish minister would visit every household once a year to control its members' knowledge and reading skills through the so-called home catechesis (*husförhör*). While organised schooling developed gradually, a universal elementary school system was not introduced until 1842 (Westberg, 2019). The Swedish minister thus remained in a very literal sense a folk teacher, whose authority and power penetrated into every single home in his parish.

The Swedish educational scheme was created in the age of orthodox Lutheranism and remained relatively untouched by the later Pietism, which was counteracted by the Swedish church and state. The Danish–Norwegian commoners' school, on the other hand, was inscribed with tensions between the orthodox legacy and new Pietist currents from the outset. The schism between orthodoxy and Pietism was pedagogically significant; it had repercussions on *what* all subjects should learn about religion, and not least on *how* this knowledge should be acquired and brought to bear on both their spiritual and worldly life.

Orthodox Lutheranism, which remained the hegemonic theology and world-view of the Danish and Swedish kingdoms for almost two centuries after the Reformation, was the expression of what Heinz Schilling has called confessionalisation: the systematic efforts by the church and state to obtain reverent obedience to one authoritative interpretation of the Christian faith throughout a given principality (Schilling, 1988). A primary instrument of confessionalisation, apart from preaching, was catechesis: the meticulous inculcation of authoritative texts explaining the essence of the Lutheran confession in a form that common people, notably children, were supposed to understand (Appel and Fink-Jensen, 2013, pp. 89ff).

Orthodox religious teaching was strongly disciplinary in nature. It centred on the duty to submit and obey, emphasising God's law rather than the Gospel and grace. Submission to the law was not enough, however. Luther's doctrine of justification by faith alone implied that the subject would have to interiorise the Word, which called for 'comprehensive soul-seeking in order to align the truth of the text with the truth of the self'. Since such soul-seeking was not observable from the outside, the subject was left with an inner conscience that was impervious to others (Tilli, 2019, pp. 123ff). The Lutheran Reformation called for a deep subjective acquisition of Christianity, and has therefore been characterised as a 'Christianisation-in-depth' (Korsgaard, 2004, p. 64).

It was this inherent tension in Lutheranism, between external policing and the inner acquisition of religious truth, that would give rise to Pietism, a collective term for a variety of currents that shared the premise that Lutheranism had lost contact with the spirit of the Reformation and needed to be reinvigorated. Genuine Christian faith had to strike the heart and soul, inciting through repentance and awakening the believer to convert to a life of piety. Pietism thus emphasised the subjective dimension of faith, which would express itself in a pious life. The church should, accordingly, be a living community of true believers, rather than a clerical hierarchy administering a set of approved theological doctrines (Gierl, 2014).

A blend of orthodoxy and Pietism permeated the curriculum and pedagogy of the Danish–Norwegian commoners' school that was enacted in 1739, a combination that would prove particularly resilient in the school and church life of Norway. Catechesis, in the sense of rote learning of authoritative answers to a vast number of religious questions, became the hegemonic form of elementary teaching. Bishop Erik Pontoppidan's explanation of Luther's Small Catechism, *Truth unto Godliness* (1737), with 759 questions and answers, was written on the king's order and made up the core elementary school curriculum for generations of pupils. In Denmark, it was replaced in 1794 by a more rationalistic explanation.

In Norway, however, it continued to shape religious education for almost 150 years (Telhaug and Mediås, 2003, pp. 43, 66).

Compared to Philipp Jacob Spener's *Einfältige Erklärung der christlichen Lehre* (1677), a seminal text of German Pietism, the authorised Danish catechism played down the doctrine of universal priesthood as well as the hope to improve this world through pious practice. Pontoppidan's focal message, concludes Danish church historian Kurt E. Larsen (2019), was penitence and religious inner-directedness within the framework of the State Church. Thus, elementary education in Denmark–Norway long remained influenced by the orthodox heritage, with its distinctive understanding of human nature, social structure, and the role of the pastorate. The subjectifying and activist potential of Pietism was thereby subdued.

Pietism could nonetheless be seen as a mediating link between the old orthodox and absolutist order and the new dynamic world that emerged in the late eighteenth century of the Enlightenment, liberalism and, eventually, democratisation. Educational historian Ingrid Markussen has analysed Danish discussions about school reforms in the 1780s and 1790s, which led to the seven-year compulsory School Acts of 1814, as part of a wider cameralist programme: to foster the productive energies of society by stimulating and steering the industriousness of the population (Markussen, 1995, p. 62). She points to the affinities between Pietism and cameralism, emphasising, in particular, the Pietist principle that the king had a duty to care for his subjects' *Glückseligkeit*, a concept that covered both welfare in this world and spiritual salvation (ibid., p. 78f). While not referring to Foucault, Markussen analyses the interplay of religious and governmental ideas in a manner strikingly akin to his reflections on pastoral power and the rise of 'biopolitics', of which eighteenth-century cameralism and *Polizeiwissenschaften* constituted the paramount examples (Foucault, 2007, pp. 318 ff). Cameralism was a principle of governing aimed at maximising the state's resources and keeping it in good order by regulating and guiding each subject as well as the population at large. Religious and vocational education was one crucial form of such 'policing' of the state's human resources. There is a sense in which this perspective points far into the future – towards the liberal reformism of the nineteenth century and even further ahead, to the welfare state.

The rise of Nordic teacher cultures: from teaching pastors to pastoral teachers

'Our time is heading towards the point where the schoolmaster supersedes the minister, and in a sense we are all schoolmasters now'. The Norwegian author and journalist Aasmund O. Vinje (quoted in Slagstad, 1998, p. 106) wrote this reflection in 1868, at a point where the political and cultural hegemony of Norway's academic–bureaucratic elite had begun to wither, challenged by an increasingly self-assured alliance of peasants, middle-class people and academics without public office. The rise of a civil society with voluntary associations, popular movements, increasing sociocultural mobility, and, eventually, organised political factions (Seip, 1981, pp. 44 ff), coincided with, and was closely related to, the coming-of-age of

teachers as a self-conscious occupational group. While the timing and pace of these processes varied slightly between the Scandinavian countries, they all went through a 'civil revolution' (Siegrist, 1990, p. 186) which changed the meaning and boosted the importance of education. An important dimension and catalyst of this revolution was the transformation of religious life. The role of the minister as well as that of the teacher became redefined in a manner that would reduce the once-abyssal social and cultural divide between them.

The Danish School Acts of 1814 laid the foundations for the rise of a self-conscious national teaching profession. A crucial reform of the Norwegian elementary school in 1860, which introduced national and civic subjects in the curriculum and replaced ambulatory schooling with permanent schools in many rural districts, had similar effects. In 1837, Norway had about 2,000 teachers providing elementary schooling in rural areas, only 2% of whom had passed an approved teacher exam. By 1861, the number of such teachers had risen to 2,800, and a quarter had formal teacher training. In 1890, there were close to 4,000 rural elementary school teachers, and nearly all (97%) had teacher education (Hagemann, 1992, p. 37). During this half-century period, teachers had moved from the bottom of peasant society to its top, and 'the socio-cultural centre of the rural community shifted from the church house and parsonage to the schoolhouse and teacher's home' (Slagstad, 1998, p. 106).

The rise of a self-conscious culture of teachers, acting as the 'organic intellectuals' of the local community and, increasingly, in national politics, was a common trend in Denmark, Norway and Sweden in the second part of the nineteenth century. From the late eighteenth century onwards, organised elementary schools and teacher-training institutions had tended to spread northwards within the Danish kingdom, beginning in the German-speaking duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, moving on to the Danish heartland, and further to the topographically split and sparsely populated Norway. Denmark thus took off from a higher level than Norway by the early 1800s: it had a much larger share of permanent schools, teachers of a somewhat higher sociocultural standing, and a few rigorous teacher-training institutions, such as Blaagaard by Copenhagen, founded in 1791. Danish teacher education became organised in a dual manner, with a few seminaries of the Blaagaard type and numerous so-called parsonage seminaries which offered shorter and more practically oriented courses led by a minister, and aimed at training teachers from and for the rural community (Larsen, Nørr and Sonne, 2013, pp. 91–107). In both Denmark and Norway, teacher seminaries were 'total institutions' where students dwelled and were subject to constant supervision and surveillance by the warden, who was invariably a theologian (Dahl, 1959, pp. 14 ff). Christian nurturing of aspiring teachers was considered at least as important as the teaching of knowledge and skills.

In the old society, the minister had been the sole representative within the local community of the centralised state and the elitist scholarly culture. He stood at the frontline of the state apparatus and constituted a crucial link between centre and periphery – between the ideology and bureaucratic rationality of the absolutist state and the life (and death) of its subjects (Gustafsson, 2000). In a society in transition towards liberal democracy, this mediating role was partly taken over by the

up-and-coming teachers, who assumed leadership in numerous local organisations, movements, and projects.

Pivotal to the formation of modern Danish elementary education and a distinctive Danish teacher culture was the liberalisation of the schooling and teacher-training systems. Since 1739, commoners had been obliged to send their children to school, while the urban social elite sent their children to private schools or had them taught at home. The School Freedom Act of 1855, which formed part of a broader liberalisation of Danish society, allowed parents to provide their children with elementary education themselves. The progress of these privately taught pupils would be examined twice a year by the local school. The effect, however, was not a surge in home schooling, but the rise of a new, distinctively Danish institution, the so-called free schools, complemented in 1857 by a dual-track system of public and private teacher-training seminaries. The following decades saw a sprawling diversity of new free schools and seminaries across Denmark (Gjerløff and Jacobsen, 2014, p. 137; Hjermitslev, 2020).

This eruptive liberalisation and pluralisation of schooling and teacher training in Denmark, as well as the growing cultural and political influence of Norway's national-democratic movement after 1870, gradually weakened the clergy's strict control of teaching in both countries while opening the national school system to religious and cultural movements of a new kind. Danish and Norwegian teacher seminaries, in which young men of peasant and lower-middle-class origins had been subject to strict social and spiritual control by ministers and theologians, became the seedbeds of an alternative intellectual culture, which claimed to be of and for 'the people', and which defined itself in contradistinction to the exclusive academic culture of the elite (Hagemann, 1992, pp. 112ff; J.E. Larsen, 2019).

This shift reflected a more general transformation of cultural and religious life, which also changed the role and status of the ministry. The cardinal point was the incorporation into the church and school of popular forms of religious and/or national awakening, which changed the basis of pastoral and educational authority. New visions of a 'folk church' and 'folk school' were launched against the old state church and commoners' school. Inspired by Foucault, we can conceptualise this process as a democratisation and dispersion of pastoral forms of power and authority throughout society. In order to understand the emergence of the modern primary school and its teaching profession, we must therefore turn towards the parallel transformation of the church and the ministry.

State church, lay revivalism, and the transformation of the pastorate

The early- to mid-nineteenth century saw the rise in both Denmark and Norway of various religious awakening movements led by laypeople. While critical of the clergy *qua* social and cultural elite, these movements largely remained loyal to the Evangelical Lutheran confession and in fact tended to defend the Lutheran orthodoxy against what they saw as a growing rationalistic unbelief among the clergy. A distinctive combination of sociocultural self-empowerment, religious subjectivism, and a sturdy theological conservatism gave these movements a highly

complex and ambiguous role in the formation of modern, democratic Nordic societies (Thorkildsen, 1997).

When Danish and Norwegian lawmakers abolished the prohibition against lay religious congregations around 1840 and enacted a minimum of religious freedom, the church lost much of its traditional capacity to discipline religious belief (Oftestad, 1998, pp. 85ff). The minister could not to the same extent base his authority on his office but had to defend it through purely spiritual and pedagogical means (Gilje, 2014, pp. 415ff). The ministry was, in this sense, transformed from an office to a modern profession (Scott, 1978). Ministers were, however, professionals of a specific kind: they were pedagogical or *pastoral* professionals, whose power and authority depended on their ability to touch the sensibility of their parishioners and guide their search for religious and existential meaning.

A striking expression of the new conditions of pastoral power was the rise in Denmark and Norway in the 1850s and 1860s of the Inner Mission, which sought new ways to spread the Christian gospel in a world where sin and unbelief were rife. A Pietistic, socially activist revivalist movement that was *within*, but not *submitted to*, the official church, it stimulated a more congregation-oriented self-conception within the church (Oftestad, 1998, pp. 125ff). Especially in Norway, the Inner Mission helped establish a new alliance between the clergy and laypeople based on a synthesis of Lutheran orthodoxy and revivalist Pietism. A low-church 'assembly and meeting Christianity' was thereby incorporated into the official church (Molland, 1972, p. 116). The Norwegian ministry became increasingly recruited from peasant society and from the lay revivalist movement, to which they often returned, after graduating from university, as its 'organic intellectuals' (Gilje, 2014, p. 423).

The cooperation of the state church with low-church revivalism was indicative of a more general social mobilisation and state/society integration in late nineteenth-century Norway. But this integration did not make the church more inclusive. Quite the contrary, orthodoxy and revivalism shared the premise that the church must be a community of true believers, not a public institution administering the means of grace to unbelievers and 'Sunday Christians'. In Norway, therefore, the alliance between the clergy and devoted laypeople could not form the basis of a broad, inclusive 'folk church' (Thorkildsen, 1997, p. 154).

Danish religious life, however, while also affected by Pietistic revivalism, became strongly influenced by a different kind of awakening movement, which distanced itself from both academic theology and the Inner Mission. This so-called Grundtvigianism, an idiosyncratic blend of theological and national thought generated by the minister-*cum*-philosopher and historian Nikolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig (1783–1872), constituted a third, increasingly important centre of gravity in the shaping of Danish religious life. Against the Pietist renunciation of worldly culture, Grundtvig insisted that only a subject who longed for life and sought to realise his or her potential in this world was able to receive the glory of God and the promise of eternal life. Rejecting the antagonism between the worldly and the spiritual, he saw the two as interdependent and interlocking (Koch, 1954, p. 250).

Against academic theology, on the other hand, Grundtvig insisted that the Word of God manifested itself not in the Bible but in the congregation's living profession

of faith (ibid., p. 242). He thus made a crucial distinction between the church as a worldly institution and the true church of Christ, which might reside in the church as a 'guest', but which was not a human institution, but eternal from the days of the Apostles (ibid., p. 240). This eccentric ecclesiology proved powerful as a heuristic for the democratisation and nationalisation of religious life by imbuing the congregation, and, in a wider sense, the people, with an aura of holiness. Unlike the Pietist awakening, it would lay the foundations of an inclusive, national 'folk church'.

Folk church and folk school: Denmark versus Norway

Grundtvig had argued that the Danish school should abandon religious education, since Christian instruction was utterly unable to convey a living faith (Grundtvig, 1836). By the 1850s, such criticisms of traditional catechistic methods had become widespread. However, rather than secularising the school, the Grundtvigians infused education with another *kind* of religiosity, disseminated through a 'didactics of the living word'. Vivid, inspiring storytelling became the preferred mode of teaching, with special emphasis on national legend, folklore, and history (Gjerløff and Jacobsen, 2014, pp. 99–115).

The cultivation of edifying national and religious narratives would permeate the elementary school curriculum, textbooks, and teacher cultures of both Denmark and Norway. The collective singing of national hymns and folksongs became an essential part not only of elementary schools, folk high schools, and teacher-training seminaries, but also of popular meetings, associations, and rallies, particularly in Denmark. In this way, Grundtvigianism invigorated Danish elementary school teachers with a distinctive brand of popular revivalism, which, despite its strong theological and cultural disagreements with Pietism, shared with it some crucial social and psychological functions (Reeh, 2012, p. 351). Indeed, Grundtvigian teachers tended to see themselves as a kind of emissaries who would awaken the children to national cultural self-awareness (Korsgaard, 2004, p. 223).

Like Denmark, Norway saw a parallel transformation of church and school driven by the rise of a civil society with lay revivalism and other popular movements. Grundtvigianism, while marginal within the Norwegian church, exerted a certain influence on the elementary school and its teachers, primarily through folk high schools and some teacher seminaries. But this influence was strongly resisted by orthodox and Pietistic teachers, parents, and ministers, who stuck to Lutheran doctrines about human sin and the duty to forsake the temptations of this world (Korsgaard, 2003). Such resistance, however, was gradually surpassed by politically driven educational reform after the liberal-populist party, Venstre, came to power in 1884. Another source of reconciliation was the movement for cultural and linguistic 'Norwegian-ness', which was joined by many deeply religious teachers after it was 'Christianised' in the 1890s and the *nynorsk* form of Norwegian accepted as an alternative liturgical and hymnal language (Tvinnereim, 1973).

In 1889, the government enacted a seven-year, comprehensive folk school, the first five years of which were common to all students. While there was no equivalent to the Danish free schools in the unified, comprehensive national school system that ensued, in 1890 a new law on teacher education endorsed private

seminaries as supplements to public ones. This amendment encouraged revivalist movements to organise their own teacher training. By educating Christian teachers to animate folk schooling, revivalist leaders sought to save the Norwegian people for Christianity in spite of the massive secular influences of a godless age (Eritsland, 2020). These private seminaries, most of which were Pietist-revivalist in kind, counted for a considerable share – at times close to half – of Norwegian teacher education during the next three or four decades (Tveiten, 1994, p. 162).

In 1912, the Norwegian Inner Mission's powerful leader Ole Hallesby published a series of articles that pleaded for shifting the focus of missionary work from the church and religious meeting house to the school. Instead of preaching to the choir of mostly elderly women, he advocated for reaching out to students, particularly to those of the upcoming professional elites who would shape tomorrow's institutions and society (Hallesby, 1912). This turn towards the school as the primary field of the home mission is indicative of a new understanding of the relationship between the folk school and Christianity, reminiscent of the Grundtvigian notion of the folk church as a worldly institution that could be invigorated by the Christian spirit of those who inhabited it.

In Denmark, the folk school and folk church developed more or less in tandem. The two laws that made the first step towards a common folk school and introduced parochial church councils were both passed in 1903. In Norway, the Folk School Act preceded parochial church councils by more than 30 years, indicating the much higher level of conflict within the latter sphere. While the church was perpetually haunted by doctrinal conflict, leading in 1907 to the foundation of an independent 'Congregation Faculty' dominated by a combination of orthodoxy and Pietism, the folk school was forged through political steering and compromise which crystallised in a national curriculum. A formative experience in every citizen's early life, the school became what the church did not: an integrative institution based on widely shared sociocultural values and, at the same time, an arena of value competition, controversy, and compromise. In a sense, the teacher replaced the minister as the shepherd of young souls and disseminator of society's constitutive values.

Sweden: a more statist and secular teacher culture

Swedish elementary school teachers grew in self-consciousness and sociocultural status throughout the late nineteenth century and took an activist political stand both through their organisations and as local community leaders (Florin, 1987, pp. 89–91). But this vocational coming-of-age occurred under historical circumstances that differed in some important respects from the situation in Denmark and Norway. In 1842, 13 years before Denmark liberalised its school law, Sweden moved in the opposite direction, replacing home teaching under clerical control with compulsory elementary schooling. However, this law did not introduce something radically new, but rather confirmed a growing trend. Permanent or ambulatory schools already existed in almost half of Sweden's parishes. What was qualitatively new was that the state took firmer control of education by building a special institution alongside the teaching tradition of

the church (Florin, 2010, p. 2). Still, the Swedish folk school would remain closely tied to the church for many decades to come. Much like in Norway and Denmark, the parish minister was the chairman of the local school board (until 1909), and teacher-training seminaries were nurseries of Christian piety under close clerical supervision and control.

However, Sweden established a more uniform, centralised teacher-training system than its neighbours. The School Act of 1842 stipulated teacher seminaries in Stockholm and the cathedral cities, funded by the state and controlled by the cathedral chapter (ibid., p. 4). State and church thereby dovetailed in the formation of elementary education and teacher training, much like the situation in Denmark–Norway a century before.

The democratisation of Swedish religious life also followed a different trajectory from those of its Scandinavian neighbours. As already noted, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Swedish church possessed a higher degree of autonomy vis-à-vis the state than its Danish–Norwegian counterpart. Headed by an archbishop and a synod, it has been described as the 'Anglican Church of the North'. This starting point made it much less inclined than its Scandinavian sister churches to reach out to the popular awakening movements which spread rapidly in Sweden in the nineteenth century. The result was a burgeoning of free churches alongside the official church, which upheld and even reinforced its distinctiveness vis-à-vis the Danish and Norwegian churches (Thorkildsen, 1997, pp. 141, 153; Claesson, 2004, pp. 62–101).

The civil revolution came comparatively late to Sweden and largely coincided with the country's rapid industrialisation. In Denmark and Norway, popular religious and cultural movements preceded the labour movement by several decades, and both countries saw the rise of liberal institutions, organised political competition, folk high schools, and popular movements before class struggle and socialism transformed the political and cultural landscape. These currents also preceded the sweeping shift in Nordic intellectual and literary life in the 1880s from religious and national idealism to scientific rationalism and positivism. In Sweden, by contrast, liberalism, socialism, and scientific rationalism tended to coincide and come together in the folk high school and other popular movements (Claesson, 2004, pp. 62–101).

The combined effect of these historical circumstances was to make Swedish teachers more inclined than their Danish and Norwegian colleagues to endorse a secular school programme and to align themselves with the state in order to overcome clerical dominance. Whereas the liberal parties became the dominant teacher parties in Denmark and Norway, Swedish elementary school teachers were divided more or less equally between the labour and liberal parties. They were also more prone to support scientific approaches to school development and calls for a scientific basis for teacher training in order to raise their own professional status and the quality of teaching (Florin, 1987). Swedish folk school teachers thus exhibited some similarities with their German colleagues: they were predominantly anti-clerical, state-oriented, politically slightly left-leaning, and sought to increase their status by reducing the gap between their own vocational training and that of academic professionals (ibid., p. 79; Bölling, 1983).

Conclusion: Lutheranism, teacher cultures, and the Nordic educational model(s)

Since the 1990s, historians and social scientists have paid increasing attention to the religious origins of the Nordic welfare states. This scholarship has often pointed to the underlying continuities between the early modern, absolutist–orthodox Danish and Swedish kingdoms and the post-war secular, state-centred Nordic welfare regimes. Special importance is ascribed to the Lutheran submission of the church to the state, which greatly empowered the state, bolstered its spiritual authority, and thereby prepared the soil for the modern 'caring state' (e.g. Knudsen, 2000).

When applied to the problem of how the Lutheran legacy has conditioned primary teaching in the Nordic countries, this perspective draws our attention to how primary education in these countries disseminates a set of officially approved values to the entire population. The Nordic countries have strongly emphasised the need for shared values across classes, regions, political opinion groups, and, more recently, ethnic and religious diversity. A public, comprehensive national school system is recurrently pointed to as an essential instrument of such sociocultural integration. As a former Danish minister of education remarked, the folk school's object clause is 'society's profession of faith in common values' (Heinesen, 1972, p. 188). Teachers have also widely accepted the authority of national political agencies to define a common curriculum. A somewhat iconoclastic suggestion is that this reflects a legacy of the Lutheran confessional state, where the king's first religious duty was to inculcate in the population a uniform faith.

However, while certain affinities exist between the orthodox–Pietist *Erziehungsstaat* of the 1700s and modern Nordic school systems, claims of straightforward historical continuity are simplistic. The complex historical trajectories described in this chapter illustrate this point. The Danish kingdom, which was, in the late 1600s, one of the most absolutist states of Europe, and whose church became virtually absorbed by the state, would later develop the most liberal and autonomous teacher culture in Scandinavia. Sweden, on the other hand, which converted to Lutheranism more gradually, and where the church and local communities both preserved higher degrees of autonomy vis-à-vis the state, ended with the most centralised, state-dominated educational system and teacher culture of the Nordic countries. This seeming paradox points to the significance of the intermediate civil revolution: the interrelated religious, cultural, social, and political transformations that Nordic societies underwent in the nineteenth century.

This chapter has studied teacher cultures as channels of continued religious influence within the Nordic school systems. Ansell and Lindvall (2013, p. 516) have noted that the secularisation of primary education in Sweden and Denmark was a drawn-out process that was not completed until the 1930s. By secularisation, they mean the transfer of institutional control over the educational system from parishes or religious orders to secular authorities (ibid., p. 507). The shift of focus in this chapter from institutionalised clerical control to teachers' vocational identities makes secularisation appear as an even more protracted and less linear process.

A complex problem arises here on the possible impact of latent religious influences on modern educational theory and practice. The German educationalist Meike

Sophia Baader (2005) has highlighted the religious undercurrents of early German reform pedagogy. Danish and Norwegian scholars have similarly pointed to reform pedagogy's continuity with the Grundtvigian educational movement. Its didactics of the living word and rhetorical juxtaposing of its own 'school for life' with the passive inculcation and reproduction of dead knowledge in the old form of schooling anticipated in significant ways later calls for a 'progressive', 'child-centred' education, and may have helped produce a special susceptibility towards modern reform pedagogy among Nordic educators (Jarning, 2009, p. 479f; Gjerløff and Jacobsen, 2014, p. 281).

This observation inspires a more general supposition. The enduring impact of Lutheranism on Nordic elementary education is manifested not only in the dominant role of the state, which implements from above a comprehensive, unified school system that disseminates to nearly all children a set of common values, skills, and knowledges. It also reveals itself in the strikingly pastoral self-image and practices of Nordic primary teachers, who tend to see themselves as caretakers of 'the whole child' and midwives of a developing self, in contrast to the more scholarly orientation of upper-secondary teachers.

This combination of a uniform educational scheme implemented from above and an individualised, child-centred pedagogy practiced from below may be related to the deep-seated ambiguity inherent in the Lutheran legacy between submissive obedience and the release of subjectivity and individualism. As an instrument of pastoral power and governmentality, the primary school has thus *subjectified* its students in the double Foucauldian sense of disciplining them and socialising them into a common set of values, on the one hand, and releasing their individual subjectivity on the other. In the secularised Nordic countries, this tension is continued by a primary educational system that combines ambitious equalising and unifying objectives with a reform-pedagogical creed that emphasises pupils' right to subjective self-expression and individually adapted education. Along the way, however, the Lutheran consciousness of sin has been replaced by an optimistic belief in the child's natural propensity for self-development. It is this 'secularised' version of the inherent Lutheran tension between a uniform faith imparted from above and subjective freedom exerted from below that has proved seminal for the Nordic welfare states.

Much like Lutheran ministers in earlier times, Nordic teachers are expected to redeem the subjectivity of each child and at the same time, represent and police the normative foundations of society. The Nordic teacher cultures, born of the civil revolution of the nineteenth century, have been instrumental in bringing about this synthesis.

Note

1 Ove Korsgaard (2003, p. 197) has pointed out that while Norwegian historiography has tended to trace the roots of the compulsory folk school to the Danish–Norwegian school laws of 1739, Danish historians of education have traced its origin to 1814 when the new School Acts were introduced. A possible reason for this historiographical difference is the more gradual development of organised schooling in Denmark. The school laws of 1739 thus changed the educational situation more radically in Norway than in Denmark. Like Korsgaard, however, I here follow the Norwegian tradition, seeing 1739 as the point of origin of mandatory primary schooling in both parts of the realm.

References

Ansell, B. and Lindvall, J. (2013) 'The political origins of primary education systems: ideology, institutions, and interdenominational conflict in an era of nation-building', *American Political Science Review* 107(3), pp. 505–522. doi: 10.1017/S0003055413000257.

Appel, C. and Fink-Jensen, M. (2013) *Da læreren holdt skole: Tiden før 1780*, Dansk skolehistorie, vol. 1. Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag.

Baader, M.S. (2005) *Erziehung als Erlösung: Transformationen des Religiösen in der Reformpädagogik*. Weinheim and München: Beltz Juventa.

Bölling, R. (1983) *Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Lehrer. Ein Überblick von 1800 bis zur Gegenwart*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Claesson, Urban (2004) *Folkhemmets kyrka. Harald Hallén och folkkyrkans genombrott. En studie av socialdemokrati, kyrka och nationsbygge med särskild hänsyn till perioden 1905–1933*, PhD dissertation. Uppsala: Uppsala University.

Dahl, H. (1959) *Norsk lærerutdanning fra 1814 til i dag*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Eritsland, A.G. (2020) *Med skolen som misjonsmark. Den norske vekkingsrørslas satsing på lærarutdanning 1890–1946*, PhD dissertation. Oslo: University of Oslo.

Florin, C. (1987) *Kampen om katedern. Feminiserings- och professionaliseringsprocessen inom den svenska folkskolans lärarkår 1860–1906*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International.

Florin, C. (2010) *Från folkskola til grundskola 1842–1962*. Available at: http://www.lararnashistoria.se/ (Accessed: 1 July 2020).

Foucault, M. (1982) 'The subject and power', *Critical Inquiry* 8(4), pp. 777–795.

Foucault, M. (2007) *Security. Territory. Population. Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977–78*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.

Gierl, M. (2014) 'Pietism, enlightenment, and modernity', in Shantz, D.H. (ed.), *A companion to German Pietism, 1660–1800*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 348–392.

Gilje, N. (2014) 'Prestene', in Slagstad, R. and Messel, J. (eds.), *Profesjonshistorier*. Oslo: Pax forlag, pp. 412–449.

Gjerløff, A.K. and Jacobsen, A.F. (2014) *Da skolen blev sat i system: 1850–1920*, Dansk skolehistorie, vol. 3. Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag.

Grundtvig, N.F.S. (1836) 'Er Troen virkelig en Skole-Sag?', in *Nik. Fred. Sev. Grundtvigs utvalgte Skrifter 1*. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, pp. 107–111.

Gustafsson, H. (2000) 'Præsten som velfærdsforvalter i tidligt moderne tid', in Knudsen, T. (ed.), *Den nordiske protestantisme og velfærdsstaten*. Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag.

Hagemann, G. (1992) *Skolefolk. Lærernes historie i Norge*. Oslo: Ad Notam Gyldendal.

Hallesby, O. (1912) 'Indremisjonen og den nye tid', *For Fattig og Rik, nr.* 20–25.

Heinämäki, E. (2017) 'Reexamining Foucault on confession and obedience: Peter Schaefer's Radical Pietism as counter-conduct', *Critical Research on Religion* 5(2), pp. 133–150. doi: 10.1177/2050303217707246.

Heinesen, K. (1972) *Min krønike 1932–1979. Erindringer*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal.

Hjermitslev, H.H. (2020) 'Grundtvigske seminarer 1840–1920', *Uddannelseshistorie* 54, pp. 63–96.

Jarning, H. (2009) 'Reform pedagogy as a national innovation system: early twentieth-century educational entrepreneurs in Norway', *Paedagogica Historica* 45(4–5), pp. 469–484.

Knudsen, T., ed. (2000) *Den nordiske protestantisme og velfærdsstaten*. Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag.

Koch, H. (1954) *Den danske kirkes historie, vol. VI: Tiden 1800–1848*. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel/Nordisk Forlag.

Korsgaard, O. (2003) 'Den store krigsdans om kirke og folk', in Slagstad, R., Korsgaard, O. and Løvlie, L. (eds.), *Dannelsens forvandlinger*. Oslo: Pax forlag, pp. 53–71.

Korsgaard, O. (2004) *Kampen om folket: Et dannelsesperspektiv på dansk historie gennem 500 år*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal.

Larsen, C., Nørr, E. and Sonne, P. (2013) *Da skolen tog form: 1780–1850*, Dansk skolehistorie, vol. 2. Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag.

Larsen, J.E. (2019) 'Skolelærernes historiske u-samtidigheder – lærerne som bondestandens organiske intellektuelle i mødet med uddannelseseksplosionen. Danmark og Norge i nordisk og europæisk perspektiv', *Uddannelseshistorie* 53, pp. 45–71.

Larsen, K.E. (2019) '*Ikke utopi, men statskirke-inderlighed*', *Lecture at the conference 'Det fromme subjekt – de helliges samfund – den gudgivne autoritet', Lumen*, Aarhus 28–29 May 2019.

Markussen, I. (1995) *'Til Skaberens Ære, Statens Tjeneste og vor egen Nytte.' Pietistiske og kameralistiske idéer bag fremvæksten af en offentlig skole i landdistrikterne i 1700-tallet*. Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag.

Molland, E. (1972) *Fra Hans Nielsen Hauge til Eivind Breggrav. Hovedlinjer I Norges kirkehistorie i det 19. og 20. århundre*. Oslo: Gyldendal.

Oftestad, B.T. (1998) *Den norske statsreligionen. Fra øvrighetskirke til demokratisk statskirke*. Kristiansand: Høyskoleforlaget.

Reeh, N. (2011) 'Konfirmation og rytterskoler i Danmark – i lyset af den enevældige stats overlevelseskamp i første halvdel af det 18. århundrede', *Uddannelseshistorie* 45, pp. 13–28.

Reeh, T. (2012) *Kristendom, historie, demokrati: Hal Koch 1932–1945*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanums forlag.

Schilling, H. (1988) 'Die Konfessionalisierung im Reich. Religiöser und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in Deutschland zwischen 1555 und 1620', *Historische Zeitschrift* 246, pp. 1–45.

Scott, D.M. (1978) *From office to profession: the New England Ministry, 1750–1850*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Seip, J.A. (1981) *Utsikt over Norges historie, bind 2: Tidsrommet ca. 1850–1884*. Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag.

Siegert, R. (1999) 'Die «Volkslehrer»: Zur Trägerschicht aufklärerischer Privatinitiative und ihren Medien', *Jahrbuch für Kommunikationsgeschichte 1*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, pp. 62–86.

Siegrist, H. (1990) 'Professionalization as a process: patterns, progression and discontinuity', in Burrage, M. and Torstendahl, R. (eds.), *Professions in theory and history*. London: Sage, pp. 177–201.

Slagstad, R. (1998) *De nasjonale strateger*. Oslo: Pax forlag.

Telhaug, A.O. and Mediås, O.A. (2003) *Grunnskolen som nasjonsbygger. Fra statspietisme til nyliberalisme*. Oslo: Abstrakt forlag.

Telhaug, A.O., Mediås, O.A. and Aasen, P. (2006) 'The Nordic model in education: education as part of the political system in the last 50 years', *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research* 50(3), pp. 245–283.

Thorkildsen, D. (1997) 'Religious identity and Nordic identity', in Sørensen, Ø. and Stråth, B. (eds.), *The cultural construction of Norden*. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, pp. 138–160.

Tilli, J. (2019) 'Preaching a master's discourse. A Foucauldian interpretation of Lutheran pastoral power', *Critical Research on Religion* 7(2), pp. 113–129.

Tveiten, Asbjørn (1994) *Private lærarskular 1890–1940 med fokus på dei kristelege lærarskulane Notodden, Volda, Oslo og Nidaros*. Bergen: Norsk lærarakademi.

Tvinnereim, J. (1973) 'Då landsmålet vart kristna', *Syn og segn* 79(10), pp. 604–607.

Westberg, J. (2019) 'Basic schools in each and every parish: the School Act of 1842 and the rise of mass schooling in Sweden,' in Westberg, J., Boser, I. and Brühwiler, I. (eds.), *School acts and the rise of mass schooling: education policy in the long nineteenth century*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 195–222.

Witte, J. (2002) *Law and protestantism. The legal teachings of the Lutheran reformation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

3 Peasant amongst peasants

The role of the Scandinavian teacher as farmer in the nineteenth century

Christian Larsen

Introduction

During the nineteenth century, school reforms in the Scandinavian countries – Denmark, Sweden and (to some degree) Norway – created a uniform financial foundation for schools and teachers, where the teacher effectively became a farmer, similar to other farmers in the village. This tied rural teachers to their communities and deeply affected their living conditions throughout the nineteenth century. Like teachers in other European countries (Maynes, 1979; Granier and Marquis, 1982; Day, 1983; Brühweiler, 2012; Young, 2016), Scandinavian teachers were given a plot of land as part of their salary, together with payment-in-kind and monetary reimbursement. This mixed mode of payment was a widely used form of remuneration in a society characterised by a natural economy, in which cash payments did not occur frequently. It also reduced monetary expenditures on schooling, enabling school boards to adjust their financial outflows to suit local conditions and the local economy (Westberg, 2015, p. 30). Swedish teachers received 68% of their wages in kind in 1842 (Westberg, 2018, p. 24), and in Denmark, 53% of a teacher's salary was paid in kind (DNA, Danske Kancelli, 1. Departement, 1789–1857). However, in Norway, in 1870, only 22% was in kind (Departementet for Kirke- og Undervisningsvæsenet, 1877, p.VI).

In 1821, the Danish teacher Niels Jensen (1792–1833) received two awards from the Royal Danish Society for the Improvement of Agriculture for being a pedagogical pioneer in agricultural areas and using the school plot as an exemplary farm (DNA, Erhvervsarkivet, Arkivskabte Hjælpemidler, 1770–1968). Niels Jensen was a typical example of the eighteenth-century European 'people's teacher' (*Volkslehrer*) (Siegert, 1999, p. 62; Schreiber, 2015, p. 168) or – in the words of one nineteenth-century French teacher – 'the ideal rustic man, more educated, cultured, and elevated than the others, a living model for the younger generation, teaching them to love agriculture' (Day, 1983, p. 45). Teachers have played a prominent role in educational history; however, scholarship has generally focused on their pedagogical contributions, reflecting our present understanding of a teacher as having only one occupation, located *inside* the classroom (Westberg, 2019). In this chapter, I will analyse the role of teachers *outside* the classroom as 'people's teachers' – that is, as educated persons conveying knowledge for the common good in order to impact the opinions and conditions of the general public (Siegert, 1999, p. 62). By examining the social

DOI: 10.4324/9781003082514-5

roles given to rural teachers as farmers and agricultural role models during the long nineteenth century, this chapter aims to contribute to our understanding of Scandinavian teachers' sociocultural history by focusing on their occupational and social roles. In so doing, this chapter will address the role of the multiple occupations given to rural teachers by legislators and reformers and – to a large degree – accepted by teachers. The chapter will thus highlight the cultural history of teachers: the shared values, common ideals and roles of teachers, and how they fulfilled their roles in local communities as educators and role models. Were they, in the words of the two Finnish researchers Anttila and Väänänen (2013, p. 185), 'cosmopolitan' teachers following national trends and working as teachers of the people? Or were they 'locals', cultivating their land in a traditional way and not engaging with the dissemination of knowledge? Many of the teachers acting as role models were educated at the teacher training institutions (*lærerseminarium*) that arose during the latter part of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth century. Thus, this chapter contributes to the history of the early professionalisation of teachers and the recruiting pattern outlined by these institutions.

This chapter is structured according to the conceptualisation of space posited by three Swedish historians, Larsson, Norlin and Rönnlund, in their study of the history of the schoolyard. They were inspired by Henri Lefebvre's theories on the production of social space, where space is understood as an integration of physical, planned and social dimensions (Larsson, Norlin and Rönnlund, 2017, pp. 13–17). In the same way, one can divide the allotted farm and, in particular, the school plot into these three spatial dimensions. I will deal first with the planned dimension or representations of space by analysing the pedagogical ideas of the Enlightenment about teachers as ideal farmers. I will then consider how the planned dimension had to be transformed into a social dimension (the representational space) when teachers proceeded to, for example, introduce new types of ploughs or crops. The social dimension depended on the physical dimension, that is, the space itself. If the soil was poor or was far away from the school, this could have an impact on the social dimension. In this way, the school plot became an integration of all three dimensions. I will pay attention to Denmark, Norway and Sweden, which shared similar conditions, but will focus particularly on Danish conditions, as the farming teacher's function as a role model was more pronounced there than in Norway or Sweden.

The chapter uses a source pluralism method (Myrdal, 2012). As the Scandinavian archives do not contain specific archives or archival series on teachers as farmers or on school plots, the chapter builds on a wide range of sources, especially for the Danish materials: case files from the Ministry of Education, contemporary pedagogical debates and statistics, the archives of the Royal Society for the Improvement of Agriculture, etc.

The planned dimension

Although rural teachers in the Scandinavian countries were farmers during the long nineteenth century, the planned dimension, that is, the school plot as a pedagogical and agricultural concept, was quite different as the school acts of the three countries emerged in different periods.

In eighteenth-century Denmark, most farms were owned by private landlords. Amongst these, the leading families set new agendas and standards for estate schools with the ambition of creating a new, better-educated rural community. These landowners were inspired by German Cameralism, which prioritised agriculture as the country's primary profession and strongly emphasised the economic and moral value of labour. Peasants would be motivated to introduce new tools, crops and cultivation methods, thus increasing production and revenue. However, if the peasants were to fulfil this new role, they had to be provided with better schooling and enlightenment, which would set the farmers free and make them citizens of the state. Thus, the pedagogical ideas of the Enlightenment and agricultural reforms were closely connected (Larsen, Nørr and Sonne, 2013, pp. 69–79; Markussen, 2017, pp. 126–128). For schools to fulfil this new role in rural communities, there was a need for a new type of teacher who could teach subjects vital for reforms, which were of direct utility to the peasantry and their children (Larsen, 1914, p. 10). This new teacher was to be a 'bridge builder' between the new agricultural science (the Royal Society, professors and landlords) and the peasants of the new era. As a 'people's teacher', he would transform traditionalist peasants into modern, capital-producing and entrepreneurial farmers (Henningsen, 2006, pp. 118–119, 220–221). Thus, the Western eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century teacher's role was to teach the children as well as their parents, as part of the Enlightenment ideal of popularising science – what American historian Daniel R. Headrick termed 'to make information available to the greatest number of people' (Headrick, 2000, p. 15). F.G. Resewitz, a pastor at the German church in Copenhagen, wrote that the sciences of agriculture and gardening should be made mandatory, in order to supersede peasants' existing ways of farming. Through his teaching and practical exercises, the teacher would demonstrate to the children new, 'modern' ways of farming: 'So will they see with their own eyes whether the old sloppiness or the new method brings the most benefit' (Resewitz, 1773, p. 61). The government also promoted the royal forest inspector Esaias Fleischer's *Agricultural Catechism* to teachers. In this, Fleischer stated that a garden had a pedagogical function in educating the rural population. A well-managed garden was a 'sign of a diligent farmer and farmer's wife' whereas a garden overgrown with weeds was a sign of 'lazy people' (Fleischer, 1780, p. 195).

Under the 1814 Rural School Act, Danish parish commissions were to ensure that in addition to paying salaries in the form of grain, cash, housing and fuel, they provided teachers with a piece of land big enough to feed two cows and six sheep, thereby lowering their financial expenditures. Danish pastors, clerks and judges received similar forms of remuneration. Teachers were also to be given a space for an agricultural 'showroom'. Even though there was no mention of agricultural science in the 1814 Act, agriculture remained a mandatory subject in teacher training programmes until 1824, when teacher training institutions were reduced (Larsen, 1914, pp. 87, 164, 347, 412, 428–431; Larsen, 2005, pp. 133–139). Thereafter, even though agriculture was no longer a mandatory subject, most pupils at Danish training institutions were recruited from rural areas, as the 1818 Teacher Training Act gave precedence to sons of farmers and teachers (Larsen, 1914, p. 591; Larsen, 2005, p. 143). Teachers at rural schools were thus, for the greater part of the nineteenth century, tightly connected to an agrarian society.

In Sweden, the number and range of farms allotted to teachers increased in the early decades of the nineteenth century and became more numerous after the Swedish Elementary School Act of 1842 (Westberg, 2015, p. 26). In contrast to Denmark, where farming teachers were connected to agrarian reform, the Swedish Act emerged from Liberals' hopes of a more extensive popular education: from their point of view, a primary school system was a mechanism to create virtuous citizens. However, the Act can also be understood in the context of social and political conditions. Mass education was seen as a way of controlling and disciplining a growing underclass of landless agricultural workers, tenant farmers and squatters (Westberg, 2019, pp. 198–201). The Act required Swedish parishes to organise school districts, and each school district to establish at least one school. In addition to remuneration in the form of grain and cash, teachers would be provided with housing, fuel and grass for a cow. The Act also recommended that school districts make a plot available to teachers to supplement their teaching income and provide extra scope for educating schoolchildren in the arts of forestry and gardening, like in Denmark. Besides being farmers themselves, teachers were thus also cast, to some degree, as agricultural role models (Westberg, 2015, p. 27).

For Norwegian rural teachers, the School Act of 1827 stipulated one permanent school in every parish as a supplement to an existing system of ambulatory teachers. The church singer and (ambulatory) schoolteacher was to have the old parish clerk's farm; other teachers were to have their salaries fixed according to local conditions (Lov, 1827, §§2–4). Despite ambulatory schooling, many children were still illiterate, and there was a progressive wish to strengthen the education system and establish common institutions. For those with more conservative leanings, school reform was seen as a tool to prevent social unrest and the growth of sectarian congregations (Mydland, 2011). In response to a reform proposal submitted by the prominent pedagogue Hartvig Nissen, the government proposed that every school should have a piece of land to improve the teachers' conditions by increasing their wages, and thereby promote the development of public elementary schooling (Kongeriget, 1859–1860, proposition 10, p. 3). The School Acts of 1860 stipulated that each parish should give at least one teacher a family residence with a plot of land big enough for two cows to graze on and for a garden to be established (Mejlænder, 1885, pp. 830, 833; Norsk, 1889, pp. 136–137). However, there was no mention of agricultural education for Norwegian teachers; agriculture did not have the vital importance as in Denmark, or the same pedagogical meaning as in Sweden and Denmark.

In all Scandinavian countries, therefore, the school plot was a substantial part of most teachers' incomes. In two of the countries, the school plot also had a role in agricultural teaching, and in Denmark, in particular, the teacher was encouraged to use the plot as a model farm. In practice, however, the implementation of these ideas depended on the physical dimensions of the plot.

The necessary land for two cows and six sheep

As the concept of teachers as farmers and role models was transformed into everyday practice, the size of the plot was important as it could either limit or create

possibilities for fulfilling the aims of the planned dimension (Westberg, 2015, p. 29; Larsen, 2018, p. 15). The location of the plot was also important.

In Denmark, legislation stipulated that all teachers were entitled to a share of the village fields and should be given 'the necessary land plot as close to the school as possible to allow two cows and six sheep to graze' (Larsen, 1914, p. 430). The school plot was usually adjacent to the school building or close by. However, as the negotiations on the allocated plot differed from village to village, so, too, did the location (Larsen, 2018, pp. 15–18). If it was located on the outskirts of the village fields, greater effort was required to clear the land for cultivation, as the outermost land was often the least cultivated (Porsmose, 2008, p. 133).

The government did not prescribe to school commissions specific plot sizes, which were to be decided locally, as the quality of the soil differed from region to region (Skibsted, 1866, p. 143). Although no specific size was prescribed, there was, amongst local school boards, a general perception that a school lot should be about 6 acres of medium-quality land (Schwartzkopf, 1859, pp. 208–210). In Denmark, the smallest lots were found on the islands of Zealand and Funen, and in East Jutland, where fertile clay soil dominated. Large school plots were prevalent in North Jutland and West Jutland, where the heath spread into sandy areas (DNA, Danske Kancelli, 1. Departement, 1789–1857). In both cases, the school plot was comparable to the plots of the local farmers, making the teacher a smallholder amongst other smallholders.

Compared to Denmark, the Swedish school plots were small. The 1842 School Act did not contain precise stipulations about the allotted farms, except that the school was to be placed near the churchwarden and should have a piece of land if possible, according to local conditions (Westberg, 2014, p. 174). In the Sundsvall area of central Sweden, the average size of a school plot was 4.6 acres (2.3 ha) – distinctly smaller than farmers' homesteads and comparable to a smallholder's plot or to parish clerks' allotted farms (Westberg, 2015, pp. 27–28). However, as noted by Swedish historian Johannes Westberg, school plots were not supposed to be the main source of income (2015, p. 28). As in Denmark, the location, nature and quality of the farmland allotted to schools varied, from a plot near the school or a piece of lowland pasture, to a plot some distance away or a stony piece of land or wet meadows (ibid., pp. 29–30). The allotted farms in Sundsvall were either created using 'glebe land', an area of land used to support the parish pastor, or they were bought for or donated to the school district (ibid., p. 28).

In Norway, parishes were also responsible for giving teachers and their families, a place of residence and for allotting farms. As in other parts of Scandinavia, there were no central rules about the size and location of farms, except that the plot should be big enough for at least two cows and a garden (Mejlænder, 1885, pp. 830, 833; Norsk, 1889, pp. 136–137). In order to fulfil the provisions of the 1860 School Act, Norwegian parishes spent 5.3 million *Speciedaler* (specie-dollars, the Norwegian currency of the time) on primary schooling in the period 1861–1875. Of this amount, 2.5% was spent on buying school plots and 18% on building, renting and maintaining schoolhouses (Departementet for Kirke- og Undervisningsvæsenet, 1877, Table II). However, by 1875, only three out of ten teachers had a lot of the stipulated size. The rest had only a small plot or none at all (Departementet for

Kirke- og Undervisningsvæsenet, 1877, pp. 4–5). The size of school plots varied and was usually between 1.8 and 2.7 acres. Even by the beginning of the twentieth century, the situation had not changed, and nearly half of all teachers did not have a plot (Kirke- og Undervisningsdepartementet, 1904, pp. 6–7).

In practice, in all three countries, the different physical conditions of school plots in different parts of the country provided disparate bases for implementing government visions for teachers.

The teacher as agricultural role model

Governmental visions of industrious teachers had to be transformed into social practice by the teachers themselves. Teachers were responsible for transforming the planned dimension into social endeavours and, not least, to gain the requisite skills if these were not acquired at teacher training institutions. The philanthropic enthusiasm for education in horticulture and related fields was not necessarily shared by all teachers, some of whom saw it as a 'voluntary' extension of their duties, one which gave them even more work (Kohlstedt, 2008, p. 81). In 1828, a Danish county official complained that 'those new clerks and teachers who have learned gardening should willingly use the opportunity to do so, which has not happened' (Brinck-Seidelin, 1828, p. 260).

Cultivating the plots was a lot of work: it involved caring for animals; ploughing, sowing and fertilising in the spring, and harvesting in the autumn; taking care of the garden according to the seasons of the year; and maintaining outbuildings (Westberg, 2015, p. 39). The teacher was solely responsible for the cultivation of the plot. Requests from Danish teachers that school district residents help them cultivate the land were rejected by the government which feared that this would impose a further burden on taxpayers and fuel resentment against schools (Larsen, 1914, pp. 402–404, 12). However, teachers' limited teaching obligations were beneficial for the cultivation of the plots. In 1857, Danish children attended school for 220–259 days a year (Det Statistiske Bureau, 1859, p. 91); children in Sweden attended for 60 days in 1842 (Westberg, 2015, p. 38); and in Norway, the figure was 54–72 days a year (Lov, 1860, §6). These short school years enabled teachers' livelihoods to be diversified and, amongst other things, gave them the time and opportunity to tend their school plots and gardens, and carry out other tasks entrusted to them, such as singing in church, playing the organ, keeping church records, making official reports and fulfilling other duties for the school board and parish council (Grinder-Hansen, 2013, p. 119).

Household members helped with the agricultural work and gardening. Some gardening could be left to wives, while older children could help with such things as tending to the animals. For many teachers, it was also necessary to have domestics who could help both inside the home and outside. The Danish census of 1850 shows that almost all teachers had a maid, and some also had a male servant (DNA, Danmarks Statistik: Folketællingen, 1850), which was also the case in Sweden (Westberg, 2015, p. 39). A typical schoolteacher's household, therefore, consisted of the teacher, his wife and children, as well as a maid, and everyone was part of the working community necessary to obtain a yield from the school garden and plot.

A Danish teacher was able to grow the crops he found most suitable for the school plot in terms of providing his family with basic necessities and feeding his animals. When selecting crops, the teacher would probably have followed the majority of farmers, with oats, barley and rye (in this order) being the most common cereal varieties cultivated in Denmark (Bjørn, 1988, p. 40). Legumes such as peas, vetches and beans were grown from the first part of the nineteenth century in Denmark, and clover cultivation also became more prevalent, together with potatoes, rapeseed and flax. This was partly due to much agitation for the cultivation of these new crops by the Royal Society for the Improvement of Agriculture, which urged farmers to grow potatoes to help improve the soil and as a hedge against bad harvests, as potatoes could be eaten if the grain yield was not good. Danish pastors, teachers and landlords therefore tried (from the mid-1700s to the late 1800s) to make peasants grow potatoes, but faced reluctance at adopting a new and untested crop when grain was felt to be a safe choice (Ax, 2008, pp. 55–56, 64–65). In Sweden and Norway, pastors tried to promote the cultivation of potatoes – in Norway, this earned them the nickname of 'potato priests' (*potetprest*) (Brandt, 1973; Bodensten, 2020) – and the same occurred in Germany (Siegert, 1999, p. 68). Many teachers in rural Denmark cultivated potatoes or cabbages. According to a report from 1837, one teacher in a small rural school had grown tobacco for several years and annually produced 150–250 kg, which he sold to the neighbourhood farmers, thereby supplementing his income. He was also the first in the parish to grow potatoes, hay and hops (Dalgas, 1992, p. 254).

Cultivating the soil required tools, notably a plough. The wheel plough had been the most widely used plough type in Denmark from the 1100s onwards, since its wooden body and iron blade could be manufactured with the help of the village blacksmith. The Royal Society, on the other hand, agitated for the so-called English swing plough, a shorter and more compact tool. Although more efficient and durable, it was also significantly more expensive because it was made entirely of iron. From 1818 and onwards, the Society provided financial support for things it wanted to promote, including better cultivation tools (Degn, 1968, p. 230), and 18 teachers were awarded prizes for propagation using the swing plough.

In Denmark, reformers also placed great emphasis on the role of teachers as gardening pioneers, which is why gardening was included in teacher education and in schools on reform-friendly estates. The Royal Society awarded prizes to teachers who promoted gardening (Degn, 1968, pp. 213, 244). However, a garden is somewhat changeable, influenced by changing owners and their interest in horticulture, and the amount of time they have available for tending land (Jørgensen, 1986, p. 50). For school gardens, this meant that cultivation depended on teachers' knowledge, abilities and level of interest and (not least) the time when the school soil was to be cultivated and the children to be taught.

What social practices did Danish teachers engage in, and did they live up to the expectations of reformers? Did they engage with teaching peasants' children as well as preaching the gospel of agricultural reform, thus continuing the Lutheran tradition of ministers being both spiritual and worldly shepherds of the local community (cf. Chapter 2)? In many places, much attention was given to cultivating fruit trees, in which the government had shown early interest, and some teachers

created an area for fruit in the school garden. In several places, there were 'tree schools' or nurseries, where trees and shrubs were cultivated by teachers, which the local farmers could collect free of charge. Hops had been ubiquitous in peasant gardens for centuries and were added to home-brewed beer as a preservative and to improve the flavour (Skougaard, Hansen and Rasmussen, 1984, pp. 29–31). Some teachers also produced honey, an indispensable sweetener for their own households, and any excess could be sold (ibid., pp. 19–20, 31). Several teacher training institutions offered beekeeping lessons, and in 1811, bees and hives were procured for each institution at the expense of the state. However, beekeeping disappeared from teacher training institutions during the economic crisis of the 1810s and 1820s (Larsen, 1893, pp. 224–228).

As mentioned earlier, Danish teachers were intended, like pastors, to build a bridge between the emerging science of agriculture and traditional farming methods, passing on elements from the national land reforms to peasants' everyday practice (Henningsen, 2006, p. 435). The Royal Society rewarded industrious farmers and officials for being local pioneers. The prizes were intended to inspire other peasants, and pastors were sent lists of prize winners to read out at church services (Degn, 1968, pp. 192–201). During the period 1770–1832, when the largest number of awards were given out, 313 prizes were awarded to 255 deans and schoolteachers, with some recognised repeatedly (ibid., p. 227). Although teachers only accounted for 4% of all prize winners, their importance, along with that of the pastors, was greater than the numbers suggest. These individuals often acted as encouragers, initiators and role models (ibid., p. 228).

Amongst the winners were both older schoolteachers without formal education and new seminary-trained teachers. New teachers were only able to replace older teachers when the latter died or retired, and it took some decades after the introduction of the seminary system before all schools had an educated teacher (Larsen, Nørr and Sonne, 2013, p. 306). Consequently, seven out of ten prizes were awarded to older teachers who had not attended a teacher training institution but who wanted to make an effort in their local area. This was the case, for example, with Jens Nielsen (1761–1848), who was a schoolteacher in the small village of Lystrup for over 40 years until he retired in the early 1840s (then in his late 70s) and was replaced by his stepson. He was awarded a prize in 1798 for planting a garden and establishing a fruit tree plantation – then again in 1799 and 1804 for teaching children to write and calculate. His last prize came in 1806, when he was rewarded for summer barn feeding of cattle (DNA, Erhvervsarkivet, Arkivskabte Hjælpemidler, 1770–1968). The vast majority of prizes for schoolteachers were in the category of education during the 1780s and 1790s, when qualifications for peasants were the subject of debate and reform efforts (106 awards). Horticulture was another commonly recognised topic, with 57 awards given to teachers, while 25 awards were given for beekeeping.

Prize-giving started to peter out in Denmark during the 1830s, but some teachers still received prizes up to the end of the nineteenth century. This decline was, *inter alia*, due to the general fall in prize-giving, but also because other types of professionals were emerging within modern agricultural science. During the 1840s and 1850s, the Royal Society encouraged landowners and farmers with large

holdings to form local societies where they could meet and discuss agricultural issues. In addition, a profession of agricultural science emerged with, amongst other things, agricultural schools from 1837 and an agricultural university from 1858 (Bjørn, 1988, pp. 166–170, 175–179). Teachers and pastors were no longer identified as local agricultural pioneers. Although the role of teachers became minor, the 'people's teacher' continued engaging in other activities for the benefit of parish residents: teaching evening schools, acting as an accountant for the local dairy and serving as a member of the parish council and nationwide in teaching associations and national politics (Grinder-Hansen, 2013, pp. 125–126).

Conclusion

In 1846, a Danish publisher said of the school plot, 'such a wonderful recreation for the rural schoolteacher (…) [I]t is able to maintain the teacher's interest for this equally enjoyable, profitable, rentable work' (Hanssen and Jørgensen, 1846, pp. VIII–IX). During the second half of the nineteenth century, however, less importance was attached to the allocation of teachers' farms, and the arrangement became marginalised in both Denmark and Sweden (Westberg, 2015, p. 42).

With the Danish School Act of 1899, payment-in-kind changed to monetary salaries for teachers and, upon agreement between the parish council and teachers, school plots could be sold (Lov, 1899, §26). During the following decade, 55% of plots were sold and 30% were rented out. In 1910, only 25% of teachers were still tending to their plots (Benthin and Poulsen, 1911, p. 485). The same development occurred in Sweden as a consequence of the expanding monetary economy, which diminished the role of all ecclesiastical, military and civil allotted farms. In addition, increasing teaching obligations and a prolonged school year meant teachers had less time to devote to efforts outside the classroom (Westberg, 2015, p. 42). For Norwegian teachers, the 1927 and 1936 School Acts made it voluntary for municipalities to provide teachers with a plot of land as part of their salary (Norsk Lovtidende, 1927, p. 354; Norsk Lovtidende, 1936, p. 919). By the mid-1930s, only 37% had the stipulated plot, while 63% either had a minor plot or were given monetary compensation (Kirke- og Undervisningsdepartementet, 1939, p. 7).

For almost a century, rural teachers in the Scandinavian countries had put considerable effort and time into their work as 'people's teachers', serving as agricultural pioneers, creating libraries, conveying new knowledge for the benefit of school district inhabitants, or helping with applications and letters. By examining these common ideals and roles entrusted in rural teachers in the nineteenth century, this chapter contributes to our understanding of Scandinavian teachers' sociocultural history by focusing on their multiple occupations and how they fulfilled their social roles in local communities. Using the concepts of Anttila and Väänänen, one can talk about 'cosmopolitan' teachers who obtained their knowledge outside village frameworks, followed national trends, and whose status in the local community was based on their work as teachers of the people (Anttila and Väänänen, 2013, p. 185). Many of these teachers had obtained their knowledge at the teacher training institutions that arose in this period. However, these teachers only constituted a small proportion of the total and the vast majority were 'locals' who

cultivated their land and took care of their animals in more traditional ways. The latter, like most other peasants, did not necessarily engage in the Enlightenment project of disseminating knowledge through parish libraries or agricultural education. For such teachers, the school plot was, first and foremost, part of their salary and a source of income.

School gardening was revived with the school garden movement which emerged around 1900 in the Western world and the Scandinavian countries (Jolly and Leisner, 2000, pp. 9–12; Åkerblom, 2004; Kohlstedt, 2008; Larsen, 2020). Here, the garden was seen as a means of employing children, deterring them from committing crimes and keeping them on the straight and narrow path, as well as 'satisfying their desire for bodily activity, while enriching their thoughts and imparting [much] useful knowledge to them' (Lindholm, 1907, pp. 7–8). Thus, the school garden was no longer justified purely by its immediate benefits. During the first half the twentieth century, the pedagogical and educational aspects of this new type of garden – the pedagogical school garden – became a part of the teacher's pedagogical work, thus adding new aspects to the social and cultural history of Scandinavian teachers.

References

Åkerblom, P. (2004) 'Footprints of school gardens in Sweden', *Garden History*, 32(2), pp. 229–247. doi: 10.2307/4150383.

Anttila, E. and Väänänen, A. (2013) 'Rural schoolteachers and the pressures of community life: local and cosmopolitan coping strategies in mid-twentieth-century Finland', *History of Education*, 42(2), pp. 182–203. doi: 10.1080/0046760X.2013.766267.

Ax, C.F. (2008) 'Bondens knold – om udbredelsen af kartofler til den jævne befolkning 1750–1840', *Landbohistorisk Tidsskrift*, 2008(2), pp. 45–70.

Benthin, W.Th. and Poulsen, C. (1911) *Danmarks Folkeskole 1910*. Copenhagen: Danmarks Lærerforening.

Bjørn, C., (ed.) (1988) *Det danske landbrugs historie III: 1810–1914*. Copenhagen: Landbohistorisk Selskab.

Bodensten, E. (2020) 'A societal history of potato knowledge in Sweden c. 1650–1800', *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 45, pp. 1–21. doi: 10.1080/03468755.2020.1752301.

Brandt, N. (1973) *Potetprester*. Oslo: Landbruksforlaget.

Brinck-Seidelin, L.C. (1828) *Hjørring Amt, beskrevet, efter Opfordring fra det Kgl. Landhuusholdnings-Selskab*. Copenhagen: J.H. Schultz.

Brühweiler, I. (2012) 'Teachers' salaries in the Helvetic republic, c. 1800', in Aubry, C. and Westberg, J. (eds.), *History of schooling: politics and local practice*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 68–89.

Dalgas, C. (1992) *Svendborg amt beskrevet 1837*. Odense: Udgiverselskabet for Historisk Samfund for Fyns Stift.

Danish National Archives (DNA) *Erhvervsarkivet, Arkivskabte Hjælpemidler*, Landhusholdningsselskabet – Grundmateriale til registratur: Præmievindere, Danmark, Alfabetisk 1770–1968.

Danish National Archives (DNA) *Danske Kancelli, 1. Departement*, Diverse skolesager: seminarier og folkeskolestatistik 1789–1857.

Danish National Archives (DNA) *Danmarks Statistik*, Folketælling 1850.

Day, C.R. (1983) 'The rustic man: the rural schoolmaster in nineteenth-century France', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 25(1), pp. 26–49.

Degn, O. (1968) 'Flid og vindskibeligheds belønning: præmiesystemet, præmievinderne og deres arbejde 1769–1967', *Erhvervshistorisk Årbog*, 1968, pp. 192–254.

Departementet for Kirke- og Undervisningsvæsenet (1873) *Beretning om Skolevæsenets Tilstand i Kongeriget Norges Landdistrikt og Rigets Kjøbsteder og Ladesteder for Aaret 1870*. Christiania: Det Steenske Bogtrykkeri.

Departementet for Kirke- og Undervisningsvæsenet (1877) *Beretning om Skolevæsenets Tilstand i Kongeriget Norge for Aaret 1875*. Christiania: Det Steenske Bogtrykkeri.

Det Statistiske Bureau (1859) *Om Almueskolevæsenet paa Landet i Danmark: Statistiske Meddelelser 1. Række, 5. Bind, 3. Hæfte*. Copenhagen: Bianco Luno.

Fleischer, E. (1780) *Agerdyrknings-Katekismus til Underretning for Landmanden i Dannemark*. Copenhagen: L. Simmelkiær.

Granier, C. and Marquis, J.-C. (1982) 'Une enquête en cours: La maison d'école au XIXe siècle', *Histoire de l'éducation*, 17, pp. 31–46.

Grinder-Hansen, K. (2013) *Den gode, den onde og den engagerede: 1000 år med den danske lærer*. Copenhagen: Muusmann.

Hanssen, F.A.S. and Jørgensen, J.Chr. (1846) *Beskrivelse over Skolelærer-Embederne i Fyens Stift*. Odense: Hempelske Boghandel.

Headrick, D.R. (2000) *When information came of age: technologies of knowledge in the age of reason and revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Henningsen, P. (2006) *I sansernes vold: Bondekultur og kultursammenstød i enevældens Danmark*. Copenhagen: Landbohistorisk Selskab, Københavns Stadsarkiv.

Jolly, L. and Leisner, M. (2000) *Skolehagen: Etablering, drift og pedagogisk tilrettelegging av en skolehage*. Oslo: Landbruksforlaget.

Jørgensen, G. (1986) 'De fynske haver på Frilandsmuseet', *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark*, 1986, pp. 49–61.

Kirke- og Undervisningsdepartementet (1904) *Beretning om Skolevæsenets Tilstand i Kongeriget Norge for Aaret 1900*. Kristiania: H. Aschehoug & Co.

Kirke- og Undervisningsdepartementet (1939) *Skolevesenets tilstand 1935-36*. Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co.

Kohlstedt, S.G. (2008) '"A better crop of boys and girls": the school gardening movement, 1890–1920', *History of Education Quarterly*, 48(1), pp. 58–93. doi: 10.1111/j.1748-5959.2008.00126.x.

Kongeriget Norges sextende ordentlige Storthings Forhandlinger i Aarene 1859–1860. *Fjerde Del: Propositioner til Odelsthinget*. Christiania.

Larsen, C. (2005) 'Nedlæggelser og stilstand: Læreruddannelsen 1824–1857', in Skovgaard-Petersen, V. and Nørr, E. (eds.), *For at blive en god lærer: Seminariet i to århundreder*. Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag, pp. 133–177.

Larsen, C. (2018) 'Læreren som landmand: skoleloddens historie 1780–1900', *Erhvervshistorisk Årbog*, 2018(2), pp. 1–47.

Larsen, C. (2020) 'Den pædagogiske skolehave – skolehavebevægelsen 1900–1960', *Journalen*, 2020(1), pp. 1–13.

Larsen, C., Nørr, E. and Sonne, P. (2013) *Da skolen tog form: 1780–1850*. Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag.

Larsen, J. (1893) *Bidrag til den danske Folkeskoles Historie 1784-1818*. Copenhagen: Thanning & Appel.

Larsen, J. (1914) *Skolelovene af 1814 og deres Tilblivelse, aktmæssigt fremstillet, udgivet i Hundredaaret for Anordningernes Udstedelse*. Copenhagen: Schultz.

Larsson, A., Norlin, B. and Rönnlund, M. (2017) *Den svenska skolgårdens historia: Skolans utemiljö som pedagogiskt och socialt rum*. Lund: Nordic Academic Press.

Lindholm, P.W. (1907) *Den pædagogiske Skolehave*. Copenhagen: N.C. Roms Forlagsforretning.

Lov (1827) angaaende Almue-Skolevæsenet paa Landet, Stockholms Slot den 14. Juli 1827.
Lov (1860) om Almueskolevæsenet paa Landet, Stockholms Slot den 16. Mai 1860.
Lov (1899) om forskellige Forhold vedrørende Folkeskolen af 24. marts 1899.
Markussen, I. (2017) 'Oplysning og nyttige kundskaber', in Korsgaard, O., Kristensen, J.E. and Jensen, H.S. (eds.), *Pædagogikkens idehistorie*. Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, pp. 121–162.
Maynes, J.M. (1979) 'The virtues of the archaism: the political economy of schooling in Europe, 1750–1850', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 21(4), pp. 611–625.
Mejlænder, O. (1885). *Almindelig Norsk Lovsamling: 1ste Bind 1660-1880*. Christiania: P.T. Mallings Boghandel.
Mydland, L. (2011) *Skolehuset som kulturminne: Lokale verdier og nasjonal kulturminneforvaltning*. Gothenburg: University of Gothenburg.
Myrdal, J. (2012) 'Source pluralism as a method of historical research', in Fellman, S. and Rahikainen, M. (eds.), *Historical knowledge: in quest of theory, method and evidence*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp. 155–189.
Norsk Lovtidende (1889). Kristiania: Grøndahl & Søns Bogtrykkeri.
Norsk Lovtidende (1927). Oslo: Grøndahl & Søns Bogtrykkeri.
Norsk Lovtidende (1936). Oslo: Grøndahl & Søns Bogtrykkeri.
Porsmose, E. (2008) *Danske landsbyer*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal.
Resewitz, F.G. (1773) *Die Erziehung des Bürgers zum Gebrauch des gesunden Verstandes und zur gemeinnützigen Geschäfftigkeit*. Copenhagen: Heineck & Faber.
Schreiber, C. (2015) 'Integration the cosmopolitan and the local: the curricular construction of citizens in Luxembourg in the long 19th century', *Encounters in Theory and History of Education*, 16, pp. 165–182.
Schwartzkopf, C.F. (ed.) (1859) *Kongelige Rescripter og Resolutioner, Love og Expeditioner Geistligheden i Danmark vedkommende 1854 og 1855*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal.
Siegert, R. (1999) 'Die "Volkslehrer": Zur Trägerschicht aufklärerischer Privatinitiative und ihren Medien', *Jahrbuch für Kommunikationsgeschichte*, 1, pp. 62–86.
Skibsted, H.V. (1866) *Almueskolevæsenet i de danske Kjøbstæder og Landdistrikter fremstillet efter de derom gjældende Regler*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal.
Skougaard, M., Hansen, H.T. and Rasmussen, M. (1984) *Bondens have: Bondehavernes udformning, dyrkning og anvendelse i 1800-årene*. Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet.
Westberg, J. (2014) *Att bygga ett skolväsende: Folkskolans förutsättningar och framväxt 1840–1900*. Lund: Nordic Academic Press.
Westberg, J. (2015) 'When teachers were farmers: teachers' allotted farms and the funding of mass schooling, 1838–1900', *Nordic Journal of Educational History*, 2(1), pp. 23–48.
Westberg, J. (2018) 'How did teachers make a living? The teacher occupation, livelihood diversification and the rise of mass schooling in nineteenth-century Sweden', *History of Education*, 47, pp. 1–22.
Westberg, J. (2019) 'Basic schools in each and every parish: the School Act of 1842 and the rise of mass schooling in Sweden', in Westberg, J., Boser, L. and Brühwiler, I. (eds.), *School acts and the rise of mass schooling: education policy in the long nineteenth century*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 195–222.
Young, H.L. (2016) *The small rural school and community relations in Scotland, 1872–2000: an interdisciplinary history*, PhD thesis. Stirling: University of Stirling.

4 The Nordic model from afar

Chinese scholarly projections of Nordic education and teachers

Barbara Schulte

Introduction: the Nordic model, reference societies, and rationalised myths

Northern European education, and with it the 'Nordic model', have become an increasingly attractive object of study for scholars in East Asia, particularly in China. This contribution looks at how 'Nordic' education has been referenced by Chinese scholars, and what this tells us about the role that the Nordic countries play in Chinese scholarship on education. Based on an analysis of journal articles from the China Academic Journals database (CAJ), I will investigate, in the next section, how scholarly references to education in the Nordic countries have evolved since the mid-1990s, and what this development looks like compared to an influential reference society like the United States. In the third section, I will present the thematic areas that Chinese scholars associate with education in the Nordic countries, and look at how these themes are matched with the individual Nordic member states (Finland, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway). This will shed light on the question of whether the Nordic countries, in the Chinese perception, constitute a comparatively homogeneous region in terms of education, or whether they represent a more diverse conglomerate. In a brief fourth section, I will zoom in on the Chinese discussions of teachers and teacher education in Finland and Sweden, which are the two Nordic countries that have been receiving most attention from Chinese scholars. In the fifth and concluding section, I will revisit the concept of 'externalisation' in education (in the sense of Schriewer, 1990) and pose the question of how, in today's globalised world, international consultant-academics, through their active engagement in educational export, impact on domestic externalisation processes, and thus directly influence domestic constructions of international educational reference societies.

The term 'reference society' was originally coined by sociologist Reinhard Bendix (e.g., 1967), who in turn drew on Merton's (1967) concept of 'reference groups', which explicates how positive reference groups act as frames of orientation for people who aspire to assume the same social role and status as these reference groups appear to possess. Negative reference groups, in contrast, have a reverse function: they act as deterrent anti-models against which people seek to construct identities that are as different as possible from these negative examples. Raising the concept of reference groups to the level of nation-states, the orientation towards

DOI: 10.4324/9781003082514-6

particular 'reference societies' has served as an explanation for why societies have developed along specific paths; this perspective has become particularly relevant for analysing modernisation and globalisation processes, or social change more generally, when societies have been observed to opt for specific models to follow – that is, model societies that are considered 'successful' examples to emulate (see, e.g., Eisenstadt and Schluchter, 1998).

Depending on the social and political climate, and the aspirations and pressures arising from this climate, the choice of reference societies may be more or less stable. A shift in domestic priorities is usually accompanied by the replacement of old reference societies by new ones. Shifting reference societies have been of particular interest to scholars in the field of comparative education: a felt need for educational change and reform often coincides with constructions of international reference societies which can serve as models to follow, or alternatively, as negative examples to be dismissed (Zymek, 1975). For instance, the legitimacy granted by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), combined with particular domestic policy objectives, has led to the establishment of Shanghai or, more generally, China, as a new (educational) reference society for the United States, England, and Australia, with far-reaching consequences (Sellar and Lingard, 2013).

However, as has been illustrated in numerous studies (see, e.g., the contributions in Steiner-Khamsi and Waldow, 2019), international reference societies constructed for domestic purposes are not necessarily simple or truthful depictions of empirical 'reality'; rather, they constitute projections of what the 'follower society' (in Bendix's terms; 1967, p. 334) wishes to see and adopt (or reject). Hence, as Schriewer and Martinez (2004, p. 50) have pointed out in their study of educational discourses in China, Russia, and Spain, to reference, or 'externalise', to other societies (or more generally, to the outside world), needs to be seen as a process 'refracted by each [domestic] society's internal selection thresholds and needs for interpretation, which are the outcomes of cultural traditions and collective mentality, as well as political forces and dominant ideologies'.

Externalisations to educational reference societies are no whimsical, ad-hoc projections; they are grounded in what the follower society sees as rational decision-making, informed by allegedly relevant and scientific knowledge. In a neo-institutionalist sense, frequently referenced educational models such as the East Asian 'Confucian' societies or the 'Finnish miracle' (cf. Simola, 2005) can be considered 'rationalized myths' (cf. Meyer and Rowan, 1977, p. 343). Through their legitimising power, rationalised myths define the ways in which institutions and their participants are expected to act. In the transnational educational arena, they transform into 'objectively acknowledged, rational frames of thought and action', and it is these frames that guide domestic educational policymaking, rather than actual 'conditions of particular sociohistorical settings' or genuine responses to 'specific needs' (Schriewer, 2009, p. 33). Schriewer further observes that such

> myths are 'rationalized' inasmuch as they offer means-ends connections that enable action to be taken and carried out in reasonable sequence. Yet at the same time, they are 'myths' in the sense that they draw their validity from

> generalized accreditation at the transnational level rather than from experience accumulated under specific conditions and analyses that do justice to individual cases.

Thus, two forces are at play. On one side, we observe a domestic push for an externalisation to international developments. In the context of this chapter, this means that the 'Nordic' (or Finnish, Swedish, Danish, Norwegian) model as discussed by Chinese scholarship is perhaps less Nordic than it is Chinese, as the 'Nordic' has been filtered through the specific perceptions and rationales that are characteristic of the Chinese academic debate on education. While there may be overlaps between the Chinese and, for instance, Swedish scholarly discussions (the latter as evident in, e.g., Swedish-language publications), we can expect that themes and issues of concern are not identical in these two discussions, but rather reflect discourses that are particular to each society. On the other side, if the targets of externalisation have already been turned into rationalised myths with high legitimating power – as can be argued for educational role models accredited through international instances such as PISA – these transnational forces feed back into and impact on domestic processes of externalisation. As will be argued in the conclusion, the 'Finnish miracle' is an example of both a reference society and a rationalised myth.

For the following analysis, the CAJ has been searched for Chinese-language publications issued by the end of 2019 that refer to both 'education' and the 'Nordic countries',[1] Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Norway, and Iceland.[2] The publications in the CAJ contain academic journal articles as well as theses and dissertations, conference contributions, newspaper and magazine articles, and books and monographs. As can be seen in Figure 4.1, most publications have been identified with regard to Sweden, followed by the 'Nordic countries' (which however comprise the largest

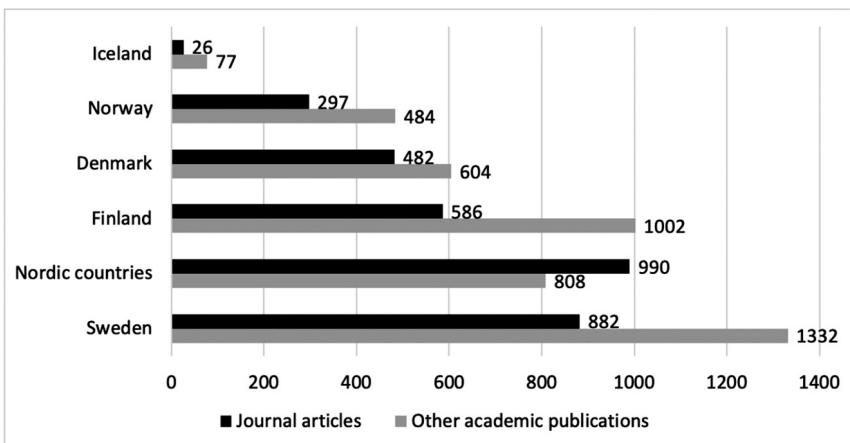


Figure 4.1 Number of Chinese academic publications on education (journal articles and other publications) that make reference to the 'Nordic countries', Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Norway, and/or Iceland up to 31 December 2019.

Source: author's compilation based on CAJ data.

share of journal articles), Finland, Denmark, Norway, and Iceland. Due to the low number of publications referring to Iceland, the country has been dismissed as a case for further analysis. Moreover, since the chapter focuses on the conceptions of 'Nordic' education in Chinese scholarship, only journal articles have been selected for thematic analysis. In contrast to other publications such as dissertations or magazine articles, journal articles have gone through some kind of collegial peer review and can thus be expected to capture most truthfully what is considered scholarly knowledge regarding the Nordic region. Additionally, only those journal articles have been included in the thematic analysis that have ten or more citations, so that the final sample better reflects the actual academic discussion. Topics that are written about but not taken up by other scholars are thus not included in the sample.

Analysing the academic output of Chinese scholarship in the form of journal articles has of course wider political implications. While every academic discourse has certain limits regarding what can be thought and published, the discursive boundaries in Chinese academic journals bear a particularly strong political imprint. Political influence on scholarship in China has fluctuated over the last decades,[3] but has been observed to intensify considerably since 2013, when president Xi Jinping came to power. The infamous Document Number Nine, which has identified seven topics to be taboo for Chinese universities,[4] has been followed by a series of attempts to censor and silence recalcitrant scholars (Scholars at Risk Network, 2019). While research on (teacher) education is not the primary target of Party censorship, it is nonetheless part of the political–academic ecosystem. Therefore, journal articles also within this field can be expected to follow larger trends of political challenge and accommodation.

The emergence of the Nordic model in comparison

The Chinese scholarly interest in Nordic education is comparatively recent. Most publications referring to any Nordic country (90 per cent and more, depending on country) came out after 1995. As illustrated in Figure 4.2, there is a continuous increase in references starting in the early 2000s until 2009, culminating, after a temporary decline, in an absolute peak in 2013. The figure also shows how increase and decrease occur unevenly across the Nordic region: Denmark and Norway play only minor roles throughout the period. In contrast, both the 'Nordic countries' and Sweden constitute the major share of the total references until 2013, when Finland joins these two major players and subsequently becomes a significant Nordic reference society. From 2016 onwards, Finnish references take a clear lead and thus overtake both Sweden and the 'Nordic countries'.

The general surge in interest in Nordic education since the 2000s can be attributed to change and reform within the Chinese education system (see, e.g., Schulte, 2014; Vickers and Zeng, 2018). After a phase of consolidation following the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976 and the initiation of a vast economic and social modernisation programme in the 1980s, a new education law was passed in 1995. While the law reconfirmed moral-ideological aims such as patriotism, collectivism, and socialism, as well as discipline and national-ethnic unity, it also emphasised values such as equality regarding individuals, groups, and regions. Moreover, both

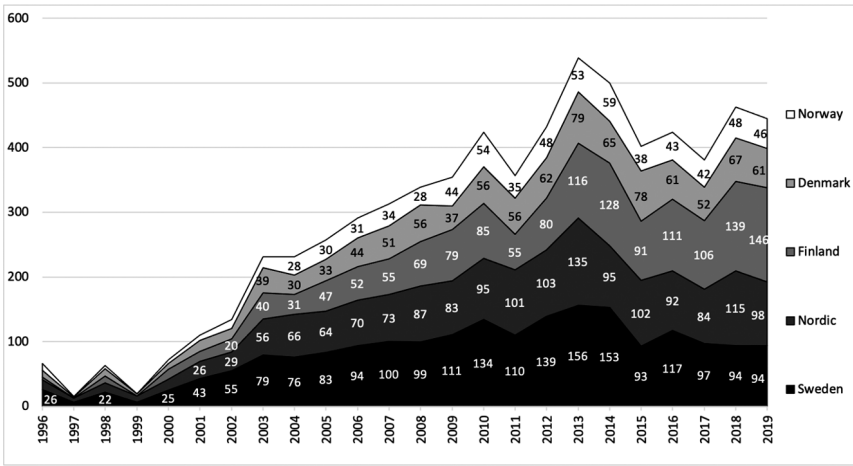


Figure 4.2 Number of Chinese academic publications on education that make reference to the 'Nordic countries', Sweden, Finland, Denmark, and/or Norway between 1996 and 2019. For reasons of legibility, only numbers higher than 20 are included in the chart.

Source: author's compilation based on CAJ data.

decentralisation and the involvement of non-state actors in education began to be carefully included in educational governance strategies. In 1999, a new curriculum was drafted (Zhong, Cui and Zhang, 2001), which gradually replaced the old curriculum from 2000 onwards. Concomitant with China's path towards a knowledge economy, this new curriculum was to stress innovation and creativity, flexible and cross-disciplinary learning, and the standardisation of learning goals. While the actual implementation of the new curriculum is debatable (see, e.g., Schulte, 2018b), this reorientation led to an increased sensitivity to international trends in education, and the active search for non-Chinese educational reference societies. The new interest included countries employing approaches towards school and learning that were considered markedly different from Chinese approaches. To Chinese observers, the Nordic countries were clearly representatives of these different approaches.

The peak in 2013, and the growing dominance of Finnish references, are largely due to Finland's rise as a 'PISA nation', and, in particular, the strong Chinese interest in the Finnish specifics of curricular design and teacher education. Arguably, these latter aspects are also more digestible politically and hence deemed applicable to the Chinese context (see the two following sections). Simultaneously with Finland's ascension, the Nordic region as a homogeneous whole has become less and less important. As reflected in Figure 4.2, references to the 'Nordic countries' have decreased over recent years. While more country-specific upward developments such as that of Finland may be a partial explanation for why the 'Nordic countries' as a whole have been gradually losing their status as an educational region, the growing country expertise of Chinese scholars has to be considered a reach of at least equal importance. Increasingly, Chinese scholarship hesitates to

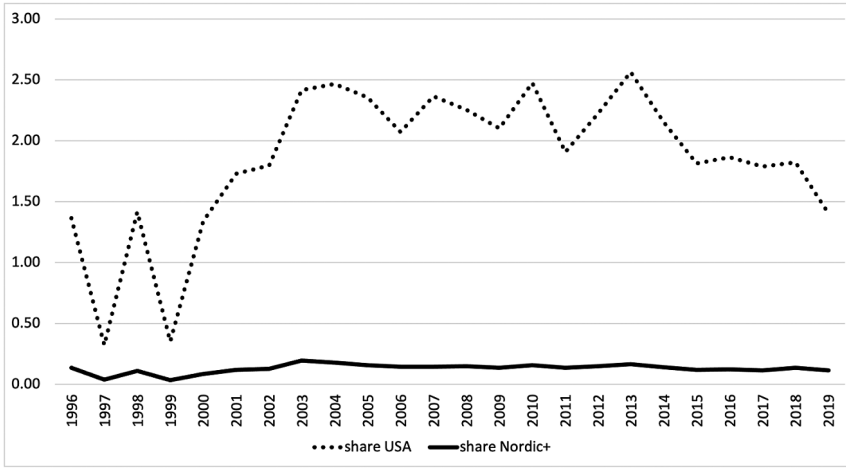


Figure 4.3 Share (in percentage) of Chinese publications on education referencing to the United States and the Nordic region.

Source: author's compilation based on CAJ data.

lump together larger geographic regions such as 'Europe' or 'Africa', and instead focuses on smaller units of analysis such as nation-states or sub-national units.

Even though the increased interest in the Nordic countries is considerable, Figure 4.2 tells us nothing about how Nordic references fare compared to Chinese publications on education in general, and publications on non-Nordic countries in particular. The late 1990s and 2000s have witnessed not only a greater interest in international issues, but a significant rise in the total number of publications, due to the adjustment of Chinese universities to international standards (such as measurement of output in terms of publications; see Schulte, 2019b). Weighted against this general increase in publications, no relative increase in publications relating to the Nordic region can be observed, even if all Nordic references are totalled (Sweden, 'Nordic countries', Finland, Denmark, Norway; indicated as 'Nordic+' in Figure 4.3). Nordic references only constitute around 0.1 per cent of all Chinese publications on education. In comparison, the most significant reference society to Chinese researchers in education, the United States, attains a share of 1.9 per cent in average – still not a large part of the total (see Figure 4.3). All in all, it is safe to say that even though a small group of scholars takes note of international developments, the large majority does not, and the educational debate in overall is still rather domestic in nature.[5] Those focusing on the Nordic region constitute an even smaller group among more internationally oriented scholars.

In the following sections, I will take a closer look at these niched interests, which often serve particular purposes, such as a Nordic country offering educational solutions to problems that have not been satisfactorily handled in China. As has been argued in the introduction, such references are typical examples of externalisation: other countries are used as examples to elucidate (and at times criticise) domestic developments.

'Nordic' educational characteristics from a Chinese perspective

Overall, and irrespective of the number of citations and specifics of individual countries, 'Nordic' education covers five larger areas of interest in Chinese scholarship:

- *Curricular content and pedagogical approaches*. These include not only, e.g., curricular content such as civic education, education for sustainability, entrepreneurship education, and education on sex and reproductive health, but also pedagogical approaches, such as child-centred, project-based, cross-subject, and nature-based learning, practical training, and anti-bullying programmes.
- *Educational policy and governance*. Focal interests are school autonomy, anti-corruption measures, assessment and evaluation strategies, and students' rights and participation in decision-making.
- *Teacher education*. Most references are to research-based teacher education and teacher autonomy.
- *System characteristics*. Those parts of the Nordic education systems that are of greatest interest to Chinese scholars are early childhood education, higher education, special/inclusive education, vocational education, community education, popular education/folk high schools, and more generally institutionalised opportunities for lifelong learning.
- *Physical and material learning infrastructure*. This includes articles regarding not only teaching material and information and communication technologies for education (ICT4E), but also school architecture and classroom design.

Apart from these general trends in the Chinese coverage of Nordic education, the references to the individual Nordic countries reveal divergent thematic patterns. In the following sections, these patterns will be first presented for Finland (presently the most referenced country), followed by Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. A theme is established when three or more articles from the above-described sample can be categorised under the theme.[6] The figures rank the themes according to the total number of citations they received, in order to reflect the attention that the themes have been given by Chinese scholarship.

Finland

Most journal articles referencing to Finland are, contrary to what Figure 4.4 may suggest, about questions of 'evaluation/inspection' (both in school and university education), and 'teachers/teacher education'. However, due to one heavily cited article on students' key competences in Finland, Japan, and the United States (Xin, Jiang and Wang, 2014), which has been cited 663 times, 'curriculum development' is the most-cited theme by far with regard to the Chinese scholarly interest in Finland. The majority of references to Finland are from 2002 and later. A notable exception is Finnish 'vocational education', which received some attention in the 1990s but ceased to play a role after 2014.

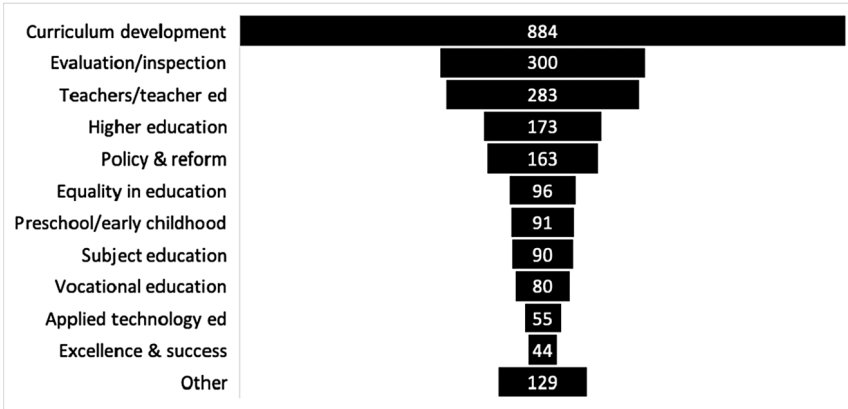


Figure 4.4 Most-cited themes in journal articles referencing Finnish education. 'Subject education' refers to the teaching of a specific subject, such as English or mathematics.

Source: author's compilation based on CAJ data.

Together with 'evaluation/inspection', 'curriculum development' is the most evenly distributed topic throughout the years. In contrast, articles on 'teachers and teacher education' start attracting interest only after 2007. 'Higher education' ranks fourth, and is primarily regarded from the perspective of innovation, internationalisation, and the entrepreneurial university. It is closely followed by the more generally discussed fifth-ranked topic, 'policy and reform'.

All five top themes need to be considered within the context of, first, Chinese educational reform; and second – and more recently – against the background of international assessment studies such as PISA. As pointed out in the previous section, curriculum reform is seen as an essential step towards transforming the country into a knowledge economy, and Finland's reputation as an innovative nation with an educated population is an interesting example to Chinese scholars. Similarly, questions of inspection and evaluation have been receiving increased attention due to changes in Chinese educational governance. Many articles on this theme are in fact not single-country studies, but reviews of several countries' governance strategies, including the Nordic countries. The interest both in higher education and in policy and reform can also be regarded as being rooted in the many transformations that Chinese education, particularly at universities, has undergone in the 2000s. In contrast, the Chinese interest in Finnish teacher education and, to some extent, in curriculum issues, is often motivated by Finland's PISA success, which is commonly attributed to the fact that Finnish teacher education is viewed to be research-based, and to the ways in which the Finnish curriculum is organised.

Sweden

References to Sweden reveal a more diversified picture compared to Finland (Figure 4.5). While Finland displays a large gap between the most-cited and remaining themes (and to an extent also between the remaining themes), a whole

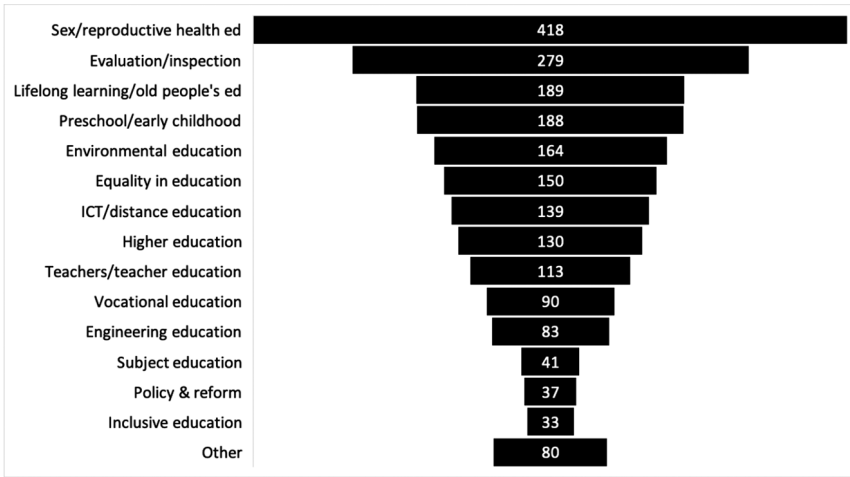


Figure 4.5 Most-cited themes in journal articles referencing Swedish education.
Source: author's compilation based on CAJ data.

range of Sweden-related themes have gathered between 100 and 200 citations. Moreover, and due to Sweden's longevity as a reference society, they are distributed over a relatively long time period.

Most noteworthy with regard to Sweden is the top-placed theme of sex education/reproductive health, with 418 citations. The Chinese interest in this theme has been relatively constant between 1997 and 2013, but seems to have dwindled in more recent years.[7] References to this theme can be regarded a typical case of externalisation due to unsolved issues at home: sex education is insufficiently incorporated into the Chinese curriculum, and Sweden has often been utilised as an example to argue for the important social role that this type of education plays for adolescents, and for society at large.

While the interest in 'evaluation/inspection' overlaps to a great extent with the Finnish case, the three following themes, of 'lifelong learning/old people's education', 'environmental education' (or education for sustainability), and 'preschool/early childhood education', are more specific to Sweden. The first two seem to have passed the peak of attention, but the Chinese interest in Swedish early childhood education is still vibrant. Many of the articles are written from a welfare state perspective – a point of view that also dominates other Chinese (non-educational) publications on Sweden and the Nordic countries in general. 'Equality in education' seems to be a prevalent topic with regard to Sweden, more so than for Finland. However, this difference may be more apparent than real: 95 citations (out of the 150) within this category are to one article (Zhu and Zhao, 2007) about the influential Swedish educational researcher Torsten Husén (1916–2009), which may have aroused interest due to Husén's international prominence, rather than because questions of educational equality are particularly associated with the Swedish school system. A more Sweden-specific theme is 'ICT/distance education', in which Sweden comes across as an early role model between 1994 and 2004.

In recent years, however – and simultaneously with China's rise as an ICT nation (Schulte, 2018a) – Sweden no longer plays a role with regard to this theme.

In contrast to the Finnish case, the topic of 'curriculum development' is irrelevant for Chinese studies referencing Sweden. Possibly due to Sweden's poorer performance in, e.g., PISA (compared to Finland), the country has not been considered exemplary in this regard. 'Higher education' and 'teachers/teacher education' do play a role, if to a lesser extent than for the Finnish case. Regarding higher education, the sampled articles are most interested in questions of, first, innovation and education for creativity, and second, in governance models that grant autonomy to higher education institutions. 'Teachers/teacher education', and how references to this topic differ from the ones made to Finland, will be dealt with in the section comparing perceptions regarding Finnish and Swedish teacher education.

Denmark and Norway

Generally, relatively few articles solely reference Denmark and Norway, but most refer to several countries, particularly those on the top-ranked themes of 'evaluation/inspection', and, for Denmark, 'higher education' (Figure 4.6) and for Norway, 'vocational education' (Figure 4.7).[8] Three exceptions suggest that Denmark and Norway have nonetheless established some sort of 'reference niches' for certain themes.[9] First, the references to Danish vocational education display a more country-specific profile. Here, it is above all an interest in agricultural issues that has driven the Chinese curiosity regarding Danish models of vocational education – an interest that can look back upon a long history of cross-national attraction: Haggard's *Rural Denmark and its Lessons* (1911) was popular among Chinese reformers in the

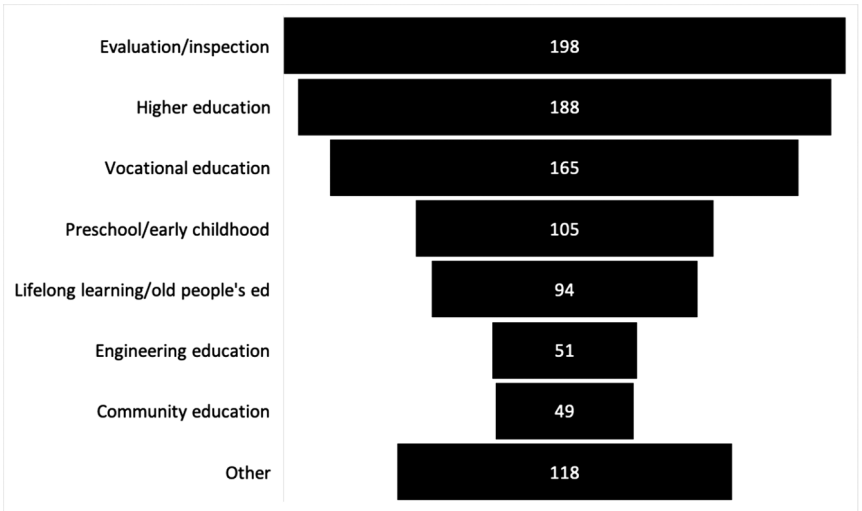


Figure 4.6 Most-cited themes in journal articles referencing Danish education.

Source: author's compilation based on CAJ data.

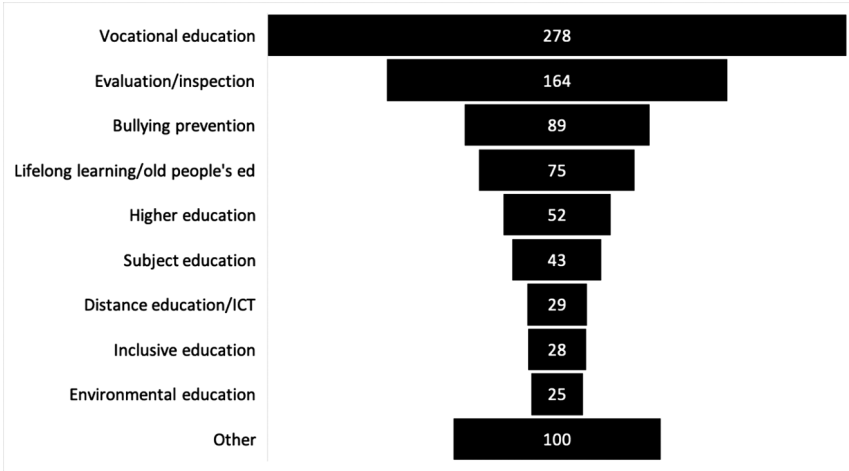


Figure 4.7 Most-cited themes in journal articles referencing Norwegian education.
Source: author's compilation based on CAJ data.

1920s, and, as noted in this volume's introductory chapter, the pedagogues of the time drew great inspiration from the Danish integration of agrarian knowledge into the school curriculum (Zhu Q., 1923; see also Chapter 3 in this volume).

Second, Norwegian preventive measures against bullying at schools aroused the interest of Chinese scholars: even though only two articles deal with this topic, they received 89 citations.[10] As with sex education, bullying is thought to be a topic that is not dealt with satisfactorily at Chinese schools, so scholars have been looking for solutions elsewhere. Third, the topic of 'community education', while only having 49 citations, is particularly associated with Danish education. This is due to the prominent role that the Danish philosopher and pedagogue Grundtvig (1783–1872) and the folk high schools have played, providing insights to Chinese scholars who have an interest in developing community education in their own country (see also Chapters 1, 2, and 7).

The 'Nordic-ness' of the Nordic countries

Considering the relatively diverse themes presented above, it is difficult to maintain that there is a common Nordic model of education from a Chinese perspective. The greatest overlap across all four countries is on the topics of 'evaluation and inspection' and 'higher education'; however, both themes are discussed in articles which do not focus on the Nordic region only (or on any Nordic country solely), but rather in comparison with other models of governance and accountability. The most 'Nordic' theme is perhaps the topic of lifelong learning and education for the elderly; however, this excludes Finland, whom Chinese scholars do not commonly associate with that topic. In terms of country-specific interests, Finland's greatest overlaps are with Sweden, in the area of preschool and early childhood education and, to a lesser extent, regarding 'equality in education'.

Yet, if compared again with references to the United States, the array of themes is quite distinct. Due to space constraints, references to this country cannot be presented in detail, but the two most prevalent themes are rather different compared to the Nordic region: new ICT-related pedagogies, including issues such as blended learning, inverted classrooms, etc., and multicultural education, including bilingual learning. Moreover, frequently cited articles referring to the Nordic region as a whole overlap with some of the country-specific themes discussed above, such as community education and preschool/early childhood education. In sum, even though the four Nordic countries do not constitute a homogeneous picture in Chinese scholarship, we can nonetheless observe themes that recur more often, compared to non-Nordic references.

The Finnish/Swedish teacher through Chinese eyes

What are Finnish or Swedish teachers to Chinese academics, how are they observed to be educated and trained, and what insights does Chinese scholarship gain with regard to the teaching profession in China? In this section, I will look briefly at these questions before coming to the chapter's conclusion.

In general, frequently cited Chinese articles on Finnish teachers and teacher education are much more homogeneous than those on Sweden. As pointed out in the previous section, teachers and teacher education are not very prevalent topics in the Chinese discussions of Swedish education. For example, the teacher's role can be discussed in articles regarding sex education and reproductive health – the top-cited theme regarding Swedish education – but these articles' focus is neither on teachers nor on teacher education as such. References to Finnish teachers and teacher education, in contrast, almost exclusively dwell on the conception that Finland has implemented and perfected research-based teacher education, and that this approach accounts for the success of the Finnish system. What prevails in most articles is what we could call the science view: Finnish teachers are considered to employ a scientific notion of didactics, to base their teaching on evidence, and to succeed in integrating theory and practice (Zhang X., 2016; Zhou and Gong, 2016). At times, scholars also stress that Finnish teacher education includes both interdisciplinary and societal perspectives, and thus moves beyond the emphasis on pure subject knowledge (Rao and Li, 2016). More rarely, social and relational aspects are mentioned as keys to success, such as relations of honesty and trust, or tutoring and mentoring aspects (Chen, 2014). The questions underlying almost all the articles referencing to Finnish education are about what aspects have contributed to Finland's educational success, how these aspects differ from the current state of Chinese (teacher) education, and how (some of) these aspects could be introduced in China.

Regarding Swedish teachers and teacher education, Chinese scholarly interest is more varied. Some articles focus on didactic and pedagogical questions, such as on how teaching has become professionalised, how gender and feminist perspectives have been incorporated into teaching, and how different student interests and capabilities can be integrated; others deal with the systemic organisation (such as the integration of primary and secondary levels of education in the teacher

education curriculum); still others emphasise governance issues, such as the autonomy of teacher education institutions in questions of curriculum, their independence from the government, and, in general, the flexibility of teacher training institutions (e.g., Gu and Wang, 1999; Qiu, 2008). The Swedish way is thus presented less as a recipe for educational success than as an interesting case that reflects a social and cultural development that is quite different from the Chinese path.

Revisiting the concepts as laid out in the introduction, the Finnish model is closer to the notion of a reference society as a rationalised myth – that is, a rationally legitimated, exemplary model to imitate. In contrast, the references to Sweden portray an alternative educational world which, however, is hardly deemed realistic to emulate in present-day China. Aspects associated with the Finnish system are largely portable and transferable, both in educational and political terms: Chinese teacher education can be relatively easily imagined to be research-based, and it is conceivable within the Chinese context that relations between theory and practice could be more systematised and thereby improved. In comparison, aspects typically attributed to Sweden are different from the Chinese system in more fundamental ways: their implementation in China would require the underlying system to make considerable changes. Thus, these references should be read less as an intention to adopt them than as an attempt to elucidate and call into question those parts in the Chinese system that are considered problematic yet hard to change, such as the system's hierarchical and politicised nature, or its exam-oriented pedagogy, which makes it difficult to attend to each student's capabilities.

Elsewhere (Schulte 2019a, pp. 190–191), I have identified three different types of tools that are at play when actors (scholars, policymakers, etc.) externalise to other education systems: '(1) a *conceptual tool* for ordering, categorizing, and interpreting empirical reality; (2) a *strategic tool* for arguing for or against a particular approach or reform; and (3) a *political tool* for legitimizing (or delegitimizing) the ideology underlying these approaches or reforms'. If we regard the scholarly discussions of Finnish and Swedish teacher education as externalisations, then we could maintain that while the references to Finland have a more strategic character, aiming for the partial adoption of Finnish teacher education, the externalisation to Sweden is more political in nature: by pointing to alternative solutions, these scholars challenge the ideological foundations of the current (Chinese) response to educational problems.

Conclusion: the Nordic model in China – an offering or a prescription?

Scholars in comparative education have again and again emphasised how 'educational borrowing' has to be viewed from the borrower's perspective. The specific local context, and the translation work done on educational ideas coming from outside, are considered at least as important as these ideas themselves (Steiner-Khamsi, 2014). This stance originates in the scepticism of, on the one hand, a Western-centric conception of educational modernisation, which assumes the latecomers among nation-states will simply adopt the educational models of the

'developed' nations, and, on the other, diffusionist perspectives on educational change, which however neglect the role of powerful intervening actors (see the overview in Schulte, 2012b). What happens, then, when local sense-makers – educational scholars, policymakers, and the like – are infiltrated by their international peers? That is, when the translation work is at least partially left to the authors rather than to the translators?

In Finland's representation in Chinese scholarship, such a process may just be occurring. As noted above, the discussions of Finnish teacher education are conspicuously homogeneous. Moreover, and in contrast to the other Nordic countries, the Chinese journal database contains a number of Chinese-language articles about Finnish education which are authored by Finnish scholars, and which rather uncritically present the Finnish way of doing education as a silver bullet (e.g., Harju and Niemi, 2017; Lavonen, 2020; Välijärvi, 2009). For several years now, Finnish scholars of education have been actively encouraged by their institutions to participate in 'educational export' activities, and more recent literature suggests that it is not only outright commercial edu-businesses (see, e.g., Seppänen, Thrupp and Lempinen, 2020) that act as educational export agents, but also scholars who co-produce the Finnish image of a nation of educational excellence by 'selling (in) directly and implicitly/explicitly flows of services, ideas, and policies' (Dervin and Simpson, 2019, p. 35). As Dervin notes in his foreword to the volume *Myths in Education, Learning and Teaching* (Harmes, Huijser and Danaher, 2015), Finland has been very active in – and profited from – establishing the country as an educational 'dream-place' (p. xii). Finnish educational culture has become essentialised in these brandings: under the guise of scholarly contributions, such marketing presentations oversimplify Finnish education and package it into easy-to-digest stereotypes (Dervin and Simpson, 2019). Such accounts of the Finnish miracle are then, according to Liu and Dervin (2017), reproduced in books published for a more general Chinese readership.

Thus, what we can observe in the Chinese scholarly framing of Finland as a reference society is not just Chinese processes of externalisation, but also the effects emanating from the Finnish co-directorship in building up what Dervin has called 'mythologies of education' (in Harmes, Huijser and Danaher, 2015, p. xiii), in which certain ideas about education are turned into 'unquestionable truths'. By producing educational knowledge for export, which is then distributed both in the transnational arena and in local academic discourses such as those in China, Finnish scholarship helps to rationalise the Finnish model and thereby contributes to the transformation of the 'Finnish miracle' into a rationalised myth.

As this chapter's analysis suggests, 'accreditations at the transnational level' (Schriewer, 2009, p. 33) are not simply the objective outcomes of international deliberations, but can be pushed and shaped through the intervention of prospective 'reference societies' in local (national) discourses. These discourses then feed back into processes of transnational legitimation, which in turn develop the power to impact national developments. Regarding the construct of a 'Nordic model', it seems as if this model has been replaced, at least regarding its accrediting power at the international level, by the rationalised myth of the 'Finnish miracle'.

Notes

1 'Nordic', or more correctly, 'Northern European' (*Bei Ou* 北欧) is much more commonly used in the Chinese language than 'Scandinavian' (*Sikandineiweiya* 斯堪的纳维亚), the latter often including Finland as well. This differs, e.g., from the Swedish distinction between 'Nordic' and 'Scandinavian', where the latter usually excludes Finland. *Bei Ou* has been the default denominator for the Nordic countries since the 1980s, while in older language usage, it could also include the Baltic countries. A search for 'Scandinavia' and 'education' yields only eight articles, five of which are already covered by using the search term 'Nordic'. Therefore, 'Bei Ou' has been used as the primary search term.
2 Articles do not necessarily have to exclusively reference one or several of these countries, but Nordic references can co-occur with references to non-Nordic countries.
3 See, e.g., my analysis of how John Dewey was interpreted in China from the 1920s until the present time (Schulte, 2012a).
4 Document Number Nine was leaked by an anonymous source from the Third Plenum of the Eighteenth Party Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in 2013, and identified the following seven taboos: the promotion of Western constitutional democracy, universal values, civil society, neoliberalism, freedom of the press, 'historical nihilism', and questioning Chinese reform policies (ChinaFile, 2013).
5 Since not all journals prior to the mid-1990s have been digitised, a quantitative analysis of international references for earlier periods is problematic. The relative weight of Nordic references (e.g., compared to references to the United States, or the total number of articles on education) cannot be concluded from the available data. Based on the data that have been digitised, the Nordic countries were hardly referenced at all until the 1970s. From the 1980s onwards, Nordic references increased more than the eightfold, from 197 references between 1980 and 1989, to 1,666 references between 2010 and 2019. However, during the same period, articles on education increased by a factor of 21. In the 1980s, Finland was the least referenced of the Nordic countries; it overtook Norway in the 1990s, Denmark in the 2000s, and passed Sweden in the 2010s.
6 Themes which gathered less than three articles are categorised as 'Other'. Two exceptions are made. For Norway, themes were established with a minimum of two articles falling into a category, since otherwise articles labelled as 'Other' would have become too numerous. For Denmark, the category 'preschool/early childhood education' was created even though only two articles fall in this category. This is due to the fact that these two articles have between them accumulated 105 citations.
7 It seems that this topic is transitioning to the theme of gender-equal/feminist education in more recent years, but since articles on this topic are quite recent, they have not received a sufficient number of citations to be included in the sample. Also, feminism is a politically sensitive concept in the Chinese context; adding to this the somewhat strained relationships between China and Sweden due to human rights issues, we can expect to see fewer references to Swedish feminist education.
8 Within 'vocational education' for Norway, 241 citations are to an article about vocational education in several countries (Li, 2000).
9 The seemingly high number of citations regarding Danish preschool/early childhood education is due to a single article about the architectural design of Danish preschools, published in the journal *World Architecture* (Zhang and Dong, 2003). Most of the journal articles citing this article are not within the field of education but of architecture. Therefore, preschool education is not considered a 'reference niche' here.
10 However, these articles are not solely on Norway.

References

Bendix, R. (1967) 'Tradition and modernity reconsidered', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 9(3), pp. 292–346. doi: 10.1017/S0010417500004540.

Chen, C. 陈才锜 (2014) '芬兰普通高中导师制的特色及启示' Fenlan putong gaozhong daoshizhi de tese ji qishi, *Global Education*, 43(1), pp. 87–94.

ChinaFile (8 November 2013) 'Document 9: a ChinaFile translation'. Available at: https://www.chinafile.com/document-9-chinafile-translation (Accessed: 10 May 2021).

Dervin, F. and Simpson, A. (2019) 'Transnational edu-business in China: a case study of culturalist market-making from Finland', *Frontiers of Education in China*, 14(1), pp. 33–58. doi: 10.1007/s11516-019-0002-z.

Eisenstadt, S.N. and Schluchter, W. (1998) 'Introduction: paths to early modernities: a comparative view', *Daedalus*, 127(3), pp. 1–18.

Gu, D. 顾定倩 and Wang, L. 王丽娜 (1999) '瑞典师范教育及几点启示' Ruidian shifan jiaoyu ji jidian qishi, *Studies in Foreign Education*, (4), pp. 36–39.

Haggard, H.R. (1911) *Rural Denmark and its lessons*. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

Harju, V. and Niemi, H. (2017) '芬兰基础教育阶段核心素养的培养及评价' Fenlan jichu jiaoyu jieduan hexin suyang de peiyang ji pingjia, *Educational Measurement and Evaluation*, 7, pp. 10–18.

Harmes, M.K., Huijser, H. and Danaher, P.A. (eds.) (2015) *Myths in education, learning and teaching*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK. doi: 10.1057/9781137476982.

Lavonen, J. (2020) '芬兰分权教育体制下的协同式教育改革' Fenlan fenquan jiaoyu tizhi xia de xietongshi jiaoyu gaige, *Studies in Foreign Education*, 47(2), pp. 3–13.

Li, J. 李建忠 (2000) '国际职业教育发展现状、趋势及中国职业教育的基本对策' Guoji zhiye jiaoyu fazhan xianzhuang, qushi ji Zhongguo zhiye jiaoyu de jiben duice, *Waiguo Jiaoyu Ziliao*, (6), pp. 57–64.

Liu, H. and Dervin, F. (2017) '"Education is a life marathon rather than a hundred-meter race": Chinese "folk" comparative discourses on Finnish education', *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 47(4), pp. 529–544. doi: 10.1080/03057925.2016.1257351.

Merton, R.K. (1967) *Social theory and social structure*. New York: The Free Press.

Meyer, J.W. and Rowan, B. (1977) 'Institutionalized organizations: formal structure as myth and ceremony', *American Journal of Sociology*, 83(2), pp. 340–363.

Qiu, L. 邱莉 (2008) '瑞典教师教育培养模式及课程设置对我国教师教育改革的启示' Ruidian jiaoshi jiaoyu peiyang moshi ji kecheng shezhi dui woguo jiaoshi jiaoyu gaige de qishi, *Curriculum, Teaching Material and Method*, 28(12), pp. 88–91.

Rao, C. 饶从满 and Li, G. 李广平 (2016) '芬兰研究本位教师教育模式:历史考察与特征解析' Fenlan yanjiu benwei jiaoshi jiaoyu moshi: lishi kaocha yu tezheng jiexi, *Studies in Foreign Education*, 43(12), pp. 3–20.

Scholars at Risk Network (2019) *Obstacles to excellence: academic freedom & China's quest for world-class universities*. Available at: https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/Scholars-at-Risk-Obstacles-to-Excellence_EN.pdf (Accessed: 15 December 2020).

Schriewer, J. (1990) 'The method of comparison and the need for externalization: methodological criteria and sociological concepts', in Schriewer, J. and Holmes, B. (eds.) *Theories and methods in comparative education*, Komparatistische Bibliothek, 1. Frankfurt am Main: Lang, pp. 3–52.

Schriewer, J. (2009) '"Rationalized myths" in European higher education: the construction and diffusion of the Bologna model', *European Education*, 41(2), pp. 31–51.

Schriewer, J. and Martinez, C. (2004) 'Constructions of internationality in education', in Steiner-Khamsi, G. (ed.) *The global politics of educational borrowing and lending*. New York: Teachers College Press, pp. 29–53.

Schulte, B. (2012a) 'The Chinese Dewey: friend, fiend, and flagship', in Bruno-Jofre, R. and Schriewer, J. (eds.) *The global reception of John Dewey's thought: multiple refractions through time and space*. London: Routledge, pp. 83–115.

Schulte, B. (2012b) 'World culture with Chinese characteristics: when global models go native', *Comparative Education*, 48(4), pp. 473–486.

Schulte, B. (2014) 'Chinas Bildungssystem im Wandel: Elitenbildung, Ungleichheiten, Reformversuche', in Fischer, D. and Müller-Hofstede, C. (eds.) *Länderbericht China*. Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, pp. 499–541.

Schulte, B. (2018a) 'Digital technologies for education in China: national ambitions meet local realities', in Stepan, M. and Duckett, J. (eds.) *Serve the people. Innovation and IT in China's development agenda*. Berlin: Mercator Institute for China Studies (MERICS Papers on China, 6 October 2018), pp. 31–38.

Schulte, B. (2018b) 'Envisioned and enacted practices: educational policies and the "politics of use" in schools', *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 50(5), pp. 624–637. doi: 10.1080/00220272.2018.1502812.

Schulte, B. (2019a) 'Curse or blessing? Chinese academic responses to China's PISA performance', in Steiner-Khamsi, G. and Waldow, F. (eds.) *Understanding PISA's attractiveness: critical analyses in comparative policy studies*. London: Bloomsbury, pp. 177–197.

Schulte, B. (2019b) 'Innovation and control: universities, the knowledge economy, and the authoritarian state in China', *Nordic Journal of Studies in Educational Policy*, 5(1), pp. 30–42. doi: 10.1080/20020317.2018.1535732.

Sellar, S. and Lingard, B. (2013) 'Looking east: Shanghai, PISA 2009 and the reconstitution of reference societies in the global education policy field', *Comparative Education*, 49(4), pp. 464–485. doi: 10.1080/03050068.2013.770943.

Seppänen, P., Thrupp, M. and Lempinen, S. (2020) 'Edu-business in Finnish schooling', in Hogan, A. and Thompson, G. (eds.) *Privatisation and commercialisation in public education: how the public nature of schooling is changing*. London: Routledge, pp. 101–118.

Simola, H. (2005) 'The Finnish miracle of PISA: historical and sociological remarks on teaching and teacher education', *Comparative Education Review*, 41(4), pp. 455–470.

Steiner-Khamsi, G. (2014) 'Cross-national policy borrowing: understanding reception and translation', *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 34(2), pp. 153–167. doi: 10.1080/02188791.2013.875649.

Steiner-Khamsi, G. and Waldow, F. (2019) *Understanding PISA's attractiveness: critical analyses in comparative policy studies*. London: Bloomsbury.

Välijärvi, J. (2009) '芬兰研究型教师教育述评' Fenlan yanjiuxing jiaoshi jiaoyu shuping, *Shanghai Education Research*, (1), pp. 21–25.

Vickers, E. and Zeng, X. (2018) *Education and society in post-Mao China*. London & New York: Routledge.

Xin, T. 辛涛, Jiang, Y. 姜宇 and Wang, Y. 王烨辉 (2014) '基于学生核心素养的课程体系建构' Jiyu xuesheng hexin suyang de kecheng tixi jiangou, *Journal of Beijing Normal University (Social Sciences)*, (1), pp. 5–11.

Zhang, M. 张玫英 and Dong, W. 董卫 (2003) '丹麦幼儿园设计新趋势' Danmai you'eryuan sheji xin qushi, *World Architecture*, (3), pp. 78–81.

Zhang, X. 张晓光 (2016) '研究取向的中小学教师职前教育探析 – 以芬兰为例' Yanjiu quxiang de zhongxiaoxue jiaoshi zhiqian jiaoyu tanxi - yi Fenlan wei li, *Educational Research*, (10), pp. 143–149.

Zhong, Q. 钟启泉, Cui Y. 崔允漷 and Zhang, H. 张华 (2001) 为了中华民族的复兴，为了每位学生的发展:《基础教育课程改革纲要(实行)》解读 *Weile Zhonghua Minzu de fuxing, weile mei wei xuesheng de fazhan: 'Jichu jiaoyu kecheng gaige gangyao (shixing)' jiedu*. Shanghai: Huadong Shifan Daxue Chubanshe.

Zhou, J. 周钧 and Gong, C. 公辰 (2016) '培养反思 – 探究型教师:芬兰研究取向教师教育探析' Peiyang fansi – tanjiuxing jiaoshi: Fenlan yanjiu quxiang jiaoshi jiaoyu tanxi, *Bijiao Jiaoyu Yanjiu*, 11(322), pp. 34–39.

Zhu, Q. 祝其樂 (1923) '研究鄉村教育的途徑與方法'Yanjiu xiangcun jiaoyu de tujing yu fangfa, *Jiaoyu Zazhi*, 15(9), pp. 6–15.

Zhu, Y. 诸燕 and Zhao, J. 赵晶 (2007) '胡森教育平等思想述评' Husen jiaoyu pingdeng sixiang shuping, *Journal of Xuzhou Normal University (Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition)*, 33(4), pp. 114–118.

Zymek, B. (1975) *Das Ausland als Argument in der pädagogischen Reformdiskussion: schulpolitische Selbstrechtfertigung, Auslandspropaganda, internationale Verständigung und Ansätze zu einer vergleichenden Erziehungswissenschaft in der internationalen Berichterstattung deutscher pädagogischer Zeitschriften, 1871–1952*. Ratingen: Henn (Schriftenreihe zur Geschichte und politischen Bildung, 19).

Part II

The emergence of Nordic teacher education and teacher identities

5 Nordic and European comparisons

Finnish primary teacher training and international references in Committee Reports from the 1860s to the 1960s

Marjo Nieminen

Introduction

This chapter discusses Finnish primary teacher training from a historical perspective, from the 1860s to the beginning of the 1960s. It analyses Committee Reports released during this period by the bodies constituted to guide Finnish teacher education, and examines how teacher training systems in other Nordic countries were described and compared in these reports. The Committee Reports are presented in the context of developmental changes in Finnish teacher education, of which academisation is a central characteristic (Jauhiainen, Kivirauma and Rinne, 1998; Rinne, 2017). The concept of academisation here refers to two things: professional education is organised by academic institutions, and it is research-based. Although the final step towards academic teacher education was only taken in the 1970s, when teacher education was finally moved to universities, researchers have pointed out that academisation was a long, slow process and its early signs can be traced to the end of the nineteenth century (Jauhiainen, Kivirauma and Rinne, 1998; Valtonen and Rautiainen, 2013).

The primary sources for this article comprise five Committee Reports: proposals for new statutes and the arguments on which the proposals were based. Sometimes they included a broader account of the situation of teacher training. The committees were an administrative instrument which did the preparatory work and gave suggestions for reforms before the actual parliamentary proceedings and legislative work. The committees and their members were appointed by the Finnish government, and though their recommendations did not necessarily lead to legislative reform, the reports offer an interesting view on the arguments behind their suggestions.

In this chapter, the history of Finnish teacher training will be discussed in detail and the Committee Reports examined more closely. The following sections are arranged in chronological order to bring out the structural changes in teacher education. The next section discusses the historical background of teacher education and the early phase of the establishment of teacher training in Finland.

DOI: 10.4324/9781003082514-8

Historical background and the era before college-style teacher education, 1863–1934

Before the Finnish state-municipal education system, with its teacher seminaries, was instituted, mass education was organised by parish clerk teachers and schoolmasters. This early mass education system was faced with shortages of qualified teachers and weak educational standards. The launch in the 1860s of the state municipal education system, with its own teacher training system, was part of a national project in which citizens' health and education were attached to new population and labour policies. According to the new ideas in economics at the time, citizens were considered a source of wealth for the nation and their education was therefore an important state issue. The establishment of state municipal basic education was a small step towards educational equality, and the beginning of the separation of mass education from the authority of the church. These changes in the education system were intertwined with nation-building and state-making projects. Although the welfare state project proceeded slowly at the turn of the twentieth century, ideas of educating and civilising people had already materialised in mass education. The mass education system, with teacher training, thus became connected with social processes (Buchardt, Markkola and Valtonen, 2013; Rantala, 2011; Rinne, 2017). Ahonen notes that primary school teachers became the vanguard of state-municipal mass education and that their rise to being seen as historical agents was part of the awakening of Finnish civil society (Ahonen, 2003, p. 57).

When the new mass education system was under development in the 1850s–1860s, the question was not only the formation of the education system but also the organisation of teacher training and its syllabus. To create solid grounds for its planning, the Finnish Senate considered it necessary to collect knowledge about the education and teacher training systems of other European countries. Priest, parish schoolmaster and the chief of a church school Uno Cygnaeus (1810–1888), who was later appointed chief school inspector and director of the teacher seminary, was chosen to investigate the situation abroad. He acquainted himself with the primary schools and teacher training institutions of Nordic countries and Central Europe during visits to Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Austria, Switzerland and the Netherlands during 1858–1859 (Halila, 1949a, pp. 270–278; Kangas, 2009). Cygnaeus was not convinced of the strengths of teacher training in Sweden and Denmark; it is reported, for instance, that he gave more guidance than he received during his visit to Sweden. Nevertheless, Cygnaeus's views became more positive when he made the acquaintance of the work of Torsten Rudenschöld, a Swede, and his social ideas about educating poor people. In Denmark, Cygnaeus found teacher seminaries to have a more modern form of organisation than in Sweden. Cygnaeus was – even before his travels – influenced by German pedagogy, and greatly appreciated the ideas of Pestalozzi, Fröbel, Rousseau and Diesterweg (Halila, 1949a, pp. 270–278; Rautakilpi, 2007, pp. 189–190). In his travel accounts, he commended especially the teacher training system in Wetting, Switzerland, as an example for the Finnish teacher training system (Halila, 1949a, pp. 270–278; Kangas, 2009). Cygnaeus emphasised the need for teachers with knowledge of pedagogy and

educational science (Kangas, 2009), and his educational thinking can be characterised as social pedagogy influenced by Pestalozzi, and emphasising Christian ethics (Rautakilpi, 2007, pp. 189–190).

Cygnaeus's ideas had a strong influence on the new seminary for teacher education established in Jyväskylä in 1863. He aimed to ensure seminaries were of a high standard, and therefore the competence requirements set for teachers at the seminary in Jyväskylä were high (Kangas, 2009). This was a coeducational institution, with separate departments for women and men, and the training lasted four years: two years longer than teacher training in Sweden. By the end of the nineteenth century, seven seminaries – coeducational or single-sex – had been established around the country, mostly in small, rural towns (Ahonen, 2011, pp. 242–245; Rantala, 2011; Rinne, 2017; Rinne and Jauhiainen, 1988, pp. 201–212).

This educational system, based on the thinking of Cygnaeus, prevailed till the 1880s when teacher educators encountered Herbart-Zillerism, a pragmatic pedagogical system developed by German pedagogues (Ahonen, 2011, pp. 245–247; Paksuniemi, Uusiautti and Määttä, 2013, pp. xii–xiii). Two professors of education, Waldemar Ruin (1857–1938) and Mikael Soininen (1860–1924), were influential supporters of Herbart-Zillerism. Soininen (known as Johnsson until 1907) has been called the second reformer of primary education. Like Cygnaeus, he explored Nordic and European school systems and, while his educational thinking was based on Herbart-Zillerism, he was familiar with experimental psychology. By the end of his very successful career, he was the chief director of the National Board of Education (1917–1924) and was also an active politician: Member of Parliament (1907–1922) and Minister of Education (1918–1920) (Paksuniemi, 2013, pp. 41–43).

Positivism and experimental psychology gained ground in the 1910s and had as their main advocates Professor Albert Lilius (1873–1947), seminary director Aukusti Salo (1887–1951) who later reached the position of professor and seminary teacher Kaarle Oksala (1873–1949), who was later professor and rector of the College of Education in Jyväskylä. Influences from abroad included John Dewey's *Learning by Doing* and Georg Kerschensteiner's pedagogical thinking, both of which influenced teacher training (Ahonen, 2011, pp. 245–247).

As early as the 1890s, the idea of university-level further education for primary school teachers had been introduced, and although it did not immediately lead to academic education, it was the first attempt to establish an academic degree for the profession (Jauhiainen, Kivirauma and Rinne, 1998; Rantala, 2011; Rinne and Jauhiainen, 1988, pp. 201–212). As Jauhiainen, Kivirauma and Rinne (1998) note, the demand for postgraduate education for primary school teachers was repeatedly raised by the Finnish union (established in 1893), especially in its professional journal for teachers (published from 1906 onwards).

This aim was also supported in academic circles, and in 1908, primary school teachers were granted permission to take university courses, though not yet complete degrees (Rantala, 2011). Besides further training, the university courses offered a route to getting the qualifications needed for senior positions in the school system, such as school inspectors and seminary lecturers. Since female teachers could not be

appointed as school inspectors until 1926, male teachers were slightly more eager to gain university degrees (Halila, 1949d, pp. 98–110; Halila, 1950, p. 344).

The idea of academic courses was based on foreign examples: the plan to organise courses for non-grammarschool[1] graduates came to the Nordic countries from Britain and the first academic course was instituted in Uppsala in 1893. In Finland, primary school teachers welcomed the idea, and courses for both Swedish-speaking and Finnish-speaking teachers were organised soon after (Halila, 1949b, pp. 382–384). These short-term courses were held every other year from 1894 to 1910. Year-long university-level further education courses for primary school teachers were conducted from 1907 to 1915 and again from 1918 onwards (Committee Report [CR] 1922:3, p. 358). The great reformer Mikael Soininen was in charge of arranging university-level further education courses for primary school teachers (Halila, 1949c, p. 330). Another step was taken when the summer university started its first term in 1912 in Jyväskylä – a development which has been dubbed the first victory for those who favoured the idea of teacher colleges outside Helsinki (Halila, 1963, pp. 277–278; Kangas, 2009, p. 115).

Soininen and Waldemar Ruin also suggested transferring teacher education from seminaries to universities in 1913. The arguments in favour of academic education relied on the notion that a uniform education for all teachers, both for primary and grammar school, would strengthen solidarity between teachers and narrow the gap between the two groups. The academic degrees were also hoped to raise the social status of primary school teachers and give them grounds for demanding higher salaries (Jauhiainen, Kivirauma and Rinne, 1998).

The first signs of the academisation of teacher training were connected to the professionalisation of teachers' work and the formation of teachers' place in society as experts on societal questions – a role that was partly adopted by teachers, and partly given to them (Rinne and Jauhiainen, 1988, pp. 201–212; Valtonen and Rautiainen, 2013). In speaking of the professionalisation of teachers' work, the education required by profession was emphasised, as well as professional skills and competencies (Rinne and Jauhiainen, 1988, pp. 59–61). Seminary lecturers had a major role in the process. Even as they sought to strengthen the professional identity of primary school teachers and to reinforce teachers' professional position in society, they simultaneously advanced features of teacher education which could be characterised as pre-academic. In addition, as society modernised, teaching was amongst the professions that had the characteristics of expertise emphasised by the welfare state (Kangas, 2009; Valtonen and Rautiainen, 2013).

During the era before college-based teacher education, only one committee was appointed to reappraise the statutes concerning teacher training and teacher seminaries (CR, 1895:5). The committee, appointed in 1892, was led by chief school inspector Anders Wilhelm Floman (1833–1905) who later became the assistant to the director of the National Board of Education. Floman warmly supported the ideas of Cygnaeus and had had a long career in schools and as a seminary director (Halila, 1949b, pp. 411–413). The other members of the committee represented the senior administration and teaching staff of seminaries and primary schools (CR, 1895:5). The Committee Report, which was released three years later, took a stand on concrete questions around organising teacher training but its suggestions

did not greatly influence teacher education (CR, 1895:5; Halila, 1949c, p. 312). In addition, the report did not contain any mentions or comments on the teacher education systems of other countries, including Nordic countries (CR, 1895:5).

The beginning of college-style teacher education in 1934

Before the 1930s, there were discussions and attempts to develop the system of teacher seminaries. In the discussions of the need to change the Finnish system, the national administration of education and academics in the educational sciences were fully aware of debates about teacher training in other countries (Halila, 1950, pp. 294–296). For example, in 1919, at the initiative of the National Board of Education, a committee was appointed to plan the reforms of teacher seminaries. It was led by Kaarlo Franssila (1860–1950), the assistant director of the department of primary education at the National Board of Education, and who initially favoured the idea of college-style teacher education (CR, 1922:3; Kangas, 2009, p. 122; Säntti, 2011). Besides Franssila, the committee had two members: a seminary lecturer and a senior lecturer at a grammar school. Other experts in the field of primary education and teacher training also participated in committee meetings, representing expertise on various school subjects. In addition, at the request of the committee, Waldemar Ruin, Albert Lilius and Ernst Lindelöf (1870–1946) gave their views on teachers' entitlement to university studies (CR, 1922:3, pp. 1–3).

The Committee Report that ensued in 1922 was thorough and contained a description of teacher seminaries in various Western countries, including all the other Nordic countries, excluding Iceland. Teacher education in Germany and Switzerland was explained more thoroughly than in other countries (CR, 1922:3, pp. 16–21, 355–357). The Nordic countries were mentioned where the report described the lengths of teacher training, and the high entrance requirements for students in different Nordic countries:

> In Sweden, seminaries remained four years long after the reform in 1914; but the entrance requirements rose substantially to over six years of primary school….
>
> Denmark have even stricter entrance requirements. When the Danish contemporary seminary law was passed in 1894, on account of its high entrance requirements, it was considered possible to retain the seminary as a three year course of study.
>
> In Norway, the duration of seminary education has also been three years since 1902 and seminary entrance is based on seven years of primary school.
>
> (CR, 1922:3, p. 16)

One of the main questions was whether eligibility to enter teacher education was based on primary school or grammar school completion in Finland. Although the committee forecasted the number of grammar school graduates would rise in the future, it also wanted to keep the seminaries open to primary school graduates. The report notes: '… what is the best solution for big industrial countries would not be beneficial in sparsely populated Finland, where the majority of the inhabitants are

farmers' (CR, 1922:3, p. 22). The 'big industrial countries' the report refers to were not Nordic countries but, for example, Switzerland and Scotland, where teacher education was based on grammar schools (CR, 1922:3, pp. 16–19, 21–22).

The committee also made comparisons about details in the syllabus. Furthermore, the committee took a stand on academic studies when it planned teacher education for grammar school graduates and when it outlined further education for primary school teachers. The committee favoured the plan to organise primary school teachers' further education in the university and argued against other options: '…the committee wants to note that the success of further education requires that lessons are held in the university where teachers will have an opportunity to study other academic subjects along with pedagogy which is their main subject' (CR, 1922:3, pp. 359–360). Again, the Committee Report mentioned big industrial countries, especially Germany.

Although the so-called Franssila Committee's suggestions were widely accepted, they were never implemented because of the sudden death of the chief director of the National Board of Education, Mikael Soininen, who had been the promoter of the committee's proposals. The reforms were also hindered by the economic recession of the 1920s (Halila, 1950, pp. 284–286).

The next phase in the academisation of teacher education started in the 1930s, when education policy began to favour the expansion of new opportunities for the increasing number of grammar school graduates (Säntti, 2011). At the same time, the question of a new teacher training institute came to a head and the Ministry of Education assigned the National Board of Education to prepare a proposal (Halila, 1950, p. 300). The influential agents behind the idea of college-style teacher training were Kaarle Oksala and Oskari Mantere (1874–1942), the chief director of the National Board of Education. They presented Germany as an example, where teacher seminaries had been changed to colleges (Kangas, 2009, p. 121; Säntti, 2011). The university education policy was favourable to the new institutes of higher education, for example, the college of social studies in Tampere received the permission to grant master's degrees in 1933 (Kangas, 2009, p. 121). The perseverance of the supporters of college-style education produced significant results in 1934 when the seminary in Jyväskylä was transformed into a teacher training college. Rinne and Jauhiainen note that the establishment of the college in Jyväskylä was a direct consequence of primary school teachers' persistent efforts to increase their educational assets and professional status (Rinne and Jauhiainen, 1988, p. 219). College-style teacher training was based on educational and, especially, psychological research and expertise (Rinne, 2017).

The requirements for college included the completion of grammar school (*gymnasium*) and the matriculation examination. This was a significant requirement, in the light of the fact that only 4% of nineteen-year-olds graduated from grammar school. Because of this, the special route for grammar school graduates gained permanent institutional form (Rinne and Jauhiainen, 1988, pp. 219–222).

Administratively, the College of Education in Jyväskylä came under the Ministry of Education and therefore differed from teacher seminaries. The college also differed from universities, because it did not at first have a faculty. However, as new professors were appointed, it came to join the group of institutes of higher

education such as the University of Technology in Helsinki (Säntti, 2011). In addition, when the Ministry of Education decided to accept the academic library donated to the College of Education by the University Association of Jyväskylä, it, at the same time, agreed that the establishment of the College of Education was a partial solution to the question of whether to establish a university at Jyväskylä (Kangas, 2009, p. 122).

After the establishment of the College of Education in Jyväskylä, discussions about the levels and requirements of teacher training took on a new tone in the 1930s. The question was whether all teacher seminaries should be transformed into colleges and require grammar school education for admission. Although the new college and its research emphasis were highly appreciated and welcomed, there were some conflicting attitudes toward altering the entire teacher education system. The main argument in favour of training in seminaries was the idea that the teaching profession was a special vocation – a calling – and seminary training valued that idea highly (Jauhiainen, Kivirauma and Rinne, 1998; Rinne and Jauhiainen, 1988, p. 220).

In 1944, the College of Education in Jyväskylä received the right to grant university degrees and the first student graduated in 1946 (Rinne, 2017; Valtonen, 2009b, p. 185). From then on, the college had two different programmes: teacher training and a degree programme in educational science which prepared students for master's degrees. Although the number of graduates of the degree programme remained low, academic studies were popular among students (Valtonen, 2009b, p. 185). Academic studies, in particular, fulfilled the aims of primary school teachers to further education (Rinne, 2017). Such academic courses had been offered since the end of the nineteenth century at the University of Helsinki and they had opened to primary school teachers, opportunities to become government inspectors of primary schools or lecturers in seminaries (Rantala, 2011). The academic master's degree at the College of Education strengthened that development, and it expanded further when, in the 1950s, primary school teachers who had not passed the matriculation examination gained the right to study for a master's degree (Valtonen, 2009b, p. 185).

The establishment of temporary teacher training colleges after the Second World War

The Second World War created exceptional circumstances that influenced teacher training. Firstly, evacuated teachers from Karelia had to be relocated and secondly, the need for teachers grew due to the number of teachers killed during the war and the post-war baby boom. In the countryside, for example, 20% of teachers were unqualified (Rinne and Jauhiainen, 1988, p. 223). After the war, the state began to take measures to increase the number of qualified teachers (Rinne and Jauhiainen, 1988, pp. 224–225; Säntti, 2011). The National Board of Education led in this effort by establishing new teacher training colleges (Nurmi, 1990, pp. 39–40). Temporary colleges were established in Helsinki (1947), Turku (1949) and Oulu (1953), and two new seminaries were inaugurated in Northern and Eastern Finland. At the same time, student intake at the old seminaries was increased (Rinne and Jauhiainen, 1988, pp. 224–225; Säntti, 2011). In addition, a law was

enacted in 1948, under which grammar school graduates could receive teacher qualifications after two years of college or seminary training, or after one year and two summers in either training stream (Rinne, 2017).

The establishment of temporary teacher training colleges was not a straightforward process although the need for qualified new teachers was substantial. Plans for reforming teacher training had been made by the committee appointed in 1937. The Second World War delayed the work of the committee and its reports were only completed in 1945 and 1947 (CR, 1945:5; CR, 1947:2; Nurmi, 1990, pp. 13–14). The chair of the committee was Kaarlo Saarialho (1886–1976) who had previously worked as seminary director and who had been appointed to the post of school counsellor in the National Board of Education in 1934. Other members represented various fields of education and included a professor, school inspectors, the seminary director and teaching staff. Interestingly, this committee also featured a large number of parliament members (CR, 1945:5, pp. 3–4).

Compared with the previous legislative initiatives, the reports by the committee did not contain thorough descriptions of the teacher training systems of other countries. Instead, the Committee Reports had only short comments on the length of teacher training in other Nordic countries as well as in some European countries, and remarks on the minimum and maximum age limits of student teachers (CR, 1945:5; CR, 1947:2, pp. 42–43). The committee justified the lower age limit with reference to other Nordic countries: 'The committee did not see any grounds to propose abandoning the existing minimum age limit which is also applied in Nordic countries, especially as the length of training remained unchanged' (CR, 1947:2, p. 43). With regard to the upper age limit, the Committee Report mentioned only Sweden: 'In Swedish seminaries, the maximum age on admission is 24 years in the four-year programme and 28 years in the programme for grammar school graduates.' The committee proposed setting the maximum age for entry to a Finnish teacher education programme at thirty years. This was based on its suggestion to admit vocational school graduates (CR, 1947:2, p. 43). As these examples show, the committee used other Nordic countries as a basis for its arguments.

The suggestions by the committee related to teacher training in seminaries as well as teacher education, especially teachers' further education, at teacher colleges. The Nordic comparisons in the reports dealt only with seminary training (CR, 1945:5; CR, 1947:2). The suggestions by the committee were not implemented immediately and, in 1948, the National Board of Education made its own proposal about teacher colleges to the Ministry of Education. Behind the proposal were Kaarlo Saarialho and Alfred Salmela (1897–1979); both of whom had been members of the committee (Nurmi, 1990, pp. 13–14).

When a new college was planned in Turku, the National Board of Education presented the suggestion to transfer teacher training to universities. Although the proposition was not actualised, it points to the view favouring the placement of teacher training in higher education (Nurmi, 1990, pp. 132–133; Säntti, 2011).

The new temporary teacher training colleges had their opponents, and the attempts to make them permanent institutions did not succeed. One influential opponent was the rector of the College of Education in Jyväskylä who strongly opposed attempts to consolidate the teacher college in Helsinki. He wanted to

increase opportunities to develop the college of Jyväskylä and argued vigorously against other solutions (Nurmi, 1990, pp. 41–47; Säntti, 2011). In addition, both the primary school teachers' union and parliament resisted the establishment of permanent colleges other than the one in Jyväskylä (Nurmi, 1990, pp. 46–47).

The establishment of the temporary teacher training colleges consolidated the two-stream system and, during 1946–1967, seminaries and colleges offered two different routes into the primary school teaching profession (Rinne and Jauhiainen, 1988, pp. 224–225; Säntti, 2011). The temporary colleges indicated an expansion of grammar-school-based teacher training and a growing investment in modern urban university education. This showed a departure from the traditional and often patriarchal system of seminaries in rural towns (Rinne, 2017; Rinne and Jauhiainen, 1988, p. 225). Säntti states that teacher training colleges were a necessary intermediate stage, a transitional period while the pragmatic rural seminary training slowly transformed into university-level education (Säntti, 2011).

Teacher training at the College of Education in Jyväskylä expanded at the end of the 1950s when programmes to qualify teachers for grammar schools were established (Valtonen, 2009b, pp. 209–210). The establishment of the new training programmes consolidated praxis, narrowed the educational gap between primary school and grammar school teachers and bridged to future reforms in the teacher training system.

In the 1950s, the Finnish government appointed only one committee on primary teacher education. The committee concentrated on training in seminaries and did not take a position on the question of teacher training colleges. Kaarlo Saarialho and Alfred Salmela were again members of the committee, and its work relied mostly on the Committee Reports of 1945 and 1947. The committee was only involved in the routine issues of organising seminary training, and the academisation of teacher education was not a focus. The report the committee released in 1952 did not contain any descriptions or comments about Nordic countries but, in the preface, it was mentioned that Professor Matti Koskenniemi (1908–2001), who also participated in the committee's work, was acquainted with Swedish teacher training. He had visited Swedish teacher seminaries in 1950 and became familiar with the results of some pilot projects:

> The most important of these results concerned different school subjects in seminaries, different seminary programmes, the organising of teaching practice and the teaching methods of training schools. Prof. Koskenniemi gave an account of his observations. He also gave literature which enlightens the newest aims and solutions concerning Swedish teacher education.
>
> (CR, 1952:B 15, p. 2)

Conclusion

The era of teacher training in colleges and seminaries ended during the 1970s when all the seminaries were replaced by modern teacher training situated in universities. The final impetus for the academisation of teacher training at the university level occurred in the 1960s, when the establishment of comprehensive schools

was finalised and the older grammar schools were phased out. The school reform was carried out gradually in the 1970s, and during that process, it became necessary to unite the two streams of teacher training and to make academic teacher education the standard (Rinne, 2017; Rinne and Jauhiainen, 1988, pp. 228–229). As Rinne and Jauhiainen (1988, p. 228) note, research-based teacher education was quickly instituted, requiring substantial academic resources. Although the final phase of the academisation of teacher training was organised swiftly, the process was not easy or straightforward. The changes in the national education system roused numerous stakeholders. Furuhagen and Holmén (2017) point out the demanding and difficult process of committee work and legislation and the conflicting interests of various agents: political groups, teacher unions as well as representatives of the educational sciences.

In the 1980s, academic teacher education programmes solidified their place in eight universities and twelve different Finnish towns. Rinne (2017) notes that the fruits of academisation are apparent in the new millennium. Academic primary teacher education, and faculties of educational sciences, have achieved a legitimate and distinguished position among other faculties and programmes at universities (Rinne, 2017).

This chapter has focused on the early phase of the academisation process and examined how the teacher training systems in other Nordic countries were depicted and compared in Committee Reports. It has also provided historical context for teacher education in Finland and showed that although the Committee Reports included descriptions and mentions of other Nordic countries, these depictions did not substantially differ from their references to other countries. Indeed, Nordic countries were no more readily referred to than, for example, Great Britain and Germany. The historically close relations between Nordic countries are thus not so clearly apparent in the Committee Reports. However, the reports show that the members of the committees were aware of the circumstances of teacher education in the Nordic countries, especially in Sweden, Denmark and Norway. On some occasions, the Committee Reports even indicated that the committees used Nordic countries as a basis for their own arguments.

Note

1 Before the school reforms of the 1970s, Finland had a separate type of secondary school: the *oppikoulu* or grammar school. These selective schools prepared students for the matriculation examination, the requirement for university entry.

References

Ahonen, S. (2003) *Yhteinen koulu – Tasa-arvoa vai tasapäisyyttä?*. Tampere: Vastapaino.

Ahonen, S. (2011) 'Millä opeilla opettajia koulutettiin?', in Heikkinen, A. and Leino-Kaukiainen, P. (eds.) *Valistus ja koulunpenkki. Kasvatus ja koulutus Suomessa 1860-luvun lopulta 1960-luvulle*. Helsinki: SKS, pp. 239–252.

Buchardt, M., Markkola, P. and Valtonen, H. (2013) 'Introduction: Education and the making of the Nordic welfare states', in Buchardt, M., Markkola, P. and Valtonen, H. (eds.) *Education, state and citizenship*. Helsinki: Nordic Centre of Excellence Nordwel, pp. 7–30.

Committee Report [CR] (1895) *Ehdotus asetukseksi kansakoulunopettaja- ja opettajatarseminaarien järjestämistä varten Suomen suuriruhtinaanmaassa ja uudeksi ohjesäännöksi näille laitoksille ynnä mietintö ja perustelmat*, 1895:5 (Proposal for a statute for organising teacher training seminars for male and female teachers in Grand Duchy of Finland and for a new regulation for these institutes. The report and arguments). Helsinki: Valtioneuvosto.

Committee Report [CR] (1922) *Komiteanmietintö seminaariasiaa valmistelemaan asetetulta komitealta*, 1922:3 (Committee Report given by the committee appointed to prepare the issue of seminaries). Helsinki: Valtioneuvosto.

Committee Report [CR] (1945) *Kansakoulunopettajain valmistus- ja jatkokoulutuskomitean mietintö 1*, 1945:5 (Committee Report given by the committee of primary school teachers' teacher training and further education 1). Helsinki: Valtioneuvosto.

Committee Report [CR] (1947) *Kansakoulunopettajain valmistus- ja jatkokoulutuskomitean mietintö 2*, 1947:1 (Committee Report given by the committee of primary school teachers' teacher training and further education 2). Helsinki: Valtioneuvosto.

Committee Report [CR] (1952) *Seminaarilainsäädännön uudistamiskomitean mietintö. 1*, 1952:B 15 (Committee Report given by the committee reforming the legislation concerning seminaries). Helsinki: Valtioneuvosto.

Furuhagen, B. and Holmén, J. (2017) 'From seminar to university: dismantling an old and constructing a new teacher education in Finland and Sweden, 1946–1979', *Nordic Journal of Educational History* 4 (1), pp. 53–81.

Halila, A. (1949a) *Suomen kansakoululaitoksen historia I*. Porvoo: WSOY.

Halila, A. (1949b) *Suomen kansakoululaitoksen historia II*. Porvoo: WSOY.

Halila, A. (1949c) *Suomen kansakoululaitoksen historia III*. Porvoo: WSOY.

Halila, A. (1949d) *Suomen vanhin kansakoulunopettajisto*. Helsinki: Suomen Kansakoulunopettajain Liitto.

Halila, A. (1950) *Suomen kansakoululaitoksen historia IV*. Porvoo: WSOY.

Halila, A. (1963) *Jyväskylän seminaarin historia*. Porvoo: WSOY.

Jauhiainen, A., Kivirauma, J. and Rinne, R. (1998) 'Status and prestige through faith in education: the successful struggle of Finnish primary school teachers for universal university training', *Journal of Education for Teaching* 24 (3), pp. 261–272. doi: 10.1080/02607479819782.

Kangas, L. (2009) 'Kasvatusopillinen korkeakoulu kansallisessa korkeakoulupolitiikassa', in Einonen, P., Karonen, P. and Nygård, T. (eds.) *Jyväskylän yliopiston historia. Osa 1. Seminaarin ja kasvatusopillisen korkeakoulun aika 1863–1966*. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, pp. 111–123.

Nurmi, V. (1990) *Maamme opettajakorkeakoulut. Kasvatushistoriallinen perustutkimus*. Helsinki: Helsingin yliopiston opettajankoulutuslaitos.

Paksuniemi, M. (2013) *The historical background of school system and teacher image in Finland*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Paksuniemi, M., Uusiautti, S. and Määttä, K. (2013) *What are Finnish teachers made of? A glance at teacher education in Finland yesterday and today*. New York: Nova Publishers.

Rantala, J. (2011) 'Kansakoulunopettajat', in Heikkinen, A. and Leino-Kaukiainen, P. (eds.) *Valistus ja koulunpenkki. Kasvatus ja koulutus Suomessa 1860-luvun lopulta 1960-luvulle*. Helsinki: SKS, pp. 266–299.

Rautakilpi, S. (2007) 'Uno Cygnaeuksen kristillinen kasvatusajattelu', in Tähtinen, J. and Skinnari, S. (eds.) *Kasvatus- ja koulukysymys Suomessa vuosisatojen saatossa*. Turku: Fera, pp. 189–206.

Rinne, R. (2017) 'Luokanopettajakoulutuksen akatemisoituminen ja yliopistopolitiikka pitkänä historiallisena projektina', in Paakkola, E. and Varmola, T. (eds.) *Opettajankoulutus. Lähihistoriaa ja tulevaisuutta*. Jyväskylä: PS-kustannus, pp. 16–49.

Rinne, R. and Jauhiainen, A. (1988) *Koulutus, professionaalistumien ja valtio. Julkisen sektorin koulutettujen reproduktioammattikuntien muotoutuminen Suomessa*. Turku: University of Turku Faculty of Education.

Säntti, J. (2011) 'Opettajakorkeakoulut', in Heikkinen, A. and Leino-Kaukiainen, P. (eds.) *Valistus ja koulunpenkki. Kasvatus ja koulutus Suomessa 1860-luvun lopulta 1960-luvulle*. Helsinki: SKS, pp. 269–272.

Valtonen, H. (2009a) 'Seminaariyhteisö opettajien kouluttajana', in Einonen, P., Karonen, P. and Nygård, T. (eds.) *Jyväskylän yliopiston historia. Osa 1. Seminaarin ja kasvatusopillisen korkeakoulun aika 1863–1966*. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, pp. 19–109.

Valtonen, H. (2009b) 'Korkeakoulun aika – tiedekorkeakoulun ja akateemisen yhteisön synty', in Einonen, P., Karonen, P. and Nygård, T. (eds.) *Jyväskylän yliopiston historia. Osa 1. Seminaarin ja kasvatusopillisen korkeakoulun aika 1863–1966*. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, pp. 125–222.

Valtonen, H. (2013) 'How did popular educators transform into experts of the Finnish welfare state from the 1860's to the 1960's?', in Buchardt, M., Markkola, P. and Valtonen, H. (eds.) *Education, state and citizenship*. Helsinki: Nordic Centre of Excellence Nordwel, pp. 160–185.

Valtonen, H. and Rautiainen, M. (2013) 'Jyväskylän seminaari ja opettajankoulutuksen akatemisoitumisen ensioireet', in Rantala, J. and Rautiainen, M. (eds.) *Salonkikelpoiseksi maisterikoulutukseksi. Luokanopettaja- ja opinto-ohjaajakoulutusten akatemisoitumiskehitys 1970-luvulta 2010-luvulle*. Jyväskylä: Fera, pp. 17–31.

6 Becoming universities?

Academisation and the integration of Finnish and Swedish teacher education institutions in the system of higher education

Janne Holmén and Johanna Ringarp

Introduction

In a process that culminated in the 1970s, Finnish and Swedish teacher education for primary school teachers was integrated into the systems of higher education. In this chapter, we examine the process of academisation that institutions with their roots in institutions of teacher education underwent as they became universities or university colleges. Our purpose is to understand how reforms of teacher education programmes have interacted with higher education reforms in the academisation of former teacher training institutions. Thus, we are not merely studying the academisation of teacher education, but how reforms have contributed to the academisation of the entire multidisciplinary institution of which teacher education programmes, which have their roots in seminaries, now form part. A comparison between Sweden and Finland is particularly rewarding since, although the countries share a common history and have developed similar welfare societies and systems of education, the academisation process of institutions that emerged from folk-school seminaries[1] has been very different. The basic similarities between these two East-Nordic societies make it easier to isolate the causes of the differences that we can observe.

Based on statistics and biographies of seminary teachers from the 1930s, we establish in the next section that some aspects of academisation were already well underway at folk-school seminaries, particularly in Sweden. However, using statistics from 2011, in the third section, we show that in Finland, former folk-school seminaries have successfully integrated with the university system and are indistinguishable in their academisation from older universities. By contrast, Swedish university colleges that have developed from former folk-school seminaries still form a separate category, trailing behind older universities in the academic credentials of teachers and in resources for research. In the following section, we explain this development by analysing how the teacher education reforms of the 1970s in Sweden and Finland interacted with general reforms of higher education, affecting the governance and academic level of seminaries turned institutions of higher education. The development in Joensuu is given most attention, since it is most directly comparable to the development of Swedish university colleges. The special methodological considerations associated with these three studies are discussed separately in each section.

DOI: 10.4324/9781003082514-9

From the middle ages until 1809, when Finland was ceded to Russia, the areas that constitute modern Sweden and Finland were integrated parts of the same country. These common roots remain visible in the similarities between their systems of higher education. Finland's university system originates in Helsinki University, which long dominated Finnish higher education. It has its roots in the Royal Academy of Åbo, which was founded in 1640 and was Sweden's second-oldest university. Likewise, the systems of teacher education that developed in both countries from the mid-nineteenth century were similar in their basic structure. Grammar school teachers attended universities, while folk-school teachers were educated in a new institution, the seminaries. The first Swedish seminary was established in Stockholm in 1830 and the first in Finland in Jyväskylä in 1863. Thereafter, a network of seminaries was established across both countries. In the twentieth century, Jyväskylä (1934) and Stockholm (1956) were once more pioneers, as the first seminaries to be transformed into teacher education colleges. These colleges admitted students who had passed a matriculation exam and also conducted research and development in the field of education. By the 1970s, the remaining seminaries in Sweden and Finland became part of the system of higher education as teacher education colleges or subsidiaries of universities (Furuhagen and Holmén, 2017).

However, there are also differences between the two systems. For example, the Swedish system of higher education has been more centralised than the Finnish, governed by central government agencies and regulated by a common legislation. Until 1997, all Finnish universities were regulated by separate laws. To this day, there is no central government agency regulating higher education, and the Finnish constitution safeguards the autonomy of universities (Suomen säädöskokoelma 94:1919, §77; 731/1999, §123).

Academic drift and academisation

The concept of 'academic drift' has been used in research in two different ways, referring to the tendency either of institutions or of individuals to strive for ever-higher academic status (Jóhannsdóttir, 2008, 2012; Morphew, 2000). The institutional meaning of academic drift was popularised by Pratt and Burgess (1974, p. 23) through their study of English polytechnics in which they described how vocational colleges, originally established to serve the needs of the labour market, came to emulate universities. For example, course content became more academic and entry requirements were elevated. Pratt and Burgess trace this process back to the nineteenth century. They describe how, after this academic drift, older technical colleges were no longer able to fulfil their old functions, and new institutions had to be instated in order to meet the demands from regions and industries. Another research tradition has used academic drift to describe how competition in the labour market triggers individuals to strive for increasing levels of formal education (Kopatz and Pilz, 2015). Of course, these two forms of academic drift interact, since individual ambitions to attain higher levels of education spur institutions to raise academic standards. Likewise, the academic drift of institutions leads to greater output of highly educated graduates, which increases competition in society and

the labour market, fuelling individual academic drift. The ever-higher formal educational requirements to which this process leads have been criticised and dubbed 'credential inflation' (Collins, 2011).

The concept of academic drift entails the notion that increased academisation is an unintended effect of the dynamics in the system. However, for some stakeholders in these institutions, increased academisation is indeed what they are attempting to achieve. The interests of central and regional authorities, as well as of the academic staff and the regional labour market, are not aligned in this regard. Therefore, we use the neutral term 'academisation' in this article, when we are not directly referring to unintended academic drift. Academisation can be defined and measured in different ways. Both Swedish and Finnish teacher education have undergone nominal academisation, as they are placed in institutions that are now part of the system of higher education; in Finland, these institutions are all attached to full universities. However, another metric of academisation relates to the academic credentials of the teaching staff and the level of research carried out at the institutions. This chapter investigates the extent to which nominal academisation at the investigated institutions is reflected in measurable improvements in research activity and the credentials of the teaching staff.

Nordic perspectives

It is difficult to find earlier research focusing on how teacher education colleges have been transformed into universities through a process of academisation. However, studies of academic drift, higher education or teacher education often touch on aspects of this development. Although we focus on Nordic developments, it is important to remember that the trend in Sweden and Finland from the 1960s, for teacher education to move from non-academic colleges to the higher education sector, was part of a more general trend in Europe and North America, encompassing other vocational educations such as nursing and social work (Smeby, 2014).

From the 1970s until the mid-1990s, Norway had a dual system of universities and regional colleges. The latter consisted of two types of colleges: professional colleges, providing, for instance, teacher education and health education and district colleges offering short professional courses in business and finance related to the region. At this time, the development was both top-down- and bottom-up-driven. With time, a more top-down system has prevailed. In 2003, the quality reform of higher education led to a new degree system aligned with the Bologna process and, since 2017, all teacher education programmes lead to a master degree. Earlier research has highlighted the role of political intentions and international trends in this development (Askvik and Helland, 2014, p. 64; Jarning, 2019; Karlsen, 2005; Skagen and Elstad, 2020).

Icelandic teacher education has also experienced a process of academisation. The first new institution of higher education after the University of Iceland (founded in 1911) was established when the former Teacher Training College was transformed into a university college in 1971. Thereafter, a number of secondary-level vocational educational programmes, such as those training nurses and

preschool teachers, have been transformed into university colleges or have merged with existing universities (Jóhannsdóttir, 2012, p. 209; Sigurðsson et al., 2020).

In Denmark, teacher education colleges have not undergone the same process of academisation as in other Nordic countries (Jarning, 2019; Jóhannsdóttir, 2012, p. 208; Thomsen, 2014, p. 16; for a detailed description of the Danish case, see Chapter 7 in this volume). There, traditional colleges providing vocational education, such as primary-teacher education and nurse training, survived independently until 2000, when they were gathered into 25 college centres for continuing education (*Center for Videregående Uddannelser*). In 2008, the college centres were merged with the remaining independent colleges into eight college centres (*Professionshøjskoler*). However, these are still not considered part of the higher education sector as they do not issue academic degrees and have only limited research resources (Madsen and Jensen, 2020). Thus, although reforms of teacher education have interacted with academisation in all the Nordic countries, Sweden and Finland made a particularly early and concentrated push by placing all teacher education in the higher education system in the 1970s.

The academic level of the seminaries in the 1930s

In order to establish the effects of the reforms that integrated teacher education into the university system on the academisation of former seminaries, it is important to establish a baseline. Although the folk-school seminaries were formally part of the school system, with no connections to the system of higher education, they experienced some academic drift during their century-long history. As the formal process of integrating teacher education into the higher education system in Finland can be said to have started with the inauguration of the Jyväskylä College of Education in 1934, the most appropriate point of comparison is right before its foundation. Academisation involves many parameters, several of which are qualitative and difficult to compare, as what is considered characteristic of a vivid academic culture and high academic standard varies with time, place and even between different faculties at the same institution. Still, the share of faculty possessing doctoral degrees allows for some comparability, although credential inflation must be taken into account in longitudinal comparisons. In 1933, only one of the 17 teachers in the permanent faculty at Jyväskylä held a doctoral degree and one held a licentiate degree (Mikkola, Leinonen and Rekola, 1937). Some of these teachers would later acquire doctoral degrees and others advanced to become professors at Jyväskylä College of Education. The same year, there was also only one doctor and one licentiate among 21 teachers at Sortavala seminary (Härkönen, Pankakoski and Seppä, 1940).

In Sweden, the academic level of seminary teachers was much higher. For example, all associate professors and lecturers employed at Stockholm's teacher seminary between 1915 and 1930 held doctoral degrees and they were all productive researchers (Sörensen, 1930, pp. 216–222). Stockholm was an extreme case, but even in the Swedish folk-school seminaries, 40% of the 67 *lektorer* held doctoral degrees in 1939 (Skolöverstyrelsen, 1940). By comparison, even 60 years later, only 31% of the teaching staff at Swedish university colleges (excluding art and nursing

colleges) and 62% at the universities held doctoral degrees (Högskoleverket, 1998, p. 33; Tengner and Olofsson, 2000, p. 83). A reason for the higher share of doctors in the Swedish seminaries might be that they were generally located in larger cities and it was easier for them to recruit teachers with parallel careers in grammar schools or universities (Sörensen, 1930, p. 217).

Paradoxically, although Swedish seminary teachers were at a significantly higher academic level, at least measured by the share of faculty in possession of doctoral degrees, the academic exploits of seminary teachers have been more valued in Finnish historiography. For example, a 2009 history of what is today Jyväskylä University emphasises that the transformation of Jyväskylä seminary into a College of Educational Science was not a total rupture with the earlier culture, since some seminary teachers held doctoral degrees, conducted research and published academic articles (Valtonen, 2009, pp. 126–128). In Stockholm, as in Jyväskylä, the seminary was closed a few years after a teacher education college was founded in the city, in 1956. However, the seminary tradition has not been emphasised in histories from Stockholm, which only briefly mention that the old seminary buildings were taken over by the college (Blix and Arfwedson, 1996, p. 15).

As Jyväskylä developed into a full university, it emphasised its old roots and the academic achievements of teachers in a variety of fields which could be seen as forerunners of later university departments. However, the Stockholm teacher training college remained focused on teacher education and research in the field of education. Here, there was no obvious sense of continuity with the accomplished theologians and physicists who had taught at the seminary that preceded it. In addition, while the Stockholm teacher training college spearheaded the comprehensive school reform, former seminary teachers had a background similar to that of the grammar school teachers; many even served in both functions and were seen as a conservative force opposing the reform. Thus, for political and disciplinary reasons, the Stockholm teacher training college had few incentives to celebrate the high academic standard of previous seminary teachers in its historiography.

This shift in focus from academia is exemplified by Sweden's second teacher education college, founded in Malmö in 1960. The education of folk-school teachers was moved there from the seminary in nearby Lund, along with some of the teaching staff. During the 1950s, proximity to practice – at the many schools in Malmö – became more important than proximity to Lund University (Bergendal, 1985, p. 7).

The academisation of former institutions for teacher training in 2011

In this section, we use quantitative data from Sweden and Finland to investigate the degree to which institutions of higher education with roots in folk-school seminaries have caught up with older universities in terms of their academic level. We compare the educational levels of the research and teaching staff in the system of higher education, as well as the research intensity at these institutions. The task is complicated by the fact that statistics from Sweden and Finland are not directly comparable. However, since the primary intent is not a straight comparison of the

two countries, but to study the cohesion or diversity within each system, a perfect match of variables is not necessary. In Sweden, the annual report by the Swedish National Agency for Higher Education (*Högskoleverket*) (2011) discloses the share of research and teaching staff, excluding graduate students, who are in possession of doctoral degrees, as well as the percentage of the budget of each institution that is dedicated to research and the education of graduate students.

Statistics on teaching and research staff at Finnish universities are divided into four academic levels, plus part-time teachers. The last category comprises teachers outside the traditional academic hierarchy, and is particularly common at the University of the Arts Helsinki. All teachers at levels II to IV have doctoral degrees, while level I comprises doctoral students. Until 2010, Finnish universities were not entirely consistent about registering their employees as part-time teachers or allocating them to one of the four levels. However, from 2011 onwards, the statistics become more reliable, as many teachers were moved from the part-time category to the appropriate level. For this reason, we use 2011 as the year of comparison for the two countries. While official Finnish figures include graduate students in teaching and research staff, to achieve the best possible comparability with the Swedish figures, we have excluded doctoral students from the total when calculating the percentage of the teaching and research staff that are in possession of a doctoral degree.

Because of differences in the available statistics, we investigate research intensity in Finland using an output metric (publications per teacher/researcher), not an input metric as for Sweden (percentage of the budget). In the Finnish figures, we include doctoral students in the total number of teachers and researchers.

In the scatterplots in Figures 6.1 and 6.2, universities and university colleges have been divided into categories: artistic, of teacher education origin, new (i.e. founded after the 1970s teacher education reforms) and old. In Sweden, there is also a category of special institutions (the Swedish School of Sport and Health Sciences and the Swedish Defence University).

Figure 6.1 reveals that in Finland the old universities and institutions with roots in folk-school seminaries are clustered together in the top right. While the one artistic institution (the University of Arts) in particular, and also a new university (specifically, the technical Aalto University) distinguish themselves from the rest in being less academic in their employment and publication patterns, Finnish institutions with roots in folk-school seminaries (such as the University of Eastern Finland) have not remained second-tier academic institutions according to these metrics.

By contrast, the Swedish system of higher education (Figure 6.2) is more segmented. The old universities still dominate. Of institutions with folk-school seminary origins, only one, Linköping, which has close contacts to a research-intensive industry, approaches their level. Among the new institutions, only one (Södertörn University) approaches older universities in terms of its share of teachers/researchers with doctoral degrees, although it diverges in terms of resources for research. Södertörn University is located in the capital and probably enjoys the same regional advantage in recruiting doctors as the Stockholm seminary did in the 1930s.

This quantitative analysis confirms our observation that in Sweden former seminaries have not yet managed to reach the academic level of older universities. By contrast, the Finnish universities with roots in former seminaries, Jyväskylä and

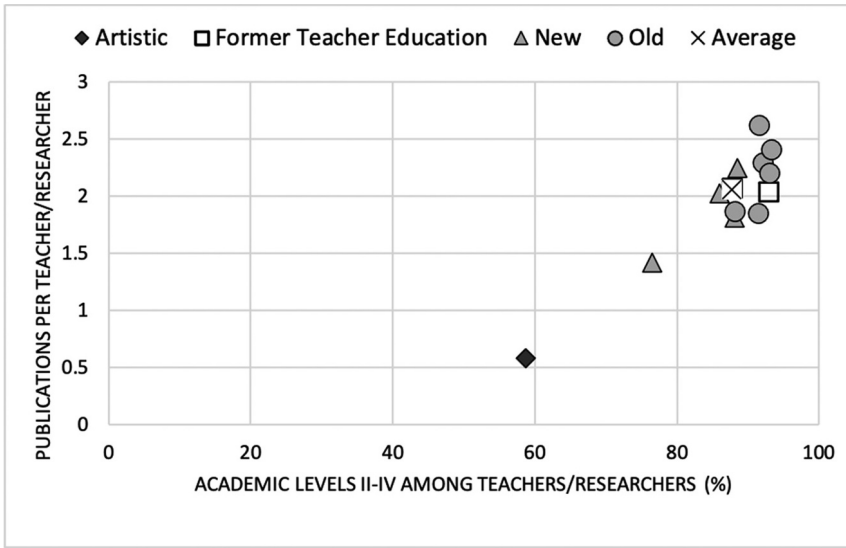


Figure 6.1 Research intensity in Finnish universities by type of institution, 2011. Vertical axis: Publications per research and teaching employee. Horizontal axis: Categories II to IV of total research and teaching employees, excluding graduate students.

Source: Vipunen statistical database (2020).

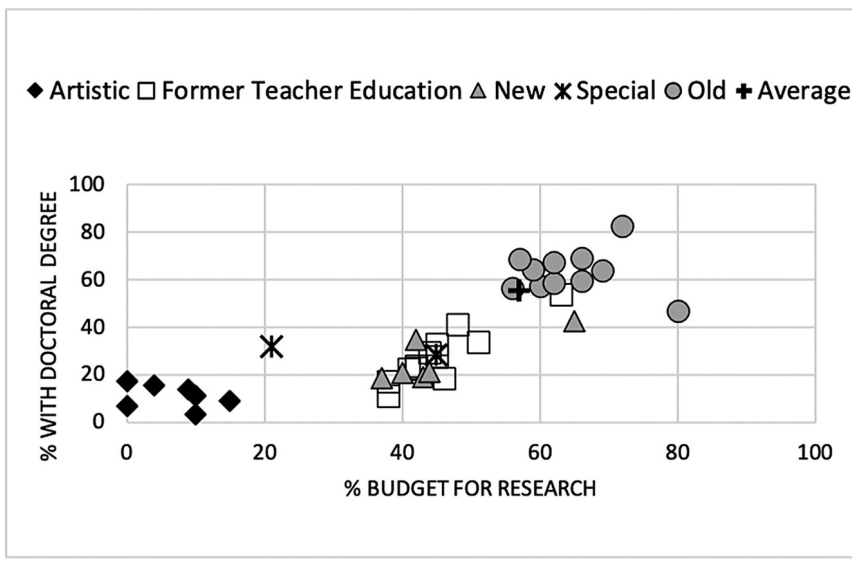


Figure 6.2 Research intensity in Swedish universities by type of institution, 2011. Vertical axis: Share of budget for research. Horizontal axis: Holders of doctoral degrees among total research and teaching employees, excluding graduate students.

Source: Högskoleverket (2011).

Eastern Finland, are in the same league as the old universities. In Finland, it is more difficult than in Sweden to categorise these institutions. For example, it can be debated whether Jyväskylä should belong to the category of older universities or universities of teacher education origin, as it entered the realm of higher education so early. However, since all Finnish universities, except the University of Arts and Aalto University, are clustered together tightly in the diagram, it is of minor importance for the analysis of how the categorisation is performed.

In Sweden, old universities and artistic institutions form distinct clusters at the two ends of the spectrum, while the other categories are mixed in the middle. Although the Swedish former seminaries got a head start in the system of higher education in the 1970s, they do not appear to have achieved higher levels of academisation than university colleges founded later.

Differences between Swedish and Finnish reforms

Unlike their Swedish counterparts, Finnish institutions of higher education with roots in folk-school seminaries have managed to catch up with older universities in their level of academisation. It raises the question as to what factors can explain this development, which is even more surprising considering that the academic baseline for Swedish seminaries was higher than for their Finnish counterparts in the 1930s, before the wave of reforms started.

First, although the initial plans for teacher education reform in Sweden and Finland during the 1960s were very similar, their implementation was different. Finland followed the initial plan of academisation, while Sweden compromised. The integration of Swedish teacher education into the system of higher education in the 1970s was preceded by a long period of preparation in committees and by partial reforms. In 1965, a government committee proposed that all teacher education should take place in large teacher training colleges through the establishment of new units in university cities (SOU, 1965:29). However, following successful lobbying by regional interests and the seminaries, in 1968, the parliament instead decided that the nine existing folk-school seminaries located outside university cities should be preserved as small teacher training colleges for primary school teachers, which lacked professors and research resources. Thus, non-academic traditions and practices from seminaries continued to dominate teacher education, especially in the many seminaries turned into small teacher training colleges. These teacher training colleges were not part of the system of higher education, but were subject to the board of education (Furuhagen and Holmén, 2017; Linné, 1996, p. 309; Marklund, 1989, pp. 306–309).

In Finland, the ambitions for academic teacher education were similar to those in Sweden, but were realised more rapidly and thoroughly. In 1969, a committee report warned that small teacher training colleges might remain mere seminaries and that larger units were more effective. It recommended that class and subject teachers should be educated for four years at universities and at teacher training colleges attached to them, leading to a bachelor's degree (Grundskollärarkommittén, 1969, p. 108; Kähkönen, 1979, p. 74). In December the same year, the parliament decided to close several seminaries and incorporate the rest into the new system

(Kähkönen, 1979, p. 76; Valtiopäivät, 1969, pp. 2282–2287, 2320–2325). This reform, implemented in 1974, decided the basic academic structure of future teacher education. From 1974 onwards, all Finnish teachers studied for four years at university. Class teachers took a bachelor's degree in pedagogy and subject teachers studied for a bachelor's in their main subject. When the bachelor's degree was removed from the system of higher education in 1979, teacher education was upgraded to a master's programme, although no committee had suggested a higher level than bachelor (Kähkönen, 1979, pp. 100–101; Vuorenpää, 2003, p. 93).

Thus, in 1974, most Finnish seminaries were either abandoned or attached to existing universities. However, Joensuu experienced an independent development similar to those of Swedish seminaries, and it is thereby the Finnish university which is best suited for direct comparison with the Swedish case. Its predecessor, Sortavala seminary, was founded in 1880, but was moved after the Sortavala area was ceded in World War II. In 1953, it was relocated to Joensuu. In 1969, it became part of Joensuu University College, which, in 1984, received the status of a full university. In 1974, Savonlinna seminary was attached to Joensuu as a unit providing teacher education, and, in 2010, the University of Eastern Finland was formed through a merger with Kuopio University, which had a healthcare and life science profile. Initially, the faculty at Joensuu felt that the government and vice-chancellors of Finland's established universities were sceptical of its ability to develop into a research university, and was content to keep it a mere teacher education college without full professors. However, local forces and, particularly, Joensuu's vice-chancellor, Heikki Kirkinen, worked hard to achieve full university status, complete with professors and research. The elevation of teacher education to an academic degree became an effective argument in this struggle (Makkonen, 2004, pp. 50–51). Studies at *laudatur* level, which was required for teaching in upper-secondary schools, required a professorship. This illustrates how the Finnish decision to combine the education of class and subject teachers at all teacher education institutions fuelled academisation. Another important catalyst for academisation was the elevation of class-teacher education to master's level at the end of 1979 (Nevala, 2009, p. 307).

In contrast to comparable Swedish institutions, Joensuu had the autonomy to grant doctoral degrees, which paved the way for a more rapid process of academisation. Already in 1972, Joensuu awarded a licentiate degree, and, in 1977, its first doctoral degree. As the college grew more multidisciplinary and academic, it became a university in 1984 (Nevala, 2009, pp. 233, 236).

The law that granted Joensuu university status also prescribed a traditional faculty-based governance model, replacing the 'areas' that had existed in Joensuu up to that point. Placing history and geography in the same area had been logical from the standpoint of teacher education, but transgressed the border between faculties (Nevala, 2009, p. 346). Thereby, the governance reform marked a step from the seminary tradition towards an academic structure.

Thus, the academisation of Finnish institutions of higher education was aided by several decisions: to move all teacher education to the higher education sector, to educate class and subject teachers at all institutions and to elevate all degrees at Finnish universities to master's level. An important facilitator was the autonomy

within the system, which allowed all institutions to grant doctoral degrees. These preconditions for academisation were all established in 1974–1979.

In Sweden, all of these conditions were initially lacking, although some were achieved later. The university law of 1977 elevated teacher education colleges to the higher education sector, as a system of 12 new university colleges were established, mostly by consolidating existing post-secondary programmes. In 11 of the 12 colleges, teacher education colleges or preschool-teacher seminaries already existed. These teacher education colleges had been folk-school seminaries until the late 1960s. Following the reform, the board of education no longer governed teacher education, as the agency for higher education controlled the new university colleges (Högskoleverket, 1998; Ringarp and Parding, 2017).

However, the Swedish government clarified that the intention of the reform was not to expand traditional university education, but to promote vocational training. Although education at the new colleges should be connected to research, the government did not endow them with permanent research funding, as they feared a division of resources would hamper research. Thus, a clear distinction was still made between the old universities and the new university colleges (Högskoleverket, 1998).

For long, the new colleges were completely dominated by teacher education. In their first year, 1977/1978, two-thirds of graduates were teachers, mostly preschool teachers (40% of all graduates). In Gävle, 750 out of 930 students were enrolled in teacher programmes (Stymne, 2002, p. 13). In contrast, traditional academic tertiary education was rare outside the former university subsidiaries in Karlstad, Örebro and Växjö. For the first five years, the education sector maintained its dominance, after which the number of student teachers began to drop and other programmes were introduced. However, even in 1992/1993, 42% of degrees were awarded to teachers (Högskoleverket, 1998).

Unlike Finland, which closed most seminaries in 1974, Sweden in the early 1970s maintained all its folk-school seminaries as teacher education colleges. When they were transformed into university colleges in 1977, class-teacher education was perceived to be too dispersed. Therefore, the government closed this programme in, for example, Kristianstad University College, although it was brought back through local lobbying in 1981. In the intermediate years, only the programmes for preschool and afterschool teachers remained at the new university college (Glimberg, 1988, p. 138). In the second half of the 1980s, when the number of student teachers declined, teacher programmes at several university colleges were threatened with closure (Stymne, 2002, p. 19). The decade-long situation of precariousness faced by teacher education programmes, the kernel of the new colleges, was a weak starting point for the process of academisation. Given the numerical weight of student teachers, the defence of the class-teacher programme was, at least in Gävle, seen as a struggle for the very survival of the university college (Stymne, 2002, p. 19). Thus, while the academisation of former teacher education institutions in Finland was fuelled by the fact that they all contained both class- and subject-teacher programmes, in Sweden, they not only lacked subject-teacher programmes, but struggled to maintain their class-teacher programmes – and thereby their very existence.

While Finland elevated all university degrees to master's level in 1979, Sweden removed all academic degrees in its 1977 reform of the system of higher education. In 1993, the master's degree was reintroduced. Old universities were free to grant degrees in any subject, but the university colleges had to apply for this right separately in each subject. The new master's degrees elevated the academic standard of the university colleges, in part, by making it easier to recruit qualified teachers (Andrén, 2003). However, to this day, Swedish class-teacher programmes do not lead to a master's degree. This has slowed the academisation of university colleges, where a substantial share of students are enrolled in class-teacher programmes.

The Swedish university colleges also lacked teachers with postgraduate education. Among associate professors and lecturers (*lektorer och adjunkter*), only 29% had a postgraduate degree in 1996 (Högskoleverket, 1998). An explanation for the low level of postgraduates among the staff is that the Swedish university colleges, unlike Swedish universities and all Finnish institutions of higher education, were not allowed to grant doctoral degrees. Research funding was also minimal. For example, in its first six years, the annual research budget of Gävle University College was SEK 200,000–300,000 (Stymne, 2002, p. 16). However, after the new government research policy in 1990, funding for research increased at the small university colleges (Stymne, 2002, p. 49).

From 1998 onwards, the university colleges were allowed to apply for the right to grant doctoral degrees within particular research areas. This made it possible to improve the academic credentials of the faculty through internal efforts. In Gävle, the application for establishing research areas in technology and humanities/social sciences, enabling doctoral study, was formulated as a vision of becoming a university. According to the former vice-chancellor, Birgitta Stymne (2002, pp. 58–60), this was important since the meaning of 'university' was much clearer than 'research area'. The vice-chancellor of Mid-Sweden University College, Alf Gunnmo (2003, p. 12), also equated 'research area' with university status. This institution in Sundsvall and Östersund has since achieved official university status, which still eludes Gävle. However, Swedish university colleges generally use the title of university in English. In 2016, Högskolan i Jönköping officially changed its name to the English-language Jönköping University. This decision was reported to the Parliamentary Ombudsman, who dismissed the case since the office only supervises government agencies, not foundations (Skarsgård, 2016). Jönköping is the only institution of seminary origin that has been transformed into a foundation. Although a superficial matter, the name change illustrates how increased autonomy has allowed Jönköping to pursue a more independent route to academisation.

Conclusions

The academic credentials of Swedish seminary teachers in the 1930s, which were much higher than those of their Finnish counterparts, did not form the foundation for academisation as the seminaries were transformed into teacher education colleges. Instead, Finnish institutions of higher education with roots in seminaries have achieved the academic level of traditional universities, while comparable Swedish institutions are still trailing behind. This can be explained by the interplay between policies of teacher education and higher education in general in the two countries.

Since teacher education formed the core of almost all new colleges in both Sweden and Finland, the academisation of these institutions was strongly affected by the academic level of teacher education in each country. The elevation of class-teacher education to master's level in Finland made it easier for teacher-education-centred institutions of higher education with their roots in a seminary tradition to transition into full research universities than in Sweden, where comparable studies did not lead to a traditional academic degree. Importantly, all Finnish teacher education came to take place at institutions that educated both class and subject teachers, and subject-teacher education required high academic credentials from the teaching staff in a range of subjects. Teacher education thereby acted as a kernel around which a full university could be created.

An early decision with continuing repercussions was that Sweden in 1969 maintained all its folk-school seminaries, renamed teacher education colleges. Finland, by contrast, decided to close seminaries that were not attached to universities, or developed them into institutions of higher education on their own, as happened with Joensuu. The reduction of the number of units in Finland in the early 1970s meant that surviving institutions did not, like Swedish university colleges, need to fear for the continuation of their class-teacher programmes and thereby their very existence throughout the 1980s, when student levels dropped. Since survival was secured, efforts could be focused on advancing academic standards. The reduced number of units also made it easier for the remaining ones to attract students and qualified teachers.

Generally, the governing bodies of new university colleges aimed at a higher academic level than the central authorities had intended. A vital precondition for their success was their degree of autonomy. For example, although the Finnish government's plans for the teacher education college in Joensuu were not markedly more ambitious than those of the Swedish government for university colleges, Joensuu had enough leeway to become successful in its attempts to attain university status. In the more centralised Swedish system, not much academic drift occurred in the smaller colleges until the 1990s, when decentralisation reforms increased their autonomy. Enabled by this development, since the mid-1990s Swedish university colleges have begun to actively envision – and in several cases achieve – full university status.

Note

1 To avoid confusion, we translate *folkskoleseminarium* as folk-school seminary. In English texts, these are often called teacher training colleges for the education of elementary school teachers, but this is problematic since their successor *lärarhögskola* is conventionally translated as teacher training college.

References

Andrén, C.-G. (2003) 'Magisterprövningarna och Mitthögskolan', in Gunnmo, A. (ed.) *Sveriges nästa universitet – Mitthögskolans första 10 år*. Sundsvall: Mitthögskolan, pp. 105–115.

Askvik, T. and Helland, H. (2014) 'Norway', in Börjesson, M., Ahola, S., Helland, H. and Thomsen, J.-P. (eds.) *Enrolment patterns in Nordic higher education, ca 1945- to 2010. Institutions, types of education and fields of study, Working Paper 15/2014*. Oslo: NIFU, pp. 63–90.

Bergendal, G. (1985) *'Tjugofem år', Lärarhögskolan i Malmö 25 år*. Malmö: Lärarhögskolan, pp. 1–10.

Blix, E. and Arfwedson, G. (eds.) (1996) *Lärarhögskolan i Stockholm 1956–1996*. Stockholm: HLS.

Collins, R. (2011) 'Credential inflation and the future of universities', *Italian Journal of the Sociology of Education* 3(2), pp. 228–251.

Furuhagen, B. and Holmén, J. (2017) 'From seminar to university. Dismantling an old and constructing a new teacher education in Finland and Sweden, 1946–1979', *Nordic Journal of Educational History* 4(1), pp. 53–81.

Glimberg, C.-F. (1988) *Från monitörer till monitorer. Kring lärarutbildningen i Kristianstad under 150 år*. Kristianstad: Högskolan i Kristianstad.

Grundskollärarkommittén (1969) *Grundskollärarkommitténs betänkande FCR 1969:108*. Helsingfors: Statsrådet.

Gunnmo, A. (2003) 'Bakgrundsteckning', in Gunnmo, A. (ed.) *Sveriges nästa universitet – Mitthögskolans första 10 år*. Sundsvall: Mitthögskolan, pp. 6–13.

Härkönen, I., Pankakoski, K.H. and Seppä, V. (1940) *Sortavalan seminaari 1880–1940. Muistojulkaisu*. Helsinki: Valistus.

Högskoleverket (1998) *De första 20 åren. Utvecklingen vid de mindre och medelstora högskolorna sedan 1977*. Stockholm: Högskoleverket 1998:2.

Högskoleverket (2011) *Universitet & högskolor. Högskoleverkets årsrapport 2011*. Stockholm: Högskoleverket 2011:8 R.

Jarning, Harald (2019) 'Kunnskapsvekst under streken gjennom femti år – høyere utdanning i Norden utenfor universitetssektoren', *Uddannelseshistorie* (53), pp. 116–141.

Jóhannsdóttir, G. (2008) '*Academic drift in the development of the education of Nordic primary school teachers*', *Den 10. Nordiske Læreruddannelseskongress*, 21–24 May 2008. Kennarahaskóli Islands. Available at: https://skemman.is/bitstream/1946/7765/1/C6_GydaJohannsdottir.pdf.

Jóhannsdóttir, G. (2012) 'Convergence in the development of Nordic higher education systems prior to the Bologna reform process', in Eikseth, A.G., Dons, C.F. and Garm, N. (eds.) *Utdanning mellom styring og danning. Et nordisk panorama*. Trondheim: Akademika forlag.

Kähkönen, E. (1979) *Opettajankoulutus Suomen koulunuudistuksessa v. 1958–1978. Yleissivistävän koulun opettajien koulutuksen järjestelyt ja tavoitteet*. Oulu: Oulun yliopisto.

Karlsen, G.E. (2005) 'Styring av norsk lærerutdanning – et historisk perspektiv', *Norsk pedagogisk tidsskrift* 89(6), pp. 402–416.

Kopatz, S. and Pilz, M. (2015) 'The academic takes it all? A comparison of returns to investment in education between graduates and apprentices in Canada', *International Journal for Research in Vocational Education and Training* 2(4), pp. 308–325. doi: 10.13152/IJRVET.2.4.4.

Linné, A. (1996) *Moralen, barnet eller vetenskapen. En studie av tradition och förändring i lärarutbildningen*. Stockholm: HLS.

Madsen, L. and Jensen, E. (2020) 'Læreruddannelsen i Danmark', in Elstad, E. (ed.) *Lærerutdanning i nordiske land*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, pp. 139–156.

Makkonen, E. (2004) *Muistin mukaan. Joensuun yliopiston suullinen historia*. Joensuu: Joensuun yliopisto.

Marklund, S. (1989) *Skolsverige 1950–1975. Del 6, Rullande reform*. Stockholm: Utbildningsförlaget.

Mikkola, J.M., Leinonen, A. and Rekola, S. (1937) *Jyväskylän seminaari 1863–1937. Muistojulkaisu*. Helsinki: Valistus.

Morphew, C.C. (2000) 'Institutional diversity program acquisition and faculty members: examining academic drift at a new level', *Higher Educational Policy* 13, pp. 55–77. doi: 10.1016/S0952-8733(99)00028-8.

Nevala, A. (2009). *Uudisraivaaja, Joensuun yliopiston 40-vuotishistoria*. Joensuu: Joensuun yliopisto.

Pratt, J. and Burgess, T. (1974) *Polytechnics: A report*. London: Pitman.

Ringarp, J. and Parding, K. (2017) 'I otakt med tiden? Lärarprofessionens ställning sett via lärarutbildningens utveckling i Sverige, 1962–2015', *Uddannelseshistorie* (51), pp. 49–68.

Sigurðsson, B., Jónsdóttir, H., Jóhannsdóttir, P. and Björnsdottír, A. (2020) 'Grundskollärarutbildningen i Island', in Elstad, E. (ed.) *Lærerutdanning i nordiske land*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, pp. 157–176.

Skagen, K. and Elstad, E. (2020) 'Lærerutdanningen i Norge', in Elstad, E. (ed.) *Lærerutdanning i nordiske land*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, pp. 120–138.

Skarsgård, K. (2016) 'JO granskar inte Högskolan i Jönköping', *Universitetsläraren*, 2016.06.16. Available at: https://universitetslararen.se/2016/06/16/jo-granskar-inte-hogskolan-i-jonkoping/ (Accessed 24 April 2020).

Skolöverstyrelsen (1940) *Lärarutbildningen 1938/1939*. Stockholm: Skolöverstyrelsen.

Smeby, J.-C. (2014). 'Academic drift in vocational education?', in Smeby, J.-C. and Sutphen, M. (eds.) *From vocational to professional education: Educating for social welfare*. London: Routledge, pp. 7–25.

Sörensen, A. (1930) *Växelundervisningssällskapets normalskola och folkskoleseminariet i Stockholm 1830–1930*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell.

SOU (1965:29) *Lärarutbildningen, 1960 års lärarutbildningssakkunniga*. Stockholm: Ecklesiastikdepartementet.

Stymne, B. (2002) *Högskolan i Gävle. Jubileumsskrift 1977–2002*. Gävle: Högskolan i Gävle.

Suomen säädöskokoelma (94/1919) *Suomen hallitusmuoto* (Finnish form of government).

Suomen säädöskokoelma (731/1999) *Suomen perustuslaki* (Constitution of Finland).

Tengner, O. and Olofsson, S. (eds.) (2000) *Årsrapport för universitet och högskolor 1999*. Stockholm: Högskoleverket.

Thomsen, J.P. (2014) 'Denmark', in Börjesson, M., Ahola, S., Helland, H. and Thomsen, J.-P. (eds.) *Enrolment patterns in Nordic higher education, ca 1945- to 2010. Institutions, types of education and fields of study*, Working Paper 15/2014. Oslo: NIFU, pp. 15–32.

Valtiopäivät (1969) *Pöytäkirja II*. Helsinki: Valtion painatuskeskus.

Valtonen, H. (2009) 'Korkeakoulun aika – tiedekorkeakoulun ja akateemisen yhteisön synty', in Einonen, P., Karonen, P. and Nygård, T. (eds.) *Jyväskylän yliopiston historia. Osa I. Seminaarin ja kasvatusopillisen korkeakoulun aika 1863–1966*. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, pp. 125–222.

Vipunen statistical database (2020) 'Yliopistojen opetus- ja tutkimushenkilökunta', Available at: https://vipunen.fi/fi-fi/_layouts/15/xlviewer.aspx?id=/fi-fi/Raportit/Yliopistojen%20opetus-%20ja%20tutkimushenkil%C3%B6kunta%20-%20yliopisto.xlsb. (Accessed 24 April 2020).

Vuorenpää, Joukko (2003) *Yliopistollisen opettajankoulutuksen kehittyminen Suomessa 1970-luvulta 2000-luvulle*. Turku: Turku University.

7 Pedagogy in Nordic teacher education

Conceptual approaches, historical paths, and current differences in Denmark and Finland

Beatrice Cucco and Jesper Eckhardt Larsen

Introduction

Pedagogy is a central concept in education, although it often carries different values and meanings depending on national or regional context. In the Anglo-Saxon literature on education, the word still carries a certain exotic flavour. It is clear, for instance, in Alexander's comparative work (2001), that pedagogy is not a home-grown concept in the British context, unlike in the Russian or French. In the Nordic countries, pedagogy has traditionally been understood as foundational for teachers' work. It has been both a descriptive and a prescriptive discipline, and is historically closely connected with the continental didactic tradition. The discipline of pedagogy in its modern form was imported to the Nordic countries from Germany during the late eighteenth century. Nordic pedagogy developed throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with recurrent reference to, and in dialogue with, continental as well as British and American educational scholarship. Finland is a special case since it also borrowed pedagogical ideas from Russia, especially during the first half of the nineteenth century (Iisalo, 1979). From a Nordic perspective, pedagogy is defined as the more or less explicit comprehension of, and reflections on, educational practice, and the premises that education should be based on.

An apparent exception to the argument of the existence of a Nordic model within the field of education is the very different structure of teacher education in Denmark and Finland (Nordic Council of Ministers, 2009). Considering that Denmark and Finland are quite similar from a political and economic point of view, why do we find fundamentally different approaches to pre-service teacher education? This chapter aims at answering the following research question: how have the different historical trajectories of *national educational schisms* and the *institutionalisation of pre-service teacher education* shaped the very different contemporary approaches to pedagogy in Finland and Denmark? This question is investigated using historical and contemporary evidence in the light of path dependency theory.

In this chapter, we compare the two most divergent approaches to teacher education within the Nordic region. Whereas the three other Nordic countries are, so to speak, 'closing in on Finland' with more or less academised pre-service teacher education connected to the university sector, Denmark is holding onto

DOI: 10.4324/9781003082514-10

a non-academic pre-service teacher education in a separate sector, that of professional education, where it is bundled together with the education of nurses, social workers, etc.

There are a number of similarities between Finland and Denmark. Briefly stated, these two Nordic countries share a Lutheran heritage since the sixteenth century, some early school initiatives during the eighteenth century whilst under absolutist rule, and a general institutionalisation of common schooling during the nineteenth century. After the Second World War, both developed universalist social democratic welfare states with systems of comprehensive schooling. As regards pedagogy, both are indebted to the German tradition, including national variants of the orientation towards self-formation or *Bildung* (known variously as *dannelse*, *bildning*, or *sivistys*). Nevertheless, teacher education is today quite different in Denmark and Finland, with different ways of institutionalising pre-service teacher education and differing approaches to pedagogy in these institutions.

Our data analysis in this chapter is twofold. We have adopted a historical path analysis to understand the evolution of the educational schisms in Denmark and Finland. We follow these divergent paths and their repercussions into divergent institutionalisations of pre-service teacher education in what we call the 'policy window' of the 1970s (Mahoney, 2000; Howlett and Ramesh, 2003). Finally, we analyse the differing contemporary pedagogical approaches in pre-service teacher education. For the contemporary data, we have run a thematic analysis on 29 interviews conducted during 2017–2018 in two Danish and one Finnish teacher education institution (Cucco, 2020).

In all the Nordic countries, the strength of rural countercultures during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been noteworthy. In contrast, especially to the German trajectory, all the Nordic countries have been discursively dominated by a continuity of positive political connotations of the *folk*, a Scandinavian concept which can be translated as 'common people' or 'a nation'. The resulting opposition between urban academic elites and folk countercultures manifests also within the field of education (see also Chapters 1 and 2). Thus, we observe a *national educational schism*. This opposition can also be found in other regions, such as the German-speaking countries, but what is significant in the Nordic cases is that, especially in the three Scandinavian countries (Denmark, Norway, and Sweden), the folk have gained almost hegemonic status in defining national educational and cultural self-understanding. In this respect, the Finnish case is something of an outlier. This will form part of the discussion below.

In the 1960s and 1970s, not least due to the general expansion of higher education and the almost global massification of higher-secondary education, a policy window opened for the academisation of pre-service teacher education in many countries. In Finland and Denmark, however, reforms of pre-service teacher education followed divergent paths. After the long-shared Nordic continuity of seminaries offering pre-service teacher education, Finland merged its teacher education institutions with the existing university system during the 1970s. Denmark kept teacher education institutions separate from the universities – a decision which shaped the course of teacher education in the country to the present day.

In this chapter, we try to analyse the styles of pedagogy that have developed in the two cases. We refer to the above distinction (universities vs. folk institutions) to clarify how we map differing traditions of pedagogy according to institutional settings. Figure 7.1 indicates that both pedagogical styles can be found in both settings, albeit with variations in their central references and approaches.

In the current Finnish approach, pedagogy is seen, in broad terms, as a growing, empirically founded and cumulative body of knowledge. The idea of research-based teacher training takes the research contribution of each student teacher, which is based on observational evidence, and sees this as an improvement – however small – in the pedagogical knowledge basis of action. This is, to some extent, similar to the use of empirical findings in the medical profession. This approach to pedagogy can be termed *cumulative positivism* (Figure 7.1, bottom row). In equally broad terms, the Danish approach takes a given pedagogical text, tries to understand and interpret the intentions of the theorist as thoroughly as possible, and moves on to 'try it out' in practice by applying the approach as a whole, remaining more or less loyal to its original intentions. This, in more technical terms, can be equated to some extent to the use and application of texts in law and theology, or with what H. G. Gadamer terms 'dogmatic hermeneutics' (Figure 7.1, top row). The word 'dogmatic' should here be conceptually connected not with rigidity or narrow-mindedness, but with reading a text with renewed attention to how it *speaks into* the actuality of the practical situation of action (Gadamer, 1960; Regan, 2012).

Institutional schism: / Pedagogical styles:	Universities Teacher education at academic institutions	Seminaries Teacher education at separate folk-institutions
Dogmatic / Hermeneutical Application of texts in teacher education programmes	The older German pedagogical tradition (simultaneously normative and descriptive) (e.g. Kant, Schleiermacher) (Herbart =>)	The tradition of reading central pedagogical texts and applying these 'holistically' in practice. (e.g. Grundtvig, Pestalozzi Dewey, Montessori)
Cumulative / Positivistic Texts in teacher education programmes designed for direct implementation in practice	Typically, parts of the Anglo-Saxon tradition. Applied psychology. (e.g. Thorndike, C.H. Judd, B.F. Skinner)	The professionals shall apply results of evidence-based meta-studies. (e.g. John Hattie, EEF, clearinghouses)

Figure 7.1 Pedagogical approaches in pre-service teacher education.

The framework in Figure 7.1 thus separates the dimensions of institutional setting and pedagogical style. The intention is to show a highly complex historical field, with differing approaches to educational knowledge in teacher education institutions. One central observation is that, recently, we find both pedagogical styles competing in Danish non-academic institutions of teacher education (Figure 7.1, right column). In the left column, we have placed an arrow with the name of a central figure, J. F. Herbart, as he can be understood as a precursor of the transition from a dogmatic hermeneutical to a rationalist approach building on ethics and psychology. His work paved the way towards a more cumulative and positivist approach to pedagogy, especially in the Finnish case. The ideas of Herbart led to the early dominance of rationalist psychological approaches in Finnish academic pedagogy as well as in teacher education, and secured continuity in the transition from seminary to university-based teacher education. Below, we will elaborate on all the four approaches sketched out in Figure 7.1.

In opposition to viewing globalisation as leading to a straightforward homogenisation, the comparative educationalist Jürgen Schriewer describes the opposing dynamics of 'internationalisation' and 'indigenisation' as only one of six contrary currents that can be observed in contemporary global developments (Schriewer, 2009). We argue that the current situation in Denmark exemplifies the tendency of *indigenisation* within the field of teacher education, while Finland is an example of a *trans-national disseminating model* in today's global dynamics (see also Chapter 4). As a corrective to the supposed emergence of a homogenous global educational discourse, it seems fair to re-open the discussion of persistent local variations of pedagogical approaches in pre-service teacher education.

In the first section, we outline the period from the 1860s until the 1970s, referring to both similarities and differences in the development of the two sides of the aforementioned national educational schisms in Finland and Denmark. In the second section, we outline the concurrent developments of pedagogy in settings which are now quite different – universities in Finland and the seminaries in Denmark – from 1970 to 2020. In the third section, we will refer to contemporary interview data on differing approaches to pedagogy collected in 2017–2018 from two Danish and one Finnish initial class-teacher education institutions.[1] We conclude by briefly discussing the placement of these two Nordic cases in the global dynamics of educational developments.

National educational 'schisms' 1860–1970

We find the typical Nordic nineteenth-century educational divide between, on the one hand, an academic approach to schooling and education and, on the other, a more folk-oriented approach in both Denmark and Finland. In Denmark, the schism is between the ideas of Johan Nicolai Madvig (1804–1886) and Nicolai Fredrik Severin Grundtvig (1783–1872). In the Finnish case, the more academic side is represented by Johan Vilhelm Snellman (1806–1881) whereas Uno Cygnaeus (1810–1888) represents the folk-oriented approach. The Finnish trajectory is characterised by the eventual dominance of the academic side of this schism, whereas the Danish one is dominated by the folk side. In the following section, we outline

these national educational schisms and evaluate their significance for the development of teacher education.

The Danish schism: Countercultural dominance over teacher education

As the Danish school administrator and politician Johan Victorinus Pingel (1834–1919) wrote in a letter in the 1880s, the 'Danish schism lies between the wet, thought-hostile Grundtvigianism and the dry, vision-less Madvigianism' (Krarup, 1955, p. 245). Firstly, and most famously, the proliferation of Grundtvigian folk high schools in the second half of the nineteenth century changed the face of Danish education, with a strong path dependency into present-day Danish culture. Grundtvig's aggressive attacks on the established institutions of learning, the grammar 'black schools', was decisive for Danish educational self-understanding. He was inspired by J. G. Herder's view of the people's organic growth into a cultural unity, combined with Christian notions of the people's enlightenment (Bugge, 1965). Pingel's characterisation of 'wet' and 'thought-hostile' refers to the romantic style of the charismatic oral–historical–poetical narratives that dominated the programme. These romantic ideas, combined with the British college model, led to the formation of a new cultural movement wherein the young sons and daughters of farmers spent a year or more in so-called folk high schools, a specifically Nordic phenomenon of mostly rural boarding schools.

Second was the culture of the universities and the learned schools in Denmark, connected with the figure of J. N. Madvig. He was a philologist of the neo-humanist legacy, who insisted on its renewal by arguing for the purely historical relevance of studying ancient languages and a modernised curriculum in learned schools. Madvig was active in the National-Liberal Party, an urban bourgeois party that pushed for a democratic constitution from the 1830s onwards, and was appointed minister of education in 1850. Despite some inspiration from Hegelian philosophy, Madvig's educational thoughts mostly resemble Herbart's rationalism. He was not, however, Herbartian in the strict sense, as his approach to *dannelse* (*Bildung*) was much less formalistic than Herbart's (Larsen, 2002). His approach has been connected to the Danish philosophical tradition which is based on 'a sense of and interest in psychology, impetus on experiential knowledge, focus on the importance of individuality and the difference between individuals, a critical stance against speculative philosophy' (Høffding, 1918, p. 118).

From the 1850s onwards, the Farmers' Party, which was strongly influenced by Grundtvigian ideas, argued for a liberalisation of the state monopoly on teacher education that had existed since 1818. The following years saw an unprecedented proliferation of new private teacher education institutions all over Denmark (Skovgaard-Petersen, 2005). Danish pre-service teacher education seminaries (*lærerseminarier*) in the late nineteenth century were not all Grundtvigian; some were more socialistic, some were Christian revivalist (e.g., Inner Mission), and some were closer to the small farmers' Radical Liberal Party. However, there were close ties between the cultural self-understanding of many private seminaries and the folk high schools. The continuity into the twentieth century was strong. Indeed, facing a deficit of teachers in the late 1940s, the parliamentary commission

encouraged teacher preparation at folk high schools. The idea of the 'man from the plough' or 'woman from the pot' going into teaching was thus very much alive (Kampmann, 1991, p. 27).

The Finnish schism: An urban elitist dominance of teacher education

The status of the Finnish language vis-à-vis Swedish grew after the country's geo-political shift from Sweden to Russia in 1809. In the mid-1820s, a group of students at Åbo Academy, including J. V. Snellman, dedicated itself to working for Finnish language and culture. In 1831, they established the Finnish Literary Society which became the springboard for the *Fennoman* political movement. Although it was mainly urban and elitist and did not have direct contemporary effects on the rural population, this national movement had a large impact on Finnish self-understanding and cultural development (Kirby, 2006). From 1859 onwards, Snellman became the second professor of pedagogy in Finland, with a post at the University of Helsinki (Iisalo, 1979). In Snellman's view, education was fundamentally a cultural question. Inspired by Hegel, he believed that only through a national education process could a person recognise him or herself as a member of the Finnish nation. There was a strong affinity, as also in Germany, between Hegelianism and neo-humanist educational thought. The professors of pedagogy after Snellman abandoned his Hegelianism and instead turned to Herbart's rationalism. The ensuing dominance of Herbartianism also spread into the early institutions of teacher education (Iisalo, 1979).

Uno Cygnaeus, although a trained theologian, was also a natural scientist, a comparative educationalist and a social pedagogue of the Pestalozzian kind. It is debatable if it was Cygnaeus's practical and utilitarian approach or Snellman's neo-humanistic one that prevailed in the primary education institutions (Iisalo, 1979; Ahonen, 2014). In 1863, the first seminary for elementary teachers opened in Jyväskylä, coordinated by Cygnaeus, who had been appointed as inspector of elementary schools in 1861. After Jyväskylä, other seminaries appeared in smaller rural towns before 1900 (Iisalo, 1979). Merja Paksuniemi, in her study of a seminary for women teachers founded in Tornio in 1921, finds many examples of the practical and craft skills promoted by Cygnaeus into the 1920s, arguably with remnants in present-day Finnish teacher education programmes (Paksuniemi, 2013). The early efforts towards academisation expressed by Snellman were, however, decisive (see also Chapter 5). Since the opening of the Jyväskylä seminary and the birth of the first teachers' trade union at the end of the nineteenth century, Finnish schoolteachers started to call for a higher level of education. This aspiration was supported by the University of Helsinki which has offered summer schools and special classes for primary school teachers since 1894 (Jauhiainen, Kivirauma and Rinne, 1998).

Comparative perspectives

There is a striking resemblance between the figures of Madvig in Denmark and Snellman in Finland. The two shared a critical attitude towards theories of education and were thus thinkers on *Bildung* rather than the developers of a coherent

educational theory (Iisalo, 1979; Larsen, 2002). Cygnaeus and Grundtvig, by contrast, had less in common with each other. Although both had a background in theology, Grundtvig was a Christian nationalist romantic and Cygnaeus a natural scientist and practical school reformer. Nevertheless, the two enjoyed a similar status in their respective societies, and many elementary school teachers identified themselves with these figures (Iisalo, 1979).

From the 1920s onwards, reform pedagogy became strong in Denmark as well as in the rest of Scandinavia, and its impact increased at least into the 1960s. It has been argued that the early Grundtvigian attack on bookish learning and the promotion of a 'school for life' enhanced receptivity towards the ideas of reform pedagogy in all the Scandinavian countries (Jarning, 2009). In contrast, the Herbartian legacy was so dominant in Finland during the international wave of reform pedagogy and progressivism in the years after the First World War that these ideas did not gain a comparable foothold in Finland (Simola, 1998; Paksuniemi, 2013).

In Denmark, didactics were not well developed in pre-service teacher education until they became the main contribution of the Royal Danish School of Educational Studies (Danmarks Lærerhøjskole, DLH) after the Second World War. Here, the Finnish case shows a much stronger path dependency since the time of Herbartian dominance, i.e., didactics built on psychology and ethics.

Academisation and divergent institutionalisation, 1970–2020

In both Danish and Finnish teacher education, academisation occurred simultaneously with the emergence of comprehensive schools during the 1960s and 1970s. In Denmark, following a teacher education reform in 1966, a higher secondary school exam was required for all student teachers. The reform separated general subjects from pedagogy, psychology, didactics, and teaching practice (Wiborg, 2002). In the 1990s, low scores on international tests resulted, somewhat paradoxically, in political attempts to reduce teacher autonomy, culminating in a severe conflict in 2013 when the teachers' union lost ground to policymakers. Negotiations with teacher unions were decentralised and individualised in a more neoliberal manner to the municipal level, including decisions on working hours and the choice of pedagogical style (Nordenbo, 1997; Grinder-Hansen, 2013). Since the Teaching Programme Act of 1997, a series of reforms have re-organised the Danish class-teacher[2] education curriculum into specialisation by age and subject (Larsen, 2016).

Following Finland's comprehensive school reform in 1968, teachers' education was equated with a bachelor-level university degree in 1973 and became a master's programme in 1979. This fundamental change was welcomed by the teachers' union as well as by university scholars. The latter believed that the passage into a university environment would in itself socialise student teachers into a higher academic level (Furuhagen and Holmén, 2017). However, it was not until the reforms of the 1980s and 1990s that teacher education started developing its own distinct identity and autonomous position within Finnish universities. It was during this period that teachers started being recognised as both professionals and pedagogical thinkers. Since the 2000s, Finnish class-teacher education has been recognised as research-based (Säntti and Kauko, 2019).

In spite of the initiated academisation process, the strength of the Danish folk side of the national educational schism secured a path dependency for seminary-like institutions, albeit with new names and numerous mergers. Teachers were still taught at autonomous institutions, detached from universities, even during the higher education reforms of the 1970s (Rasmussen, 2004). From 2000 onwards, Danish seminaries went through a process of mergers into bigger organisations now called 'university colleges' (*professionhøjskoler*). This organisational reform aimed at making the new institutions multidisciplinary and more theoretically based, and thus to cater to the perceived academisation needs in the welfare state (Bøje, 2012). Although the differences between university colleges and universities are narrowing, these two types of institutions today are managed under different laws. The national legislation defines universities as strongly academically oriented, with the duty to offer master's and doctoral education, while university colleges are supposed to be solely profession-oriented (Danish Ministry of Higher Education and Science, 2016). A recent rejection of an academised five-year pre-service teacher education in the summer of 2020 by the current Social Democratic government once again confirmed the Danish path. This decision was supported by central actors in teacher education itself: the Danish Professional Schools (*Danske Professionshøjskoler*) and the Organisation of Municipalities (*Kommunernes Landsforening*).

While the Danish academisation process happened within the seminary tradition, the institutional academisation of Finnish class teachers was strongly related to the university reforms of the last 50 years (Kivinen and Rinne, 1998). The economic and unemployment crisis of the 1990s, which forced Finnish higher education to change its outlook, led to attempts to alter this path. After the higher education reform of 1993, polytechnics (*ammattikorkeakoulu*) spread all over the country to form a dual system of higher education. There were political debates about moving teacher training into these newly established institutions which have been interpreted by some observers as an intention to reduce the status and salaries of class teachers and thus save public funds (Jauhiainen, Kivirauma and Rinne, 1998). This did not happen, and after the 1990s and in line with the neoliberal turn, universities have been considered autonomous enterprises with responsibility for adapting the teacher education programme within each institution, which has consolidated the academisation of Finnish pre-service teacher education (Rinne, 2004; Ministry of Education and Culture Finland, 2009).

In Denmark, the placement of pre-service teacher education in separate institutions has preserved, as it were, a more practical and moral-pedagogical approach to teacher education. This practical orientation can also be detected in the most recent reforms of the class-teacher education curriculum, which aimed to provide student teachers with the right theoretical and practical tools to solve educational problems, following the development approach of Danish pre-service teacher education (Danmarks Evalueringsinstitut, 2009). This pedagogical approach is currently debated by many actors. Some academic researchers advocate for improvements in theoretical and subject knowledge in order to strengthen teacher professionalism (Dorf, 2011). They also argue that a practical pedagogical approach may contribute to overly normatively oriented knowledge which is not in line with the evidence-based approach (Rasmussen and Bayer, 2014). On the other side, the evidence that

supported the last Danish teacher education reforms, including reports by the consultancy company Epinion and government evaluation bodies such as KORA and EVA in the last 15 years, tells a different story. These reports also advocate for evidence-based teacher education, but in a form which is closer to practice and is less academic, and run by teacher educators who are not scholars (cf. bottom right in Figure 7.1) (Bjerre and Reimer, 2014). In line with this last perspective, but opposed to evidence-based pedagogy, are those who argue for what they call 'unclean pedagogy' (*uren pædagogik*). This is a group of Danish educational scholars who defend the contextual, normative, traditional, and value-based approach to pedagogy, making continuing reference to Grundtvig (Rømer, Tanggaard and Brinkmann, 2011).

In contrast to the Danish case, Finnish pedagogical approaches show a path dependency of didactics built on psychology with a positivist direction. Simola sees this as related to the rise of educational science and de-contextualised didactics (Simola, 1998). These tendencies are connected with a form of scientific legitimation used by the political left in the 1970s to counteract the religious and conservative values that had previously dominated teacher education. Stressing *scientificity*, many on the left intended to promote Marxist philosophy, but the concept was interpreted differently by others (Kähkönen in Furuhagen and Holmén, 2017). The analysis by Kähkönen also underscores what Simola sees as a continuous trend into the 1990s, a '*wishful rationalism* — a curious combination of Utopian, well-intentioned wishes and linear, top-down rationalism' (Simola, 1998, p.330). This scientific legitimation was detached from a critical view of the state, which arguably shows a path dependency all the way back to Herbartian pedagogy (Simola, 1998).

From the 1970s onwards, in line with the massification of higher education and, to some extent, following the East European polytechnic model, Finnish pedagogy changed focus towards an enhanced theory–practice connection (Furuhagen, Holmén and Säntti, 2019). During the 1980s, as primary school programmes became less centralised and more shaped by the universities, class teachers came to be considered more as curriculum-makers (Kansanen and Uljens, 1997). Thus, a mixture of the academic traditions and a strong vocational orientation came into being. The enterprise model of the early 2000s, alongside the growth of professional autonomy and the power of the professoriate, contributed to the development of a research-based teacher education, in which student teachers conducted their own direct research (Furuhagen, Holmén and Säntti, 2019). Today, many claim that this orientation is the main reason for Finland's high PISA results (Niemi, 2011; see also the global image of the Finnish success discussed in Chapter 4 in this volume). On the critical side, some Finnish scholars argue that it would be more beneficial to be less theoretically oriented on the grounds that teaching is a mix of theory and practice (Säntti et al., 2014).

Differing approaches to pedagogy and attitudes towards research-based knowledge

In this section, we argue that the changing institutional placement of pre-service teacher education during the last half-century, along with divergent national self-understandings, have influenced contemporary approaches to pedagogy and

attitudes towards research-based knowledge. In order to do this, we analyse how educational leaders, teacher educators, and student teachers make sense of the pedagogical approaches they are using (Cucco, 2020).

In line with the ideas of pedagogy presented in the introduction, and the framework outlined in Figure 7.1, our thematic analysis of the interview data collected shows the presence of neo-humanistic ideas of *Bildung* and the principles of Nordic egalitarianism both in the Danish and Finnish pre-service teacher education. In fact, the interviewees share the common idea of securing learners' holistic experience, which may be connected to ideas inherent to 'pedagogy' and *Bildung* as such. Nevertheless, an overall impression is that the Danish approach to pedagogy is more communitarian, while the Finnish one is oriented towards individualism. This difference can be partially related to the two different societies and their construction of divergent national self-understandings. Finnish nationalism was connected with academic-urban elites and, arguably, based on a more individualistic approach. Conversely, Danish folk-nationalism and farmers' counterculture contributed to forming a more communitarian-oriented pedagogical approach.

In Denmark, teachers aim to educate children to enable them to become part of a larger community; thus, they adopt a rather holistic approach towards education. They believe that teachers should not only be role models for pupils, like a second parent. They should also be part of a larger community of professionals as political actors, and help children become participants in the same community.

> [Being a teacher means] that you are able to participate as a citizen in the society. And that's where the whole idea [comes from]. You have a social responsibility as an individual [and then] you have to teach to pupils in schools something that will eventually make them good citizens. Good individuals are also good citizens.
>
> — Olander, Danish teacher educator

Conversely, Finnish pedagogy adopts a more individualistic perspective, in which psychology is at the centre of the teaching process with the aim of enhancing learning. This aim is also apparent in the different disciplines of class-teacher education, which are focused on psychological and didactical perspectives, with less focus on the learners' social context.

> You have to know each child because they learn a little bit in different ways, and they are interested in different stuff. I think you [as teacher] have to be very sensitive to know each child and how you can help this child to learn maths and how to make it interesting to him.
>
> — Laura, Finnish student teacher

The individualistic Finnish approach is echoed by a pedagogy of a more *cumulative/positivistic* kind (see Figure 7.1, bottom left). Finland follows a continuous path, starting with Herbartian applied philosophy, and continuing with the adoption of applied psychology during the last 50 years. Pedagogy is here considered a collection of theories which can be improved through the research process and then

translated into practice. Finnish teacher educators claim that 'teaching is researching', stressing the importance of systematic inquiry to bridge the theory/practice divide, and relating this to an evidence-based teaching orientation. Research is thus considered a systematic way of understanding and reflecting on teaching practice. Reflection happens through activities in which student teachers are required to answer 'why' questions about their practice. Thus, for Finnish teachers, as long they have the right method of teaching, the social context and the actual subjects taught are less important for didactic practice.

> It's important to know this [research] stuff because it has its whole language and, even if you can't remember all of it, afterwards you may know how to read diagrams and all of the other kinds. It's like, if you read an article, you actually understand what it's saying better because you know how the research study has been done because you've done it yourself.
>
> — Bella, Finnish student teacher

This cumulative aspect is also visible in the type of research-based knowledge used in the Finnish context. Within the class-teacher education programme, there is substantial attention to basic and applied research-derived knowledge, both of which aim at expanding educational theories. Thus, the purpose is not only to improve teaching practice but also to generate new educational knowledge. The main producers of research-based knowledge are teacher educators. Moreover, future teachers are able to build pedagogical knowledge, thanks to strong institutional support: the university. Student teachers gain research skills which provide support for becoming teacher-researchers once they are employed by schools. This is directly linked to the academic environment as well as the pedagogical style with which Finnish pre-service teacher education is conducted (see Figure 7.1 bottom left).

> I think that this theoretical and scientific background needs to be so strong, when they will go to teach […]. I think that it is so important that [the programme] is at the university because [teachers] need this scientific thinking and scientific background in everyday practice. And it's possible only if they are part of universities and the scientific community.
>
> — Sandra, Finnish teacher educator

To sum up the findings in the Finnish case, the strong path dependency, both at the pedagogical and at the institutional level, assure less distress to Finnish educators concerning the neoliberal shift based on individualistic assumptions (see also the discussion of reduced complexity in Chapter 13). The cumulative positivism observed in the Finnish case is perhaps also connected to, and works well together with the allure of top-down normativity typical of Finnish 'wishful rationalism', to use Simola's term (1998).

Danish pre-service teacher education, meanwhile, has retained a *dogmatic/hermeneutic* approach. In Denmark, pedagogical knowledge is considered a reflective combination of theory and practice. Danish student teachers are familiarised with pedagogical concepts through 'learning by doing', in which theory is mixed with

pedagogical practice. Student teachers usually discuss pedagogy in the light of practical experience throughout the learning modules. This is within the tradition of reading central pedagogical texts and applying them 'holistically' in practice (see Figure 7.1, top right).

> We use research usually in the context of examining a certain theory. It's usually that we have a theory from someone and then we have to find out what the theory is about and then we have to find and use research that has been made on how this theory works.
>
> — Luna, Danish student teacher

The hermeneutical approach also characterises the way in which Danish participants define the use and production of research-based knowledge. As described in more detail elsewhere (Cucco, 2020), research-based knowledge within the Danish bachelor's programme is of an applied or experimental-developmental kind and is produced solely during their bachelor's degree projects by student teachers. Teacher educators are also developing applied research-based knowledge, but face challenges in implementing this new knowledge in their classes. In line with the hermeneutic approach and the Danish institutional divide, academic knowledge is then translated into professionally oriented teaching resources and materials. Thus, the main aim of gaining research-based knowledge is pragmatic and is usually intended to improve and update teaching practice. This research and development approach is then spiced up with the more *cumulative/positivistic* style in which professionals should apply the results of evidence-based meta-studies into practice (see Figure 7.1 bottom right). This Danish melting pot of a dogmatic hermeneutical style shared at the institutional level, and the new policy-driven *cumulative/positivistic* approach, is a matter of concern for Danish teacher educators: they are sceptical about the more individualistic and goal-oriented approaches implemented since the 1980s in the Nordic countries.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we aimed to answer the following question: how have the different historical trajectories of late-nineteenth-century *national educational schisms* and the differing *institutionalisation of pre-service teacher education* in the second half of the twentieth century shaped the very different approaches to pedagogy found in Finnish and Danish pre-service teacher education? We argued that differing biases in the national educational schisms during the nineteenth century resulted in divergent paths of institutionalisation of pre-service teacher education during the 1960–1970s. This institutionalisation, in turn, shaped different contemporary approaches to pedagogy in Denmark and Finland, as shown in Figure 7.1.

Since the 1990s and increasingly in the 2000s, due to the global trends of neoliberalism, evidence-based practice and 'what works' approaches, pre-service teacher education in both Denmark and Finland has been under political pressure to move 'downward' in Figure 7.1. This has created a strong pressure in Denmark on the continuity of its more communitarian and *Bildung*-oriented, hermeneutical

approach to pedagogy, and there are calls to 'look to Finland' (cf., e.g., Andersen, Wiskerchen and Honoré, 2017). Currently, a certain schizophrenia can be observed in the Danish educational world, between the traditional reading and dogmatic hermeneutical application of normative, philosophical educational literature, and the adoption of an evidence-based 'what works' agenda of a positivist nature (cf. Figure 7.1, right column). Additionally, an overall observation is that the previously very central concept of pedagogy seems to be losing ground in both these Nordic cases, perhaps because of the strong Anglo-Saxon influence as part of the above-mentioned global trends. In this development, Denmark seems less willing to change its pedagogical approach than Finland. The historical development in Finland has already paved the road for an approach to pedagogy which has a strong affinity to the 'new' global trends, whereas Denmark has had almost the opposite trajectory. As argued above, this calls into question if the global homogenisation of educational approaches is really inevitable.

The current situation in Denmark may exemplify the tendency of *indigenisation*, as opposed to a dynamic of *internationalisation* (cf. Schriewer, 2009). The Danish educational arena as a whole is slowly moving towards an academisation of pedagogical approaches, not least due to a nationally quite dominant institution founded in 2000, the Danish University of Education. This institution, which now comes under Aarhus University, in its pedagogical approach has had the strongest affinity to the left-hand column in Figure 7.1, i.e., to academic institutions. Central actors in teacher education, however, are consciously choosing the 'indigenous' path more in the right-hand column of Figure 7.1, i.e., the folk institutions. Referring again to the contrary currents outlined by Schriewer, and as can be seen in Chapter 4, Finland offers an example of a *trans-national disseminating model* in today's global dynamics. As a corrective to the supposed advent of a homogenous global educational discourse, we therefore conclude that local variations of pedagogical approaches in pre-service teacher education tend to persist along national paths.

Notes

1 The contemporary data consist of 29 interviews collected using snowball sampling and involving the main actors in class-teacher education: student teachers, teacher educators, and educational leaders. Each interview was conducted in English. After the complete transcription of all interviews, a thematic analysis was conducted. The data collection process guaranteed anonymity both to the individuals and to the institutions involved in the project and was approved by the ethical committee of the Università degli Studi di Torino. We have lightly revised the language of the quotes in this chapter.
2 In this chapter, 'class teachers' refers to educators who teach in Danish comprehensive schools (grades 1–9) or in the first six years of Finnish comprehensive schools. We use 'elementary school teachers' to indicate those who taught in Danish and Finnish primary schools before the rise of comprehensive schooling in the 1960–1970s.

References

Ahonen, S. (2014) 'A school for all in Finland', in Blossing, U., Moos, L., and Imsen, G. (eds) *The Nordic education model: 'A school for all' encounters neo-liberal policy*. London: Springer, pp. 77–94.

Alexander, R. (2001) *Culture and pedagogy: international comparisons in primary education*. Blackwell Publishing.

Andersen, F. Ø., Wiskerchen, M. and Honoré, C. L. (2017) *Finsk læreruddannelse i et dansk perspektiv: rapport over forskningsprojekter 2015–2017*. Department of Education (DPU). Available at: https://backend.folkeskolen.dk/~/2/8/finsk-laereruddannelse--i-et-dansk-perspektiv.pdf.

Bjerre, J. and Reimer, D. (2014) 'The strategic use of evidence on teacher education: investigating the research report genre', in Petersen, K. B., Reimer, D., and Qvortrup, A. (eds) *Evidence and evidence-based education in Denmark. The current debate*. Copenhagen: Cursiv, DPU. Available at: https://edu.au.dk/fileadmin/edu/Cursiv/CURSIV_14_www.pdf.

Bøje, J. D. (2012) 'Academization of Danish semi-professionals', *Nordic Studies in Education*, 32(2), pp. 84–97.

Bugge, K. E. (1965) *Skolen for livet. Studier over N.F.S. Grundtvigs pædagogiske tanker*. Copenhagen: Gad.

Cucco, B. (2020) *Il ruolo della ricerca nella formazione iniziale degli insegnanti in Danimarca e Finlandia*. Turin: Università degli Studi di Torino.

Danish Ministry of Higher Education and Science (2016) *The Danish higher education system*. Available at: https://ufm.dk/uddannelse/anerkendelse-og-dokumentation/dokumentation/europass/diploma-supplement/standardbeskrivelse-af-higher-education-in-denmark/ds-standardbeskrivelse-pdf.

Danmarks Evalueringsinstitut (2009) *Komparativt studium af de nordiske læreruddannelser*. Copenhagen: Nordisk ministerråd.

Dorf, H. (2011) 'Danish teacher education, its challenges and conflicts in a Nordic and European context', in Anastasiades, P. et al. (eds) *Teacher education in modern era: trends and issues*, pp. 133–149.

Furuhagen, B. and Holmén, J. (2017) 'From seminar to university: dismantling an old and constructing a new teacher education in Finland and Sweden, 1946–1979', *Nordic Journal of Educational History*, 4(1), pp. 53–81.

Furuhagen, B., Holmén, J. and Säntti, J. (2019) 'The ideal teacher: orientations of teacher education in Sweden and Finland after the Second World War', *History of Education*, 48(6), pp. 784–805. doi: 10.1080/0046760X.2019.1606945.

Gadamer, H. G. (1960) *Truth and method*. London: Bloomsbury.

Grinder-Hansen, K. (2013) *Den gode, den onde og den engagerede: 1000 år med den danske lærer*. Viborg: Muusmann.

Høffding, H. (1918) *Oplevelse og Tydning*. Copenhagen: Nyt nordisk Forlag.

Howlett, M. and Ramesh, M. (2003) 'Agenda-setting: policy determinants, policy ideas, and policy windows', in Howlett, Michael and Ramesh, M. (eds) *Studying public policy. Policy cycles and policy subsystems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 120–142.

Iisalo, T. (1979) *The science of education in Finland 1828–1918. The history of learning and science in Finland 1828–1918*. Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica.

Jarning, H. (2009) 'Reform pedagogy as a national innovation system: early twentieth-century educational entrepreneurs in Norway', *Paedagogica Historica*, 45(4–5), pp. 469–484. doi: 10.1080/00309230903100874.

Jauhiainen, A., Kivirauma, J. and Rinne, R. (1998) 'Status and prestige through faith in education: the successful struggle of Finnish primary school teachers for universal university training', *Journal of Education for Teaching*, 24(3), pp. 261–272.

Kampmann, T. (1991) *Kun spiren frisk og grøn … Læreruddannelse 1945–1991*. Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag.

Kansanen, P. and Uljens, M. (1997) 'On the history and future of Finnish didactics', *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, 41(3–4), pp. 225–235. doi: 10.1080/0031383970410305.

Kirby, D. (2006) *A concise history of Finland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kivinen, O. and Rinne, R. (1998) 'Finnish higher education policy and teacher training', *Paedagogica Historica*, 34(1), pp. 447–470. doi: 10.1080/00309230.1998.11434897.

Krarup, P. (1955) 'Forholdet til skolen', in *Johan Nicolai Madvig. Et Mindeskrift*. Copenhagen: Det kgl. danske Videnskabernes Selskab & Carlsbergfondet.

Larsen, J. E. (2002) *J.N. Madvigs Dannelsestanker. En kritisk humanist i den danske romantik*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum.

Larsen, J. E. (2016) 'Academisation of teacher education: sites, knowledge and cultures and changing premises for educational knowledge in Norway and Denmark', in Hoffmann-Ocon, A. and Horlacher, R. (eds) *Pädagogik und pädagogisches wissen: Ambitionen und Erwartungen an die Ausbildung von Lehrpersonen*. Bad Heilbrunn: Verlag Julius Klinkhardt, pp. 211–228.

Mahoney, J. (2000) 'Path dependence in historical sociology', *Theory and Society*, 29(4), pp. 507–548. doi: 10.1023/A:1007113830879.

Ministry of Education and Culture Finland (2009) *Universities Act 558/2009*. Available at: http://www.finlex.fi/en/laki/kaannokset/2009/en20090558.pdf.

Niemi, H. (2011) 'Educating student teachers to become high quality professionals – A Finnish case', *CEPS Journal*, 1(1), pp. 43–66.

Nordenbo, S. E. (1997) 'Danish didactics: an outline of history and research', *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, 41(3–4), pp. 209–224. doi: 10.1080/0031383970410304.

Nordic Council of Ministers (2009) *Comparative study of Nordic teacher-training programmes*. Copenhagen: Nordic Council of Ministers, p. 107. Available at: http://norden.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2%3A701134&dswid=971.

Paksuniemi, M. (2013) *The historical background of school system and teacher image in Finland*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Rasmussen, J. and Bayer, M. (2014) 'Comparative study of teaching content in teacher education programmes in Canada, Denmark, Finland and Singapore', *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 46(6), pp. 798–818. doi: 10.1080/00220272.2014.927530.

Rasmussen, P. (2004) 'Towards flexible differentiation in higher education? Recent changes in Danish higher education', in Fägerlind, I. and Strömqvist, G. (eds) *Reforming higher education in the Nordic countries - studies of change in Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden*. Paris: Unesco: International Institute for Educational Planning, pp. 55–88.

Regan, P. (2012) 'Hans-Georg Gadamer's philosophical hermeneutics: concepts of reading, understanding and interpretation', *Meta: research in hermeneutics, phenomenology, and practical philosophy*, 4(2), pp. 286–303.

Rinne, R. (2004) 'Searching for the rainbow: changing the course of Finnish higher education', in Fägerlind, I. and Strömqvist, G. (eds) *Reforming higher education in the Nordic countries - studies of change in Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden*. Paris: Unesco: International Institute for Educational Planning, pp. 89–136.

Rømer, T. A., Tanggaard, L. and Brinkmann, S. (2011) *Uren pædagogik*. Aarhus: Klim.

Säntti, J. and Kauko, J. (2019) 'Learning to teach in Finland: historical contingency and professional autonomy', in Tatto, M. T. and Menter, I. (eds) *Knowledge, policy and practice in teacher education. A cross-national study*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, pp. 81–97.

Säntti, J., Rantala, J., Salminen, J. and Hansen, P. (2014) 'Bowing to science: Finnish teacher education turns its back on practical schoolwork', *Educational Practice and Theory*, 36(1), pp. 21–41. doi: 10.7459/ept/36.1.14_03.

Schriewer, J. (2009) 'Comparative education methodology in transition: towards a science of complexity?', in *Discourse formation in comparative education*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 3–54.

Simola, H. (1998) 'Decontextualizing teachers' knowledge: Finnish didactics and teacher education curricula during the 1980s and 1990s', *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, 42(4), pp. 325–338. doi: 10.1080/0031383980420401.

Skovgaard-Petersen,V. (2005) 'De blev lærere – læreruddannelsen mellem 1860 og 1945', in Braad, K. B. et al. (ed.) *For at blive en god lærer. Seminarier i to århundreder.*Viborg: Syddansk Universitetforlag, pp. 179–212.

Wiborg, S. (2002) 'The Danish tradition in teacher education: panacea or dead end road?', *Metodika*, 3(5), pp. 77–88.

8 Becoming a teacher in the 21st century

Teacher education reform in Sweden, Germany, and England

Lindsey Waine and Susanne Wiborg

The first two decades of this century witnessed unprecedented reforms to teacher education in Germany, England, and Sweden. Already prior to the new millennium, we saw the dawn of a new era for education and teacher training. Countries were plunged into a new and different international environment of globalisation, technological innovation, and intense economic competition. In the realm of education, countries saw human capital as crucial to their ability to compete in the new 'knowledge economy', and to demand from their education systems much higher levels of academic achievement. At around the same time, countries were faced with the so-called 'crisis of the welfare state', the onset of fiscal austerity, demands for government efficiency, and rising disaffection with centralised, bureaucratic modes of governance. New reforms were implemented that placed a premium on accountability, monitoring competence, and professionalisation – sharp departures from the institutional past. As this new era took hold, the creation of egalitarian education structures was no longer enough and the emphasis was now on academic excellence, which the existing institutions were not specifically designed to provide. Governments thus focused more strongly on the preparation of teachers in this changed environment.

At the start of this century, with the publication of the first PISA results by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), there were stark criticisms of teacher education internationally (OECD, 2014). In 2013, Andreas Schleicher, the OECD's Director for Education and Skills, asserted, 'the quality of an education system cannot exceed the quality of its teachers'. This empirical statement has been a key influence on a multitude of policies espousing 'best practices' in education worldwide. With teacher quality deemed the *most* influential factor for student achievement, governments have embarked on reforming their teacher education systems. In the developing international arena, and with the competition engendered by studies such as PISA and TALIS, the OECD's survey of teachers, policymakers have increasingly looked beyond their borders for inspiration and models. Policies to reform pre-service teacher education aim to control the outcomes of the training that teachers receive, most often through the introduction of competences or standards they must achieve in order to qualify. These standards combine the knowledge and practical skills needed to

DOI: 10.4324/9781003082514-11

be a competent classroom practitioner; however, this paradigm shift towards an evidence-based assessment of teaching has clear implications for the level of professional autonomy with which future teachers are able to practise.

The key questions to be addressed in this chapter are: how have governments in Germany, England, and Sweden sought to have greater control of pre-service teacher education, and what effect has the resulting increase in accountability had on teachers' practice in terms of professional autonomy? The concepts of professional accountability (being responsible for one's practice to others) and professional autonomy (freedom and self-regulation of one's practice) are not mutually exclusive. In answering these questions, we will focus primarily on reforms to teacher education curricula, particularly the role and weighting of theory and practice, and the assessment of student teachers' classroom practice by rubrics of standards.

Germany: from enduring stability to radical reform

Prior to 2000, education in Germany was characterised by an enduring stability that had weathered the storms of the two world wars, the construction and demolition of the Berlin Wall, and the reunification of the country in 1990. The strong federal structure established following the Second World War saw education decision-making devolved to the individual federal states, which had autonomy over the school curriculum and the recruitment and appointment of teachers. The historical legacy of a selective secondary education sector, with three school types (tripartite), was fiercely defended, and Germany was proud of its strong academic traditions. The universities in each federal state enjoyed considerable autonomy in terms of both the academic curriculum and organisational management, and within each university, the teacher education curriculum was determined by the academics involved, resulting in a huge diversity across Germany. In common with its Nordic neighbours, teacher education was founded on the ideology of *Bildung*, a holistic approach to learning that placed importance on epistemic knowledge (Männikko-Barbutiu, Rorrison and Zeng, 2011).

Having rested on its academic laurels for so long, Germany was entirely unprepared for the humiliation that ensued after the OECD published the results of its first PISA study in 2000. As Meyer and Benavot (2013, p. 2) put it, 'Germany had always tacitly assumed that they led the world in education'. The 'PISA shock', a term frequently used by the German media, prompted closer scrutiny of teachers' work and the effectiveness of pre-service teacher education in preparing teachers for the challenges of increasingly diverse and inclusive classrooms. The past two decades have witnessed unprecedented levels of reform to schools, the school curriculum, and teacher education. Wiseman (2013) suggests that PISA 2000 exerted a form of 'soft power', with Germany's performance impelling policymakers to implement reforms aimed at improving quality and equity in schools. Teacher education became the 'driving force' of delivering these improvements and was charged with producing a new generation of teachers who would be trained to achieve these policy aims (Blömeke, 2006).

The dual organisation of teacher education

Teacher education in Germany is divided between two distinct locations and phases. The first phase is the responsibility of higher education institutions – universities and *Pädagogische Hochschulen*[1] – and culminates in the First State Examination. This phase is strongly academic and comprises a study of two subject disciplines – didactic methods and education science. The opportunity for student teachers to connect theory with the practice of teaching presents itself in education science. However, historically, academics in this field did not consider it their role to make this connection and education science long remained a 'largely self-centred and field-specific orientation' until the 1990s (Schriewer, 2017, p. 85). The second phase takes place within designated training centres operated by the federal state education authority and run by experienced teachers (*Studienseminar*) and ends with the Second State Examination. Student teachers spend most of their time in a designated school honing practical classroom skills and attend the centres regularly for further study. The focus of the training sessions is also practice-related and may have little connection to the academic content of the first phase. Thus, the first phase prioritises academic learning, rooted in the theoretical, and the second, the practical classroom skills to be assimilated before qualifying as a teacher.

Prior to 2000, the first, university-based, phase of teacher education could last for six or seven years and the second phase, further two years. Aside from the long duration of the study, there were two key criticisms of this system. First, the distinct roles of the two institutions involved meant that there was little or no communication between them. The academic side was heavily theoretical and had established itself as quite separate from the practical: would-be teachers had little opportunity to spend time in schools observing teachers and beginning to develop their classroom skills. It was therefore little wonder that student teachers struggled to see a clear connection between theory and practice. Second, the structure of the university programme meant that an early career choice was forced upon future teachers since they were required to complete courses in didactics and education science early in their undergraduate studies. These two factors go some way to explaining the high dropout rates among student teachers until the last decade (Mause, 2013).

Teacher education and the catalysts for structural reform

Implemented concurrently with the PISA-driven reforms, the objectives of the Bologna Declaration of 1999 to create a unified European Higher Education Area provided an additional challenge for Germany, whose universities had enjoyed considerable autonomy and to whom the notion of delineated undergraduate and postgraduate study was anathema (Keuffer, 2010). Nevertheless, a lack of cohesion within the teacher education curriculum and poor communication between the different university departments responsible for student teachers had resulted in an overloaded system and extended duration of study (Ostinelli, 2009). The universities had resisted calls from some academics within their ranks to create a more integrated, cohesive teacher education curriculum (Oelkers, 2004), and perpetuated a system that Blömeke calls 'organised irresponsibility' (2006, p. 321).

However, the requirements of Bologna meant the introduction of a streamlined, modular structure to university programmes and specific timeframes for the completion of undergraduate and postgraduate studies. A transition period of 10 years was agreed by the education ministers of the federal states, at the end of which the duration of the first phase would be reduced to five years. Today, the teacher education curriculum comprises mostly compulsory modules, with the undergraduate years focused on in-depth study of the subject disciplines, and education science and subject didactics are concentrated in the postgraduate years.

In the wake of PISA and Bologna, there has also been an increase in the importance placed on education research. The Federal Ministry of Education and Research (Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung; BMBF) was established in 2004 and has produced several reports on teacher education which have identified key areas for improvement. The most relevant for the current discussion is how teacher education is structured during the university phase and how to optimise the connection between theory and practice (BMBF, 2019). The focal points of the study were the need to promote effective self-reflection in student teachers, an evaluation of the new, staged approach to practicums and the preparation of student teachers for the inclusive classroom.

The current teacher education curriculum

Questions concerning the balance between the theoretical and the practical in university-based teacher education continue to prompt debate inside and outside the academic community. In most federal states in Germany, teachers have civil servant status, ratified by two State Examinations. As such, they are afforded considerable professional autonomy in their work, based on the expectation that they will exercise sound professional judgement, founded on knowledge and understanding of learners, the learning process and the educational context. This professional knowledge has traditionally been constructed from theories taught as part of the academic curriculum; however, recent reforms have placed far greater emphasis on the length and timetabling of the practicum during the first phase, offering one strategy for mitigating the high dropout rate in teacher education by strengthening the link to the professional role. Previously, the prioritisation of theoretical knowledge over the practicum had frequently led to a so-called 'practice shock' experienced by student teachers starting the second, post-university phase, which was mostly spent teaching in one school (Sander, 1995; Jones, 2000; Terhart, 2004).

Recent reforms have seen progress in creating a better balance between theory and practice in two respects. First, in all federal states, there have been changes to the length and type of the practical elements of the curriculum. The main practicum has been extended to a full semester and there are additional practical experiences during the undergraduate phase, with the specific aim of preventing a forced early career decision. In some states, for example, North-Rhine Westphalia, an *Eignungspraktikum* (suitability practicum) is to be completed before studies begin, and is designed to allow future student teachers to reflect on their motivation for becoming a teacher and confirm their career decision. The *Orientierungspraktikum* (orientation practicum) lasts approximately one month and provides an experience

of the classroom environment through the observations of experienced teachers. Finally, some states also have a *Berufsfeldpraktikum* (professional practicum), in which students spend time with other education professionals who work with teachers, such as social workers, youth workers, or special educational needs teachers. The semester-long practicum has been moved to the master's phase and is accompanied by practicum modules that encourage greater reflection and self-evaluation in student teachers. Whilst this has generally been acknowledged as a positive step, recent literature has highlighted that seeing the extended practicum duration as the 'holy grail' of teacher education neglects the fact that there is no clear conception of what role the practicum actually plays, or its purpose within university teacher education, and to date, there has been very little empirical research on its effects on student teachers' conceptions of teaching (Rheinländer and Scholl, 2020).

Second, some progress has been made in improving continuity and communication between the two phases of teacher education, in the form of the newly created *Zentren für Lehrerbildung* (Centres for Teacher Education). These are dedicated university departments, whose purpose is to facilitate communication between university faculties and the state education authority organising the second phase. All federal states have now introduced such centres, although the nomenclature varies, and they operate through working groups that foster communication between the different institutional partners.

Teacher education and the professionalisation agenda

The pressure to achieve economic competitiveness, coupled with the quality of education coming under the spotlight of international comparative studies, has prompted the German government to increase the monitoring of teacher quality by introducing competence-based teachers' standards, which were agreed by education ministers from the 16 federal states in 2004. These standards are organised as a hierarchy to be achieved at each stage of teacher education, beginning with the university practicums and continuing into the second phase. Student teachers are assessed against these standards and, although each standard is linked to the relevant underpinning theories, there is inevitably a normative aspect to the notion of competence. The need to be held accountable to a rubric of standards has clear ramifications for the professional autonomy of future teachers if it results in fewer opportunities to experiment with different approaches, rather than developing an individual teaching style that will take them forward after qualification.

In 2008, centralised control was further increased with the implementation of a standardised teacher education curriculum for education science. The emphasis on practical competence and tighter central control forms part of the professionalisation agenda, the objective of which is a greater orientation of teacher education towards the profession. Kotthoff and Terhart (2017, p. 7) suggest that this will prove to be: 'a challenge to the self-image of German universities, which are traditionally focused on the transmission of academic subject knowledge ("science") rather than the direct and practical preparation for a professional career'. It remains to be seen whether the recent reforms result in more cohesive preparation for student teachers, and whether recruitment to the profession will improve as a result. With

the majority of federal states abandoning the tripartite secondary sector in favour of two secondary school types and a greater diversity in pupils attending grammar schools, the need for an integrated teacher education curriculum that produces new teachers with sound professional knowledge and confidence in classroom skills is more pressing than ever.

England: from halcyon times to audit culture

In stark contrast to the stability and reform reticence that had characterised Germany, pre-service teacher education in England has been the subject of continuous reform since the 1980s and has developed into a 'fast-changing, fragmented and diversifying system with multiple providers and diverse routes into teaching existing alongside and sometimes interwoven with traditional study at degree or postgraduate level' (Feiman-Nemser and Ben-Peretz, 2017, p. 14). The halcyon decades from the 1950s to the 1970s had culminated in a graduate-only teaching profession, with teacher education the domain of higher education. The universities offered a theoretical curriculum which embraced the social sciences and shared much with the German model: it comprised pedagogical studies with related social sciences, and subject-focused teaching methods, which provided a theoretical underpinning for the practicum. The economic recession of the late 1970s and a move towards accountability-oriented models of government refocused attention on education and the quality of teachers and, since the 1980s, successive governments of both political persuasions have exercised ever tighter control over teacher education and teachers themselves.

The golden era referred to above notwithstanding, pre-service teacher education in England has been unable to shake off the deeply entrenched historical legacy of the belief that teaching is a 'craft' that can best be learnt 'on the job', without recourse to theories or academic study. In his seminal work *Does education matter?* (1985), Brian Simon seeks to provide answers for the lack of pedagogy or 'the science of teaching'. He attributes this omission to the powerful historical influence of the prestigious public schools, which dismissed the notion of teachers requiring professional training and asserted that with a good subject degree from a top university, teaching could simply be learnt through experience, or at least with the support of an experienced teacher as a mentor. This apprenticeship model of teacher education, which prioritises practical skills and is deeply sceptical of education theory, has prevailed, and ultimately paved the way for a model of teacher education that is entirely school-based.

This persistent anti-pedagogism, and the ideology of teaching as a craft, has resulted in a fragmented and complex system of teacher education, divided between higher education institutions and schools. Demographic changes in the 1990s that increased the primary school population and, concurrently, shrinking school rolls in the secondary sector, produced a shortfall in teachers. This created the necessary conditions for the introduction of school-based teacher education. The School-Centred Initial Teacher Training (SCITT) programme was established in 1995 and was replaced by School Direct in 2010. Since that time, the number of routes has increased further: currently, 45% of student teachers are registered for the

university programme (PGCE) route, and 40% are on the non-remunerated school-based programme.[2]

The current teacher education curriculum and its challenges

The tensions between the theoretical and the practical elements of teacher education evident in both Germany and England are exerted in opposite directions. Whereas the prioritisation of theory in Germany has had implications for the role of the practicum, in England, the precedence given to the practicum has challenged the provision of theoretical content by universities. This emphasis on practical competence in the latter has meant that the university curriculum is constrained by the requirement for student teachers to complete a minimum of 120 days in the classroom, which is organised in two practicum schools. One outcome of this extended time in schools is that the teaching of theory is condensed into two intensive blocks, one at the start of the programme and one between the two practicum blocks. Academics in teacher education have naturally criticised this development as reductionist and argue that they have been forced to engage in: 'a major rethinking of course content, with less emphasis on learning theory and more on the necessity of preparing student teachers for "survival" in the classroom' (Brant and Vincent, 2017, p. 170). Ellis (2010) concurs and suggests that school-based routes are similarly reductive and often result in a linear experience for student teachers because acculturation in the host school means that they are more likely to accept its pedagogical practices and less likely to challenge them or experiment in their own practice. Although student teachers on school-based routes are taught together periodically in geographical clusters, the emphasis remains on classroom skills, rather than theoretical content.

Student teachers negotiating this complex array of teacher education options cite diverse motives for selecting one or the other of the routes into teaching. Those choosing to study at a university consider the academic environment and theoretical content of the programme to be advantageous in terms of gaining an understanding of the wider issues of education and the range of pedagogic approaches they can apply to their practice. The generous bursary offered to students in shortage areas, for example, STEM subjects, is a further incentive. A proportion of student teachers opting for the School Direct route are remunerated whilst training and this, together with greater control over the geographical location of the placement school, is a strong motivating factor, and an important consideration for those with dependants.

For all routes, students seem to be clear about making the right decision; however, a small-scale study by Maguire and George (2017) found that whilst the majority of student teachers believed it was important to maintain both university and school-based teacher education options, each group voiced strong views. Student teachers on School Direct programmes said they regretted only gaining experience in one school and were worried that they would be unable to explore different pedagogic approaches if these did not comply with their placement school's ethos and working practice. University-based student teachers said the

reputation of the university was a factor in their selection, and believed the academic route was more likely to produce outstanding teachers.

Teacher education and the professionalisation agenda

The reform-heavy culture that has existed in England since the 1980s and the drive to improve the quality of education have resulted in an audit culture in which schools, teachers, and teacher educators are subject to close central monitoring and target-setting. This quality control structure has meant that international comparative studies such as PISA have had a more limited influence on the reform agenda since 2000 in England, relative to their neighbours in Europe (Grek, 2009). Similarly, the pre-existing structure of undergraduate and postgraduate qualifications in English universities has meant that the Bologna Declaration did not require the sweeping structural changes seen in German universities. Internally, the increasing control of successive governments over pre-service teacher education has produced a blend of deregulation in terms of the diversification of teacher education providers and centralised auditing of their provision. Thus, two decades before Germany introduced national teachers' standards, a compliance culture was well-established in England, with both institutions of teacher education and their staff held accountable through the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted), whose brief is to ensure that teachers and student teachers meet professional standards.

Competence-based assessment and the requirement to evidence a set of standards, together with the marginalisation of academic theory, have attracted criticism from teacher educators (Ellis, 2010; Gilroy, 2014; Wilkins, 2011). Gilroy suggests that the success of those who provide teacher education now rests on their willingness to produce compliant teachers. Going a step further, Wilkins believes that the professional standards go beyond the assessment of classroom skills and strike at the very identity of teachers by judging 'their values and attitudes' (ibid, p.395). To an extent, it could be said that the current teachers' standards and the close scrutiny by external agencies like Ofsted encourage teacher educators to 'teach to the test' rather than offering student teachers an expansive curriculum that strengthens their knowledge and understanding and develops the professional judgement associated with autonomous practitioners. Ball expresses concern over the performative approach to teachers' work: 'inside classrooms teachers are [now] caught between the imperatives of prescription and the disciplines of performance. Their practice is both "steered" and "rowed"' (2003, p. 163).

This certainly seems contradictory to the aspiration expressed by the New Labour government, and explicitly or implicitly endorsed by its successors, that: 'We hope that teaching will emerge as the most admired profession of the 21st century and the one that young people are keenest to join' (DfES, 2002, p. 134). The shortfall in recruitment to teacher education in recent years, together with the high rate of attrition, suggest otherwise. The strong focus on evidencing competences during training, and the demands of the national curriculum and its prescriptive targets, may produce new teachers for whom the notion of professional autonomy remains elusive.

Sweden: from collective endeavours to individualised practice

Since the early 1990s, Swedish governments have reformed the entire education system, including teacher education, to enhance the performance of pupils and teachers alike. Over the years, a standardised curriculum, national tests, a new grading system, and school inspection to oversee standards of learning were introduced (Wiborg, 2013). Teachers too were targeted with reforms that aimed at increasing pupil attainment and improving professional teaching skills. These reforms were similar to those introduced in England and elsewhere in Europe, but the impact was more dramatic in Sweden because the starting point was remarkably different. Sweden had a larger welfare state, a stronger social democracy, and a comprehensive school system with mixed ability classes in which teachers worked as a single professional corps. There was no professional hierarchy across the different education sectors; teachers were all subject to the same working conditions and were placed on the same salary scale. Primary school teachers received the same final salary as upper-secondary school teachers (Strath, 2004; Wiborg, 2017). Yet, interestingly, Swedish changes to primary/lower-secondary education and pre-service teacher education were faster and more all-encompassing than in other countries pursuing similar reforms. During the 1990s and 2000s, reforms strengthened both the subject-specific components of teacher training at the expense of education theory (pedagogy) and enhanced practical teaching skills Lilja (2014). There was thus a switch in the emphasis from education theory to academic school subjects in school-based settings. Training became more school-focused and less theory-driven. A new subject, education science, replaced the existing subject of pedagogy, aiming to strengthen evidence-based teacher training and practice. All these changes were enshrined in a flow of policy documents that became increasingly detailed and prescriptive of the training of teachers.

The current teacher education curriculum: Top of the Class

The reform initiatives culminated with the introduction, in 2010, of Top of the Class, a new teacher education programme (Government Bill 2009/10:89). This replaced the integrated programme (successive bachelor's and master's degrees in education) with four new professional degrees, targeting the key education sectors: preschool, primary school, lower- and upper-secondary schools, and vocational education. In all cases, the curriculum now comprises both theory and practice and includes a compulsory core of education science worth 60 credits (equivalent to a full year of study), subject studies (subject knowledge and didactics), and practical teaching through a school placement. Subject studies for secondary school teaching require three subjects for lower-secondary teachers and two for upper-secondary.

Programme content is regulated by a single System of Qualification, which contains the learning outcomes that student teachers must meet to pass the final exam, and regulates the content of education science and the subject areas taught. Another measure to enhance the standards was the introduction of 'senior subject teachers'. A teacher who has a doctoral degree and demonstrated excellent quality

of teaching over a period of at least four years is to be appointed a senior subject teacher. Furthermore, in 2012, a system of teacher and preschool teacher registration came into force. To be qualified to teach in schools, a teacher is required to be registered and qualified for specific subjects and school years. Registration is also required for a teacher to be able to grade students and to act as a mentor for new teachers.

Work conditions, performance pay, and professionalisation

The reforms in pre-service teacher education since the early 1990s and culminating in the 2010 Top of the Class legislation have had serious ramifications for teachers' working conditions, remuneration, and construction of professionalisation. The introduction of clearer employment regulations for permanent teaching staff was accompanied by a system of performance-related pay. Teachers are now put on an individual pay scheme, first introduced in 1995, which gives municipalities the tools for recruiting and rewarding teachers. The rationale behind the pay scheme was that teacher salaries should be linked to clearly defined performance objectives, which in turn would serve as an instrument for retaining effective teachers. Most crucial was the decision that pay should be based on pupil results, although this was not implemented as originally intended: today, some of the pay is dependent on 'softer criteria' such as the contribution teachers make to creating a positive learning environment, instilling democratic values and tolerance, motivating pupils and boosting their self-esteem, cooperating with other teachers, their desire to pursue professional development, etc. (Strath, 2004).

The intention of these recent professionalisation reforms is to provide each category of teacher with the specialised knowledge relevant to the age group they teach. Rather than forming a professional identity on the basis of the teaching corps as a whole, professionalisation is linked to the specialised knowledge and expertise involved in only one sector of the school system. To enhance these skills and develop a professional identity on the basis of teacher categories, the government gave a boost to teachers by providing programmes that offer university-based training for those without a teaching qualification in the subject or age group they teach. The first phase of the programme (*Lärarlyftet I*: 2011–2017) enrolled 30,000 teachers. The second phase, launched in 2012 (*Lärarlyftet II*: 2012–2018), provided training courses for those who wished to become special-needs teachers (Lindstrom and Beach, 2015; Sjöberg, 2019). The reforms of teacher education have become focused on individual student teachers and their achievements, and the construction of a teacher identity that is organised around clear performance goals.

Thus, teacher professionalisation has developed from a collective endeavour to teach in common schools for all to a more individualised practice. Teachers today have a high degree of professional autonomy and are typically organised in small teams which share responsibility for organising their work and are required to contribute to school strategies to achieve national student learning goals. The importance of individualised teaching practices and the needs of pupils have increased considerably. According to Giota and Emanuelsson (2018), traditional class work has been largely phased out in favour of individualised self-regulatory

teaching methods and flexible learning strategies. Pupils are given further opportunities to develop their ability to work independently and to take more responsibility for their own learning.

Conclusion

The reforms to teacher education in Germany, England, and Sweden since 2000 have demanded radical changes in the structure of the curriculum and the assessment of student teachers. There have been compromises to the freedom traditionally enjoyed by student teachers as they contend with more mandatory modules, increased practicum time, and tougher assessment of their practical skills through rubrics of standards to be achieved throughout their studies. In Germany and England, the introduction of competence-based assessment through prescribed standards has been motivated by the belief that tighter centralised control and accountability will assure improvements to teaching quality, pupil attainment and ultimately, economic competitiveness. 'Quality' is itself a contestable concept, and how or whether it can be measured using rubrics of standards or competences has been a subject of debate among academics who argue that the complex and uncertain nature of the classroom environment cannot be reduced to skills-focused statements or that personal characteristics of the teacher cannot be expressed as a 'standard' (Männikko-Barbutiu, Rorrison and Zeng, 2011; Mattsson et al., 2011).

In Germany, more practical experiences for student teachers through school placements have reduced dropout rates, and Centres for Teacher Education have improved communication among all those involved in teacher preparation. Earlier practical experiences coupled with the shortage of teachers, which is now at a critical level, has meant that most states have shortened the second phase of teacher education to 18 months or a year. Where the average age for starting a first teaching post in the late 1990s was 32 (Kotthoff and Terhart, 2017), today's student teachers may well enter employment four years earlier. The introduction of teachers' standards in 2004 has endeavoured to connect skills statements with the corresponding theory, suggesting that, despite some rebalancing in the theory and practice elements of the teacher education curriculum, theoretical knowledge is still considered essential to professionalisation and enables teachers, once qualified, to work autonomously and exercise professional judgement.

Teacher education in England has been the victim of cultural scripts that consider the profession as a craft that can be acquired without recourse to theory in the academic sense. A deep-rooted scepticism of the teaching of education theories on university courses, together with a belief that an apprenticeship model of teacher education is the most effective, have resulted in successive governments promoting school-based routes into teaching. The primacy of practice now means that the teacher education curriculum centres around practicums that occupy about 24 weeks of the training year. Whatever their chosen route, student teachers today have to contend not only with the demands of heterogeneous classrooms and challenging behaviour, but also the pressures of an intensive year of relentless planning and preparation, reading and written assignments, and the need to prove themselves to be 'competent' by meeting prescribed professional standards.

Increased centralised auditing of both new and experienced teachers throughout their career has eroded the autonomy they used to enjoy in the past. The struggle to retain new teachers beyond five years suggests that further reforms are needed to address this.

In Sweden, radical changes to teacher education meant that specific subject expertise was upgraded at the expense of education theory, pedagogy, and placement in schools, which had given student teachers a deeper experience of what it means to work as a professional teacher. The subject of pedagogy was replaced with education sciences, placing teacher education on a stronger, evidence-based footing, including classroom management. These performance-oriented teacher education reforms replaced previous reforms that had sought to create a common professional identity with integrated teacher education for all categories of teachers, the same working conditions, and salaries based on seniority. Since 2011, a new system has been in existence, with different specialist pathways to becoming a teacher, a body of expert knowledge, and individualised pay schemes.

The pre-service teacher education curriculum in all three countries has been re-balanced at different times to prioritise the acquisition of practical classroom skills and to produce teachers who are better equipped to deal with the challenges of today's diverse and inclusive classrooms. In Germany and England, this has resulted in professionalisation reforms that express the teacher's role in terms of standards to be evidenced. Sweden has adopted a more radical approach, replacing a unitary qualification model with one that embraces a number of different models, but without recourse to rubrics of standards. The guiding idea behind this reform was that specialisation would unleash the expertise of different teacher categories, leading to targeted, individualised teaching methods and, ultimately, driving up standards. In all three countries, pressures to achieve academic excellence have led to dramatic reforms in recent decades. Yet, as this chapter has shown, how the reforms manifested, and the pathways to academic excellence they laid out, varied greatly, with differing impacts on teacher autonomy and accountability.

Notes

1 These specialist education universities have been preserved in the state of Baden-Württemberg. In all the other federal states, they were integrated into the universities from the 1970s.
2 Department for Education (November 2020): Initial Teacher Training (ITT) Census for the academic year 2019–2020, England.

References

Ball, S.J. (2003) 'The teacher's soul and the terrors of performativity', *Journal of Education Policy*, 18(2), pp. 215–228. doi: 10.1080/0268093022000043065.

Blömeke, S. (2006) 'Globalization and educational reform in German teacher education', *International Journal of Educational Research*, 45, pp. 315–324. doi: 10.1016/j.ijer.2007.02.009.

Brant, J. and Vincent, K. (2017) 'Teacher education in England: professional preparation in times of change', in Trippestad, T.A., Swennen, A. and Werler, T. (eds.) *The struggle for teacher education: international perspectives on government and reforms*. London; New York: Bloomsbury.

Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung (BMBF) (2019) *Verzahnung von Theorie und Praxis im Lehramtsstudium*.

Department for Education and Skills (DfES) (2002) *Time for standards: reforming the school workforce*. London: DfES Publications.

Ellis, V. (2010) 'Impoverishing experience: the problem of teacher education in England', *Journal of Education for Teaching*, 36(1), pp. 105–120. doi: 10.1080/02607470903462230.

Feiman-Nemser, S. and Ben-Peretz, M. (2017) *Getting the teachers we need: international perspectives on teacher education*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield.

Gilroy, P. (2014) 'Policy interventions in teacher education: sharing the English experience', *Journal of Education for Teaching*, 40(5), pp. 622–632. doi: 10.1080/02607476.2014.957996.

Giota, J. and Emanuelsson, I. (2018) 'Individualized teaching practices in the Swedish comprehensive school from 1980 to 2014 in relation to education reforms and curricula goals', *Nordic Journal of Studies in Educational Policy*, 4(3), pp. 144–155. doi: 10.1080/20020317.2018.1541397.

Grek, S. (2009) 'Governing by numbers: the PISA 'effect' in Europe', *Journal of Education Policy*, 24(1), pp. 23–37. doi: 10.1080/02680930802412669.

Jones, M. (2000) 'Becoming a secondary teacher in Germany: a trainee perspective on recent developments in initial teacher training in Germany', *European Journal of Teacher Education*, 23(1), pp. 65–76. doi: 10.1080/026197600411634.

Keuffer, J. (2010) 'Reform der Lehrerbildung und kein Ende? Eine Standortbestimmuung', *Erziehungswissenschaft*, 21, p. 40.

Kotthoff, H.-G. and Terhart, E. (2017) 'Teacher education in Germany: traditional structure, strengths and weaknesses, current reforms', *Scuola Democratica*, 3, pp. 1–10. doi: 10.12828/75802.

Lilja, P. (2014) The politics of teacher professionalims: intrapreofessional boundary work in Swedish teacher union policy. *Policy Futures in Education*, 12(4), pp. 55–512.

Lindstrom, M.N. and Beach, D. (2015) Changes in teacher education in Sweden in the neoliberal education age: toward an occupation in itself or a profession for itself? *Education Inquiry*, 6(3), pp. 241–258.

Maguire, M. and George, R. (2017) 'Reforming teacher education in England: locating the "policy problem"', in Trippestad, T.A., Swennen, A. and Werler, T. (eds.) *The struggle for teacher education: international perspectives on government and reforms*. London; New York: Bloomsbury.

Männikko-Barbutiu, S., Rorrison, D. and Zeng, L. (2011) 'Memorable encounters', in Mattsson, M., Eiertsen, T.U. and Rorrison, D. (eds.) *A practicum turn in teacher education*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Mattsson, M., Eiertsen, T.U. and Rorrison, D. (2011) *A practicum turn in teacher education*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Mause, K. (2013) 'With Bologna in mind and the sword in the hand: the German bachelor/master reform reconsidered', *Higher Education Policy*, 26, pp. 325–347. doi: 10.1057/hep.2013.4.

Meyer, H.-D. and Benavot, A. (eds.) (2013) *PISA, power and policy: the emergence of global educational governance*. Didcot: Symposium Books.

OECD (2014). *TALIS 2013 results: an international perspective on teaching and learning*. OECD Publishing, Paris. Available from: http://www.oecd.org/education/school/talis-2013-results.htm.

Oelkers, J. (2004) 'Problems in teacher training: what innovations are possible?', *European Education*, 36(1), pp. 50–70. doi: 10.1080/10564934.2004.11042346.

Ostinelli, G. (2009) 'Teacher education in Italy, Germany, England, Sweden and Finland', *European Journal of Education*, 44(2), pp. 291–308. doi: 10.1111/j.1465-3435.2009.01383.x.

Rheinländer, K. and Scholl, D. (eds.) (2020) *Verlängerte Praxisphasen in der Lehrerbildung. Konzeptionelle und empirische Aspekte der Relationierung von Theorie und Praxis*. Bad Heilbrunn: Verlag Julius Klinkhardt.

Sander, T. (1995) 'Quality improvement and austerity measures in teacher education: lessons from Germany', *European Journal of Teacher Education*, 18(1), pp. 97–113.

Schriewer, J. (2017) 'Between the philosophy of self-cultivation and empirical research: educational studies in Germany', in Whitty, G. and Furlong, J. (eds.) *Knowledge and the study of education: an international exploration*. Didcot: Symposium Books.

Simon, B. (1985) *Does education matter?* London: Lawrence and Wishart Ltd.

Sjöberg, L. (2019) 'The Swedish primary teacher education programme: at the crossroads between two education programme traditions', *Education Inquiry*, 10(2), pp. 116–133. doi: 10.1080/20004508.2018.1492845.

Strath, A. (2004) *Teacher policy reforms in Sweden. The case of individualised pay*. Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning, UNESCO.

Terhart, E. (2004) 'Teacher training reform', *Journal of European Education*, 36(1), pp. 29–49. doi: 10.1080/10564934.2004.11042347.

Wiborg, S. (2013) 'Neo-liberalism and universal state education: the cases of Denmark, Norway and Sweden 1980–2011', *Comparative Education*, 48(2), pp. 420–423. doi: 10.1080/03050068.2012.700436.

Wiborg, S. (2017) 'Teacher unions in the Nordic countries: solidarity and the politics of self-interest', in Moe, T.M. and Wiborg, S. (eds.) *Comparative politics of education. Teachers unions and education systems around the world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wilkins, C. (2011) 'Professionalism and the post-performative teacher: new teachers reflect on autonomy and accountability in the English school system', *Professional Development in Education*, 37(3), pp. 389–409. doi: 10.1080/19415257.2010.514204.

Wiseman, A.W. (2013) 'Policy responses to PISA in comparative perspective', in Meyer, H.-D. and Benavot, A. (eds.) *PISA, power and policy: the emergence of global educational governance*. Didcot: Symposium Books.

9 Teachers as a political force

Teacher unions, teacher cultures, and teacher education in Sweden and Finland, 1970–2020

Björn Furuhagen and Janne Holmén

Teachers' unions' views on how teacher education should be conducted and organised are central parts of teacher culture. Discussions about teacher education show not only how teachers view their role in school and in society, but also how they attempt to strengthen their professional interests (Hagemann, 1992, p. 120). In this chapter, we analyse how teachers' unions in Sweden and Finland have attempted to influence reforms of teacher education from the late 1960s to the present. The purpose is not only to highlight aspects of teacher culture, but also to analyse the role of these unions in reforms of teacher education; prior research on the actors behind reforms of teacher education has focused mostly on political parties.

Finland and Sweden are in many ways similar, but there are some interesting differences that make for a fruitful comparison. In Finland, teacher education and the school system enjoy a good reputation, while in Sweden, they are considered to be in deep crisis. In Finland, all teacher categories are united in one union, while in Sweden, two separate unions have survived to this day, and have fought a long-running battle about the design of teacher education. Swedish teacher education has been reformed approximately once per decade since the 1960s. In Finland, there has been no major structural reform of teacher education since the 1970s.

In this chapter, after providing historical and research context, we begin by investigating how the two Swedish teachers' unions have argued and acted in order to influence reforms of Swedish teacher education from around 1970 until the present. Their arguments reveal not only different ideological views on the role of the teacher, but also competing professional strategies. We then compare how issues on which the Swedish teachers' unions held opposing views were handled by the Finnish teachers' union, where the different categories of teachers unite behind one common policy. With the help of this comparison, we draw conclusions about how the division or unification of the teacher profession affects union policies.

Historical background

In the mid-nineteenth century, a parallel school system developed in Sweden and Finland, with grammar schools for the elite and folk schools for the majority. Folk-school teachers and grammar-school teachers followed separate educational paths. Folk-school teachers were trained in seminaries with no connection to the universities; this seminary education was shorter and more vocationally oriented

DOI: 10.4324/9781003082514-12

than the university-based education of grammar-school teachers (Furuhagen and Holmén, 2017). Thus, in both countries, two different teacher cultures developed: the so-called 'seminary tradition' and the more academically oriented 'grammar-school tradition'.

With the comprehensive school reform of 1962, the folk- and grammar-school teacher categories gradually disappeared. However, Swedish teachers are still divided into two unions with roots in the parallel school system. The Swedish Teachers' Union (*Lärarförbundet*, LF), which originates from the folk-school union, today mainly organises preschool, primary, and lower-secondary school teachers.[1] The National Union of Teachers (*Lärarnas Riksförbund*, LR) originates from the union for grammar-school teachers, and mainly organises upper- and lower-secondary school teachers.

Initially, the unionisation of Finnish teachers was even more fragmented than in Sweden, as there was also a division along linguistic lines. However, in February 1974, four teachers' unions consolidated into the new *Opettajien Ammattijärjestö* (OAJ), which incorporated teachers from the entire educational field (Hollstén, 2005, pp. 14–15; Kangasniemi, Hyttinen and Tanni, 2012, p. 39). In 1986, the unions for higher education, adult education, folk high schools, and for the educators of preschool teachers also joined the OAJ (Kangasniemi, Hyttinen and Tanni, 2012, p. 104; Lappalainen, 1998, p. 182), rendering it a single organisation representing the interests of teachers across the board.

Research on teachers' unions

International research on teachers' unions reveals that the most common historical pattern is the development of two or more unions. Divided school systems usually resulted in separate organisations for primary- and secondary-school teachers. Conflicts between unions have also historically been common, since they have held different views on, for example, school development and the role of the profession. Today, countries such as Sweden, England, Germany, and France have at least two unions. However, there are a few examples with only one union, such as Finland and Mexico (Moe and Wiborg, 2017).

Wiborg (2017) has studied the influence of Nordic teachers' unions on education policies. However, although noting that the Scandinavian countries (unlike Finland) have several unions, she focuses on the role of the large, pedagogically progressive unions for comprehensive school teachers and their corporatist cooperation with the social democratic state. As this chapter will illustrate, the smaller and more conservative union for secondary school teachers has, at least in Sweden, also played an important role in the political dynamics of school reforms.

Criticising unions from a public choice perspective, Moe (2017) highlights Sweden as a country which has pushed through education reforms by weakening union power. He also considers Finland, with its uniquely strong teachers' union and an internationally recognised high-quality education system, as an exception which should not be imitated since 'it is quite unlike almost all other countries of the world in its fundamentals' (ibid., p. 286). However, Sweden and Finland are similar in the structure of their school systems and in the way education reforms

have traditionally been conducted. This warrants a comparison of their teachers' unions' influence on reforms, an area where there are important differences.

Earlier studies of the development of teacher education in Sweden have focused mainly on the political actors and changes in national policy documents. The role of teachers' unions in the process is only briefly mentioned (Nilsson-Lindström and Beach, 2015; Schyllerkvist, 1993; Sjöberg, 2010a). Prior research illustrates how teachers' professional positions changed as a result of reforms in school and teacher education, but not how teachers' unions acted and the views they expressed about different reforms (Nilsson-Lindström and Beach, 2013; Sjöberg, 2010b; Stenlås, 2009). The only exception is an article about the different opinions held by unions in the process before the reform of 2011 (Lilja, 2014).

Both Swedish unions have given their own accounts of their actions regarding teacher education from the 1960s to the 1990s (Carle, 2000; Lunde, 1993). In Finland, the unified teachers' union, the OAJ, has written its own history, to some extent also describing its policies regarding teacher education, especially its ambition to create academic education for all teacher categories. Independent scholars, such as Hannu Simola, have described how the OAJ promoted the elevation of folk-school teacher education to the level of grammar-school teachers (Simola, 2005, p. 460).

Sources

In Sweden, each major reform of teacher education was prepared by a government-appointed committee of inquiry which wrote an official report. Before the bill was drafted, the report was sent to different associations, universities, and authorities, among them the teachers' unions, soliciting their views and counterproposals. The responses from the teachers' unions are the main Swedish sources for this chapter. Other sources include the official letters sent by the unions to the Ministry of Education or to Parliament, also programmes for teacher education and pamphlets from each teachers' union directed to the public and to politicians.

In Finland, broad-ranging official committees on teacher education that published their results in the Finnish series of committee reports became rare from the late 1970s onwards. The system of parliamentary committees was abandoned entirely in 2002 (Rainio-Niemi, 2010, p. 261). Instead, the number of working groups within the Ministry of Education rose. This, in part, reflects the fact that, in Finland, major education reforms had already been implemented in the 1970s and only minor issues were discussed in the 1980s and 1990s. Because of the reduced importance of committees in Finland, this part of the investigation relies largely on archival sources from the OAJ.

Sweden: two teachers' unions in ideological conflict

Swedish teacher education has been repeatedly reformed, with major reforms in 1968, 1988, 2001, and 2011, and minor changes in 1977 and 1992 (Furuhagen and Holmén, 2017; Furuhagen, Holmén and Säntti, 2019; Ringarp and Parding, 2018). Social democratic and liberal-conservative governments, with differing

views on teacher education, initiated alternating reforms. However, the two teachers' unions were also active actors for and against various reforms, especially in connection with the reforms of 1968, 1988, and 2011. These will be discussed in more detail here.

The reforms of 1968 and 1988

The comprehensive school reform in 1962 had brought the two categories of teachers together into the new school organisation, creating an interface for growing conflict between the unions. However, the unions remained separate. The former grammar-school union (LR) represented upper-secondary school teachers as well as teachers of grades 7–9 in comprehensive school, while the former folk-school union (LF) represented teachers of grades 1–9. When comprehensive schooling replaced the old parallel system of grammar and folk schools, many politicians and educationists wanted to abolish the dual teacher education system as well. The idea was to create a modern form of teacher education that bridged the gap between the two teacher categories and brought them closer together.

In 1968, after a lengthy reform process, a new system of teacher education was established, based exclusively on teacher training colleges. This reform soon caused conflict between the teachers' unions. The main reason was the strict division between teacher categories. Those studying to be teachers for grades 1–3 and 4–6 received their education, including in subject studies, at the teacher training colleges. As before, student subject-teachers took a bachelor's degree in their subject at university, and only completed the final year of training, with didactical studies and classroom practice, at a teacher training college. The LF openly opposed this division from the outset, and expressed this opposition in its response to the official report that proposed the 1968 reform (SOU, 1965:29). Representing former folk-school teachers and class teachers in primary school, the LF did not want to establish the proposed sharp division between grades 6 and 7, arguing that this would counteract the basic intentions of the official report: to unify class and subject teachers through a partly shared education (LF, 1965).

The response from the LR, on the other hand, was positive. With its roots in the grammar teacher tradition, the LR wanted teacher education for grades 7–9 to be reserved solely for its members, the subject teachers, while the class teachers should have their own education for grades 1–3 and 4–6 (Carle, 2000; LR, 1965).

Thus the LF, representing mainly class teachers, was disappointed by the 1968 reform, and especially the line it drew between the education of class teachers and subject teachers. The union started to work towards a total renewal of teacher education in 1970 (Lunde, 1993, pp. 220–222). In January 1972, it proposed to the Social Democrat education minister that a committee should be appointed to review teacher education. The aim was to educate teachers with broad competencies, able to handle pupils of different ages, and cross the border between grades 6 and 7. Furthermore, it proposed that the teachers for grades 7–9 should become generalists, able to teach more subjects than at present (LF, 1972). The LR reacted the following month by advising the minister that there was no need for a new committee since teacher education had been recently reformed.

When, in early 1974, it became clear that a new committee was inevitable, the LR corresponded with and met the ministry to influence its guidelines and future work (Carle, 2000, pp. 220–222; LR, 1972–1974). In 1974, the education minister, Lena Hjelm-Wallén, appointed the Committee of Teacher Education (*Lärarutbildningsutredningen*, LUT), in which both teachers' unions were represented, and gave it instructions in line with the wishes of the LF (Lunde, 1993; SOU, 1978:86, pp. 471–479). In 1978, LUT's official report (SOU, 1978:86) proposed a radical renewal of teacher education. The basic idea was to abolish the different education programmes for grades 1–3, 4–6, and 7–9. Instead, there would be a 'comprehensive school teacher' for grades 1–9, albeit with some subject and age group specialisations. Again, the two unions expressed very different views in their responses to the 1978 report.

The LF, which mainly represented class teachers, was pleased with the LUT committee report, finding it to be in line with its own long-held views. It saw the comprehensive school as one homogenous school form that consequently should have only one category of teachers. The union had long argued for this single category of teachers, reasoning that all teachers in comprehensive school, regardless of the age of their pupils, basically had the same assignment. Under this reasoning, the boundary between different categories of teachers should not be placed between grades 6 and 7, but between grade 9 and upper-secondary school. In teacher education, the LF also emphasised preparation for pedagogical and social work, rather than subject knowledge (LF, 1979; Lunde, 1993, pp. 224–226).

The LR did not support this new suggested form of teacher education. It opposed the amalgamation of different categories of teachers, arguing that different skills and types of knowledge were needed to teach children of different ages. Instead, it proposed a model with two overlapping types of comprehensive school teachers: one for grades 1–6 and one for 4–9. The LR also wanted to preserve the link between the final grades of comprehensive school and the start of upper-secondary school. With its background in the grammar-school tradition, the LR claimed that the proposal would not give student teachers aiming to teach grades 7–9 sufficient subject knowledge, while those aiming to teach grades 1–6 were supposed to teach too many subjects. Instead, the union recommended a higher degree of subject specialisation (Carle, 2000, pp. 223–227; LR, 1979).

Due to the public debate about teacher education, and a change of government from the Social Democrats to a centre-right coalition in 1976–1982, it was 10 years before a new form of teacher education could be implemented (Schyllerkvist, 1993, pp. 31–33). Finally introduced in 1988, with the Social Democrats once more in government, the new teacher education retained some basic ideas from the LUT report of 1978. Hjelm-Wallén, who returned as education minister, had been influenced by public criticism, and adjustments and compromises were made (Swedish Government Bill (1984/85:122). Most importantly, the proposed single teacher category for grades 1–9 was replaced by two categories, for grades 1–7 and 4–9, more or less as the LR had proposed (Carle, 2000, p. 227).

Conflicts between the two unions did not disappear but were less pronounced when teacher education was totally reformed once more in 2001 by the Social

Democrats, as this reform did not entail a strict division, with completely different educations for different groups of student teachers.

The 2011 reform

When centre-right parties regained office in 2006, they initiated what in 2011 became yet another teacher education programme. The reform of 2011 was initiated by an official report from 2008. Compared to the reports preceding the reforms of 2001 and 1988, this downplayed the social responsibilities of teachers and schools, and ideas about a new role for teachers with alternative teaching methods. Instead, it emphasised subject knowledge and didactics. The ideal of a generalist teacher, who could follow students through large portions of comprehensive schooling, was abandoned. Instead, separate degrees for class teachers (grades 1–3 and 4–6) and subject teachers (grades 7–9 and upper-secondary school) returned. The report clearly stated that teaching pupils of different ages demanded different skills and knowledge sets, and were therefore different teacher specialisations (SOU, 2008:109).

A teachers' union dispute, almost as sharp as the conflicts in the 1970s and 1980s, followed. Again, age group specialisation caused the greatest conflict (Lilja, 2014). The LF (2009) response strongly opposed dividing student teachers into different degrees and specialisations. It saw teaching as one profession, regardless of the age of the pupils and argued for a single degree for all students in teacher education, with some specialisation. A division into several different degrees would counteract the development of the knowledge base and professionalisation of the teachers. Regarding subject knowledge, the LF pointed out that it must be more adapted to school practice.

Conversely, the LR, the union for subject teachers, was enthusiastic. It (2009) appreciated the reintroduction of a separation of class and subject teachers through different degrees, with different categories of teachers receiving more specialised education focused on the skills required to teach different age groups. As before, the LR advocated for traditional academic views that emphasised subject knowledge. The new form of teacher education commenced in 2011, with a design that followed the proposals from the official report.

By 2020, although the two unions still held differing opinions on teacher education, neither wanted an entirely new teacher education programme (LF, 2018). However, developments after the 2018 election highlighted the political desire for change in teacher education, and the Social Democrats, Green Party and both liberal parties agreed on the need for reform.

At the time of writing in the autumn of 2020, the official report and proposals have not been published, so how the unions react remains to be seen. It is clear that the two unions' actions and different views have contributed to repeated reforms of Swedish teacher education. Their conflicts have also revealed ideological differences, showing the strong tensions within the teaching culture concerning the importance of subject knowledge and, ultimately, the role of teachers. Such conflicts were handled differently in Finland, where teachers from different teacher cultures formulated common policies within a single union.

Finland: a single union arguing for flexibility

The 1970s and 1980s: formulating a common policy

After the 1962 Finish parliamentary decision to initiate comprehensive school reform, a struggle between folk- and grammar-school teachers over the control of lower-secondary schools ensued (Jumppanen, 1993). At this point, therefore, the Finnish political frontlines on education were similar to those in Sweden. However, in the early 1970s, several factors made Finnish teachers' unions willing to cooperate and merge. Experiments with radical school democracy created the fear that the radical student organisation Teiniliitto would dominate the schools if teachers remained divided (Kangasniemi, Hyttinen and Tanni, 2012, p. 44). Most importantly, changes in regulations made it impossible for unions under a certain size to negotiate wages, which encouraged the creation of larger unions (Hollstén, 2005, p. 33).

In order to function efficiently, the newly formed Finnish teachers' union, the OAJ, had to formulate a policy that resolved the ideological differences between different categories of teachers, as well as the potential conflict over grades 7–9. In a vision document, the OAJ (1975) emphasised that education should provide broad competencies. In order to secure employment for teachers, it was important that regulations allowed for flexible use of teachers, and it argued that in-service training should support that objective.

In Sweden, the LR and the LF, representing subject and class teachers, respectively, had fought a long-running battle for access to teaching positions in lower-secondary school. Since the OAJ represented both class and subject teachers, this did not happen in Finland. Instead, the OAJ (1975) wanted to connect preschool classes taught by class teachers to primary school, while moving grade 6 to lower-secondary school. This would have improved the employment situation for the OAJ's members at the expense of preschool teachers who were then represented by another union. The proposal was never implemented, but illustrates how resolving tensions between class and subject teachers could inspire new policy directions.

The OAJ (1975) also stressed the importance of monitoring teacher demand and regulating admission to teacher education programmes. Curtailed admission would shield the OAJ's members against competition from newly educated teachers. Until 1983, the OAJ yearbook stressed the importance of limiting the annual intake of student teachers. This position gradually softened until 1987, when rising numbers of unqualified class teachers led the OAJ to suggest increasing the admission of student teachers (OAJ, 1981–1987).

Finnish teacher education became university-based in 1974, and was elevated to a master's degree in 1979 (Vuorenpää, 2003, p. 106f, 121). Initially, the OAJ maintained that all teachers should have educations of similar length. However, upper-secondary school teachers demanded a half-year longer duration, and the OAJ reconsidered its position in 1977 (OAJ, 1976–1978, pp. 18, 19).

1989: the Commission for Development of Teacher Education

The report of the Commission for Development of Teacher Education (Opettajankoulutuksen kehittämistoimikunta, 1989:26, p. 75f), released in 1989, aimed at

renewing teacher education by bringing the education of class and subject teachers closer together, and increasing flexibility by allowing teachers to change teaching assignments after a short in-service training. The OAJ expressed a hope that the commission's suggestions would give teachers broader competency to teach at different stages, but stressed that the structure of the programme should not change and that its high academic level should be upheld (OAJ, 1989, p. 49; OAJ, 1988–1989, pp. 2–3). The commission aimed at making all teacher education four years long, but the OAJ reiterated its position that the length should be four to four-and-a-half years (OAJ, 1988–1989, p. 7). However, the economic crisis of the early 1990s interfered, and the reform did not take place (Vuorenpää, 2003, p. 172).

The 1990s: defending the profession against unwanted reforms

The recession in the early 1990s led to a review of public administration and regulation in Finland, in line with international trends of deregulation and decentralisation. The OAJ entered the crisis from a position of strength, as by now it organised virtually all Finnish educators, from primary-school teachers to university professors. A Ministry of Education working group report released in September 1991 attempted to unify, standardise, and harmonise regulations on the education of different kinds of teachers. The Committee of Teacher Eligibility tried to do the same for regulations on legally mandated teacher competency in different kinds of schools (Opettajien kelpoisuustoimikunta, 1991:31, p. 1; Vuorenpää, 2003, pp. 173–176).

In 1992, the Ministry of Education tried to reduce its expenditures by integrating its system of normal schools for teacher education into the municipal school system. Supported by the OAJ, the headteachers of normal schools initiated an intensive media campaign to oppose this. They approached politicians and even published a book that was given to all members of parliament (Vuorenpää, 2003, pp. 179–183).

In October 1992, the Ministry of Education assigned two working groups, one investigating how to end the status of normal schools as state schools, and the other on how universities could provide practical teacher training if normal schools were discontinued (Vuorenpää, 2003, pp. 184–187). In 1979, a working group within the OECD, an important initiator of New Public Management (NPM) reforms, had recommended that, in order to achieve change, it was necessary to focus on *how* change was to be achieved, not *if* there should be change in the first place (Yliaska, 2014, p. 105). The Finnish actors defending the normal schools countered this tactic effectively and reinstated 'if' into the question (Opetusministeriö, 1993b, p. 20; Vuorenpää, 2003, p. 187). They were eventually successful as the schools remained part of university organisation.

The crisis in the early 1990s incited debate on cutbacks in Finland's ambitious and expensive teacher education programme. Its long duration was criticised, both by politicians and within academia, since it was argued that a shorter course could achieve equal results. One idea was to make it part of the vocationally oriented Universities of Applied Sciences established around that time (Vuorenpää, 2003, p. 187). As the bachelor's degree was reintroduced in Finnish universities, it was suggested that this could be sufficient for class teachers.

The NPM trend in the 1990s steered away from management through regulations towards management by objectives. In the Finnish university sector, including in teacher education, evaluations became commonplace from the early 1990s. For example, a project for evaluation and follow-up of the exams in the pedagogical sector produced a preliminary report in 1993 and a final report in 1994 (Opetusministeriö, 1993a; Opetusministeriö, 1994). This led to the Finnish parliament passing an act on exams and teacher education in April 1995. However, the Board of Education and the Association of Finnish Municipalities considered it problematic that this act did not recognise holders of the new bachelor's degree in pedagogy as qualified to work as teachers. The Research Centre for Educational Sociology in Turku proposed lowering the standards for class teachers to a bachelor's degree, and for preschool teachers, to a certification from the Universities of Applied Sciences. A strong countermovement in the educational field, with the OAJ as a leading force, stressed the importance of teachers as education experts who needed a full academic education (Vuorenpää, 2003, p. 199f; Säntti, Puustinen and Salminen, 2018, pp. 11–13).

In its plans for 1993, the OAJ declared that it would safeguard the high academic level of teacher education, and indeed, work to elevate it further. The education of preschool teachers should be elevated to the university level, it argued, and training schools should remain in the university organisation and not be moved to the municipalities (OAJ, 1993). In spite of the challenges it faced, all of the OAJ's objectives were achieved.

In 1995, the bachelor's degree in pedagogy was reintroduced, and the exam for preschool teachers who, from the autumn of 1995, would be trained at universities, was also placed at that level. However, class teachers would still need a master's degree in pedagogy, and subject teachers, a master's degree in their main subject (Finlands författningssamling 576/1995). No major structural changes of teacher programmes were made, but it became easier for teachers to change educational tracks and jump between teaching in different types of schools and even in adult education. In this respect, the change was in accordance with the aims the OAJ had expressed since the 1970s.

The trend towards evaluations continued when the Council of Higher Education was replaced by the Council for Evaluation of Higher Education in 1996 (Jussila and Saari, 1999). Its recommendations for teacher education, i.e., increased flexibility, was in line with OAJ policies.

The 2000s

In a leaflet on teacher education, the OAJ (2000a) argued that the central factor behind Finland's success in the tech industry was its high level of education, which was guaranteed by competent and well-educated teachers. In making this argument, the OAJ aimed for all teachers to have a higher university degree, the competency requirements for employment as a teacher to at least be maintained, to strengthen the attractiveness of the teaching profession by raising its status and salary, and for teachers to be guaranteed in-service training and professional guidance.

In a 2001 response to a development plan for teacher education from the Ministry of Education, the OAJ claimed that it would be difficult to find a place in teacher education to prepare teachers to teach different age groups. Instead, they supported the idea that teachers should receive in-service training for specific needs in the schools in which they applied to work (OAJ, 2000b).

The OAJ complained that the teaching profession was not as highly valued as before, among other things because of the wage development. In addition, teacher education did not get the respect it deserved within the universities (OAJ, 2000–2002b). However, it can also be argued that, by then, Finnish teacher education and the teaching profession had entered an era of renewed appreciation, fuelled by success in international evaluations such as PISA. During the first decades of the 2000s, Finnish teacher education did not face any challenges similar to those experienced in the 1990s. This also meant that teacher education became less central to the OAJ's work. The OAJ's publications no longer suggested changes to teacher education, and merely provided information about the existing system (i.e., OAJ, 2010).

Conclusions

In Sweden and Finland, school systems were divided into parallel folk and grammar schools until the introduction of the comprehensive school. The teachers at these institutions had separate teachers' unions and separate forms of teacher education. Different teacher cultures emerged within these two unions, with divergent views on teacher education: the so-called 'seminary tradition' and the 'grammar-school tradition'. When the parallel systems were amalgamated through the comprehensive school reform, reforms to unify teacher education were carried out in both Sweden and Finland. In Finland, the unions representing folk- and grammar-school teachers were united into one. However, in Sweden, two separate unions have survived until this day and have engaged in a long-running battle about the design of teacher education. This struggle has divided not only the two unions but also the political field.

The LR, which emerged from grammar schools, advocated for academic ideals such as the importance of subject knowledge, while the LF emphasised the vocational, pedagogical and social parts of teacher education, reflecting its background in the folk-school tradition. In the lower grades, where most of its members taught, subject knowledge was less important compared to pedagogical and social issues than in secondary and upper secondary school. Thus, in Sweden, the historical differences between the two traditions constitute a living conflict in teacher culture today.

Besides their pedagogical and ideological differences, the two unions were also involved in a power struggle. The main battlefield for conflict was lower-secondary school, grades 7–9, which catered to students at the point where the two tracks of the parallel school systems had overlapped. The LR wanted to push the border between the different teacher categories down, to between grades 6 and 7, while the LF wanted to raise it up, to between grade 9 and the start of upper-secondary school. Both unions strived to extend their education ideology over as large a part of the education system as possible to ensure employment for their members and a future influx of new members to their respective unions.

Wiborg (2017) argues that the influence of Scandinavian teachers' unions and their progressive ideology on education policy declined from the 1990s onwards, both as a consequence of strengthened centre-right parties and a rightward shift within social democracy. However, she only focuses on the larger unions for subject teachers. In the Swedish case, opposing values, rooted in the academic teacher culture of the LR, have to be taken into account. A political loss for one teachers' union might be a win for the other, and was not necessarily a sign of a general decline in union influence.

In Finland, the OAJ came to represent both class teachers for younger children and subject teachers for older children. Therefore, the OAJ could not achieve net improvement in opportunities for its members simply by pushing the dividing line between teacher categories up or down. Instead, the OAJ argued for flexibility, making it easy for teachers with various educational backgrounds to find employment in different parts of the education system. It argued vigorously for in-service training to enable teachers to acquire the skills necessary for their particular place of work.

The fact that Finland had only one teachers' union might have facilitated a view of subject knowledge and general pedagogical skills as complementary rather than conflicting. The united teachers' union contributed to the comparatively stable development of the Finnish system of education, and of teacher education in particular. In Sweden, by contrast, conflicts between pedagogy and subject knowledge became institutionalised, since each perspective was backed by a union, and contributed to frequent reform of teacher education.

Thus, our study reveals that teachers' unions are crucial for the development of teacher education, a factor that has been overlooked in earlier research, which has focused mainly on political actors. When analysing the polarising political conflicts over Swedish education policies since the 1970s, it is important to take into consideration that each of the country's two political blocs found an ally among the teachers' unions: the LF has generally backed the Social Democrats, while the LR has favoured the policies of the centre-right. This has contributed to the fast-turning wheel of reforms, with teacher education reconstructed with every change of government.

Moe (2017) has argued that strong teachers' unions undermine performance since they can effectively obstruct political reforms, and that the Finnish exception probably is a function of the high quality of its teachers. However, a comparison between Sweden and Finland suggests that rapid reforms, with frequent shifts in pedagogical principles, might also erode the quality of education, and that a strong teachers' union can shield the school system from such disturbances. It is likely that in Finland, the OAJ has facilitated the recruitment of high-quality teachers by creating an attractive, undisturbed work environment, and by successfully defending master's level teacher education.

Note

1 Throughout the chapter, we use LF for *Lärarförbundet* (established in 1991) and for its predecessor, *Svenska lärarförbundet*. LR is used for for *Lärarnas Riksförbund*.

References

Carle, T. (2000) *Lärarnas riksförbund 1884-2000: ett stycke svensk skolhistoria ur fackligt perspektiv*. Stockholm: Informationsförlaget.

Finlands författningssamling (576/1995), Förordning om examina och lärarutbildning på det pedagogiska området.

Furuhagen, B. and Holmén, J. (2017) 'From seminar to university: dismantling an old and constructing a new teacher education in Finland and Sweden, 1946–1979', *Nordic Journal of Educational History* 4(1), pp. 53–81. doi: 10.36368/njedh.v4i1.87.

Furuhagen, B., Holmén, J. and Säntti, J. (2019) 'The ideal teacher: orientations of teacher education in Sweden and Finland after the Second World War', *History of Education* 48(6), pp. 784–805. doi: 10.1080/0046760X.2019.1606945.

Hagemann, G. (1992) *Skolefolk. Laerernes historie i Norge*. Oslo: Gyldendal.

Hollstén, L. (2005) *Verket går vidare*. Helsingfors: FSL.

Jumppanen, L. (1993) *Kuka oli kelvollinen opettamaan 11- ja 12-vuotiaita: tutkimus oppikoulun opettajien ja kansakoulunopettajien edunvalvonnasta ja sen tuloksellisuudesta Suomen koululaitoksen uudistuksen yhteydessä kouluohjelmakomitean mietinnöstä 1959 vuoden 1985 koululakeihin*. Turku: Turun yliopisto.

Jussila, J. and Saari, S. (eds.) (1999) *Opettajankoulutus tulevaisuuden tekijänä*. Helsinki: Edita.

Kangasniemi, E. Hyttinen, T. and Tanni, K. (2012) *OAJ – vahva vaikuttaja*. Helsinki: Bränn & Bränn.

Lappalainen, A. (1998) *Elämäntyönä tulevaisuus. Opetusalan Ammattijärjestön juuret, synty ja kasvu*. Helsinki: Otava.

Lärarförbundet (LF) (1965) *Lärarutbildningen. Yttrande över 1960 års lärarutbildningssakkunnigas betänkande angående den framtida lärarutbildningen*. Stockholm: Sveriges lärarförbund/ Sveriges småskollärarförbund.

Lärarförbundet (LF) (1972) *Sveriges Lärarförbund till Statsrådet och Chefen för utbildningsdepartementet*, 1972.01.11 TAM, B8a vol 2. Stockholm: Sveriges lärarförbund.

Lärarförbundet (LF) (1979) *SL om lärarutbildningen: Sveriges lärarförbunds remissyttrande över 'Lärare för skola i utveckling', betänkande av 1974 års lärarutbildningsutredning – LUT 74*. Stockholm: Sveriges lärarförbund.

Lärarförbundet (LF) (2009) *En hållbar lärarutbildning och yrkeskunnande en likvärdig sökväg mot yrkesämnen, yttrande*, Lärarförbundet 21.3.2009, dnr 082295. Stockholm: Sveriges lärarförbund.

Lärarförbundet (LF) (2018) *Lärarförbundets politik för lärarutbildningen*. Stockholm: Sveriges Lärarförbund. Available at: https://www.lararforbundet.se/artiklar/lararforbundets-politik-for-lararutbildningarna (Accessed: 13 May 2021).

Lärarnas Riksförbund (LR) (1965) *Lärarnas riksförbund yttrande över lärarutbildningssakkunnigas betänkande "Lärarutbildningen"*, 1965.09.30, Riksarkivet, Ecklesiastikdepartementet/ Konseljakter 3.1.1967/Prop. 4/Volym 4:13. Stockholm: Lärarnas riksförbund.

Lärarnas Riksförbund (LR) (1972–1974) *Till Statsrådet och Chefen för Utbildningsdepartementet, 1972.02.11. Till Utbildningsutskottet utbildningsdepartementet, 1972.02.15, Till Kungl. Maj:t Utbildningsdepartementet 1974.04.26 (LR Ö1a:26)*. Stockholm: Lärarnas riksförbund.

Lärarnas Riksförbund (LR) (1979) *Lärarutbildning för kunskaper och omsorg. Lärarnas riksförbunds remissyttrande över förslag från 1974 år lärarutbildningsutredning*. Stockholm: Lärarnas riksförbund.

Lärarnas Riksförbund (LR) (2009) *Lärarnas riksförbunds synpunkter på betänkandet en hållbar lärarutbildning*, 2009.03.23, Dnr 003/09. Stockholm: Lärarnas riksförbund.

Lilja, P. (2014) 'The politics of teacher professionalism: intraprofessional boundary work in Swedish teachers union policy', *Policy Futures in Education* 12(4), pp. 500–512. doi: 10.2304/pfie.2014.12.4.500.

Lunde, I. (1993) 'Lärarutbildningen', in Johansson, K. and Fredriksson, U. (eds.) *Sveriges lärarförbund 1967–1990*. Stockholm: Lärarförbundet.

Moe, T.M. (2017) '*The comparative politics of education: teachers unions and education systems around the world*', in Moe, T.M. and Wiborg, S. (eds.) *The comparative politics of education: teachers unions and education systems around the world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 269–324.

Moe, T.M. and Wiborg, S. (2017) 'Introduction', in Moe, T.M. and Wiborg, S. (eds.) *The comparative politics of education: teachers unions and education systems around the world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1–23.

Nilsson-Lindström, M. and Beach, D. (2013) 'The professionalization of the field of education in Sweden: a historical analysis', *Professions and Professionalism* 3(2), pp. 560–577. doi: 10.7577/pp.560.

Nilsson-Lindström, M. and Beach, D. (2015) 'Changes in teacher education in Sweden in the neo-liberal education age: toward an occupation in itself or a profession for itself?', *Education Inquiry* 6(1), pp. 241–258. doi: 10.3402/edui.v6.27020.

Opettajankoulutuksen kehittämistoimikunta (1989:26) *Kehittyvä opettajankoulutus. Opettajankoulutuksen kehittämistoimikunnan mietintö*. Helsinki: Opetusministeriö.

Opettajien Ammattijärjestö (OAJ) (1975) *Kouluasiaintoimikunta Pöytäkirja 2/1975, Liite 2*. Helsinki: OAJ.

Opettajien Ammattijärjestö (OAJ) (1976–1978) *Kouluasiaintoimikunta Pöytäkirjat*. Helsinki: OAJ.

Opettajien Ammattijärjestö (OAJ) (1981–1987) *Vuosikertomus*. Helsinki: OAJ.

Opettajien Ammattijärjestö (OAJ) (1988–1989) *Koulutuspoliittinen toimikunta 1988–1989 II*, Lausunto 1989:26. Helsinki: OAJ.

Opettajien Ammattijärjestö (OAJ) (1989) *Vuosikertomus*. Helsinki: OAJ.

Opettajien Ammattijärjestö (OAJ) (1993) *Valtuustopöytäkirja 1994, OAJn toimintasuunnitelma 1993*. Helsinki: OAJ.

Opettajien Ammattijärjestö (OAJ) (2000a) *Opettajankoulutustyöryhmä, Opettajankoulutus Suomessa*. Helsinki: OAJ.

Opettajien Ammattijärjestö (OAJ) (2000b) *Koulutuspoliittinen toimikunta 2000–2002*, 8, Lausunto: Kehittyvä opettajankoulutus (13.3.2001). Helsinki: OAJ.

Opettajien Ammattijärjestö (OAJ) (2010) *Opettajankoulutus Suomessa*. Helsinki: OAJ. Available at: http://www.oaj.fi/cs/oaj/Julkaisut,OAJ_OPETTKOULUTUS_10_WEB.pdf.

Opettajien kelpoisuustoimikunta (1991:31) *Opettajien kelpoisuustoimikunnan mietintö*. Helsinki: Opetusministeriö.

Opetusministeriö (1993a) *Kasvatustieteellisen alan tutkintojen arviointi- ja kehittämisprojektin väliraportti*. Helsinki: Opetusministeriö.

Opetusministeriö (1993b:20) *Opettajankoulutuksen pedagogisten opintojen kehittämistyöryhmän muistio*. Helsinki: Opetusministeriö.

Opetusministeriö (1994) *Kasvatusala kohti tulevaisuutta: kasvatustieteellisen alan tutkintojen arviointi- ja kehittämisprojekti*. Helsinki: Opetusministeriö.

Rainio-Niemi, J. (2010) 'State committees in Finland in historical comparative perspective', in Alapuro, I.R. and Stenius, H. (eds.) *Nordic associations in a European perspective*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, pp. 241–268.

Ringarp, J. and Parding, K. (2018) 'I otakt med tiden? Lärarprofessionens ställning sett via lärarutbildningens utveckling i Sverige, 1962–2015', in Buchardt, M., Larsen, J.E. and Baden Staffensen, K. (eds.) *Uddannelsehistorie 2017, Professionerne og deres uddannelser*. Copenhagen: Selskabet for Skole- och Uddannelsehistorie.

Säntti, J., Puustinen, M. and Salminen, J. (2018) 'Theory and practice in Finnish teacher education: a rhetorical analysis of changing values from the 1960s to the present day', *Teachers and Teaching* 24(1), pp. 5–21. doi: 10.1080/13540602.2017.1379387.

Schyllerkvist, U. (1993) 'Från LUT 74 till parallellutbildningen 1992. Förskjutningar av tänkandet om utbildning av lärare för grundskolan', in Ullström, S.O. (ed.) *Lärarutbildning i en föränderlig omvärld. Karlstad 1843–1993*. Karlstad: Högskolan i Karlstad.

Simola, H. (2005) 'The Finnish miracle of PISA: historical and sociological remarks on teaching and teacher education', *Comparative Education* 41(4), pp. 455–470. doi: 10.1080/03050060500317810.

Sjöberg, L. (2010a) 'Same same, but different: en genealogisk studie av den "goda läraren", den "goda eleven" och den "goda skolan" i svenska lärarutbildningsreformer 1940–2008', *EDUCARE* 1, pp. 73–99.

Sjöberg, L. (2010b) 'Lärarprofessionalitet på glid. Performativ förskjutning av statlig lärarfacklig utbildningspolicy', *Pedagogisk Forskning i Sverige* 20, pp. 18–32.

SOU (1965:29) *Lärarutbildningen*, 1960 års lärarutbildningssakkunniga. Stockholm: Ecklesiastikdepartementet.

SOU (1978:86) *Lärare för skola i utveckling*, Sverige 1974 års lärarutbildningsutredning. Stockholm: LiberFörlag/Allmänna förl.

SOU (2008:19) *En hållbar lärarutbildning*, Sverige Utredningen om en ny lärarutbildning. Stockholm: Fritze.

Stenlås, N. (2009) *En kår i kläm. Läraryrket mellan professionella ideal och statliga reformidelogier*. Stockholm: Finansdepartementet.

Swedish Government Bill (1984/85:122) *Om lärarutbildning för grundskolan mm*. Stockholm: Regeringen.

Utdanningsforbundet (2010) 'Union of education Norway'. Available at: https://www.utdanningsforbundet.no/om-utdanningsforbundet/english/ (Accessed 8 April 2019).

Vuorenpää, J. (2003) *Yliopistollisen opettajankoulutuksen kehittyminen Suomessa 1970-luvulta 2000-luvulle*. Turku: Turku University.

Wiborg, S. (2017) 'Teacher unions in the Nordic countries: solidarity and the politics of self-interest', in Moe, T.M. and Wiborg, S. (eds.) *The comparative politics of education: teachers unions and education systems around the world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 144–191.

Yliaska, V. (2014) *Tehokkuuden toiveuni: Uuden julkisjohtamisen historia Suomessa 1970-luvulta 1990-luvulle*. Helsinki: Into.

Part III

Nordic variations on teacher professionalism

10 Elitist tradition and democratic reform

Norwegian and Danish upper-secondary teacher cultures in transition, 1960–1994

Lars Erik Larsen and Fredrik W. Thue

Across the Western world, in the period following the Second World War, an increasing number of students sought secondary education. The idea of mass education as an important political measure for societal and economic development emerged concurrently. At this time, Nordic upper-secondary schools came under scrutiny, juxtaposed between their inherent identity as selective academic elite schools and new demands for democratic mass education. Their future structure and content became hotly debated, both within governments and among teachers, pupils, and the general public. These tensions would gradually lead to a transformation of continental-style gymnasiums into more inclusive, democratic upper-secondary schools, integrated into a comprehensive national educational system.[1]

However, this transformation did not follow a common trajectory in all Nordic countries. This chapter compares the shifts within upper-secondary education in Denmark and Norway, two countries which have had strikingly similar upper-secondary-school systems and related teacher cultures, due to their union before 1814 and continuous cultural and intellectual affiliations thereafter. Nevertheless, the democratisation of upper-secondary education took rather different paths in the two countries. In this chapter, we will concentrate our analysis on the cultures of gymnasium teachers in Denmark and Norway and the different degrees to which these schools were transformed and integrated into a comprehensive national scheme of mass education.

Studies have pointed to the close relationship between professions and the state in continental Europe and Scandinavia, in contrast to the Anglo-American tradition of self-organising professions providing services in a market. Since the nineteenth century, the state has played an active and often decisive part in the construction of the professions, and processes of professionalisation have occurred in cycles of state intervention from above, alternating with periods of greater self-management from within the profession (Siegrist, 1990). One way of examining the relations between the state and upper-secondary teachers is to look at how the state constructed and reformed the mandate of this profession in policy documents and reforms from the late 1950s onward. These teachers have traditionally been active in various deliberative bodies with advisory and decision-making functions in educational governance, such as expert councils, teacher councils, school-subject associations,[2] and professional organisations.

DOI: 10.4324/9781003082514-14

In this chapter, we ask: how similar or different were the two countries' gymnasiums and their teacher cultures when they passed the threshold of mass education in the early 1960s? What part did the upper-secondary teachers themselves play in the transformation of their schools in Denmark and Norway? What consequences did the reforms have for their professional autonomy and status? Finally, what can explain the differences in the developments between the two neighbouring countries?

In what follows, we will first present some historical preconditions and distinctive features of Danish and Norwegian gymnasiums, their respective teacher cultures, and modes of cooperation between the state and the profession of gymnasium teachers. We will then look more closely into the two countries' upper-secondary educational reform processes with special emphasis on the 1960s to the early 1970s, and the 1990s. Finally, we will discuss some key determinants of differences between the Danish and Norwegian trajectories.

Cast in the same mould: the birth of the modern gymnasium

Norway was under the Danish crown until 1814, and the early development of the modern gymnasium in the two countries was closely associated. In 1809, the Latin schools of both parts of the realm became subject to a neo-humanistic reform which provided the basis for these schools until 1850 in Denmark, when a modernised general curriculum was introduced, and 1869 in Norway (Høigård, Ruge and Hansen, 1971, p. 60). Educational reforms in the two countries continued to influence each other through the nineteenth century. An alternative study programme with natural sciences and living languages was introduced alongside the classical languages programme (Norway 1869, Denmark 1871). Around the turn of the century, both countries developed more coherent and adjoined primary- and secondary-school systems (Norway 1896, Denmark 1903), which gave a growing, but still strongly selected, group of pupils the opportunity for academic studies.

A common characteristic of the secondary-school reforms of 1896 in Norway and 1903 in Denmark was the further reduction in the importance of classical languages which had been the centrepiece of the Latin school. Modern languages and the natural sciences now overshadowed the classical languages in the curricula of both countries, but to differing degrees. In Norway, a strong national sentiment and the introduction, in 1884, of parliamentary democracy delegitimised the privileged position of Latin as the hallmark of the gymnasium (Høydal, 2007, p. 15). An emphasis on democratisation and cultural nation-building propelled the move from the classical heritage toward modern languages, national culture, and natural science as the curricular core of the gymnasium (Lindbekk, 1962).

In Denmark, the breach with the Latin-school tradition was less absolute. The classical languages programme continued, albeit in a somewhat reduced form, alongside the natural sciences programme and a new modern languages programme. Latin remained mandatory even within the modern languages programme, and in the natural sciences programme, ancient history and culture (*oldtidskundskab*) replaced Latin as a compulsory subject. Hence, while the 1903 reform reduced the total number of lessons in Latin, all students were now introduced to the classical world as part of their study programme (Bryld et al., 1990, p. 33).

Shades of exclusivity: gymnasiums and teacher cultures before 1960

In both Denmark and Norway, the gymnasium remained an exclusive institution for the selected few up until the post-war reforms. In 1900, less than 1% of Danish and Norwegian youth attended these schools (Nepper-Christensen, 1998). Until around 1930, both countries saw a rather slow increase in upper-secondary schooling, which reflected the growing influx of female students as well as a gradual expansion of private and municipal gymnasiums in suburbs and smaller towns. From the 1930s, however, Norway exhibited steeper growth than Denmark in upper-secondary education. This increased further during and immediately after the Second World War. By 1945, more than 10% of Norwegian youth took the *examen artium* qualifying them for university entrance, as against less than 5% of their Danish peers (St.meld.nr.45, 1950, pp. 38–39). Although Norway's upper-secondary-school attendance decreased somewhat in the following years, it remained higher than in Denmark. While slightly more than a tenth of Danish youth attended gymnasium by the mid-1960s, the corresponding Norwegian share was by then rapidly approaching one-fifth (Aamodt, 1982, p. 81; Nepper-Christensen, 1998, p. 17). This difference is all the more striking as Denmark was a more urbanised and densely populated country, with much lower geographical barriers to secondary schooling.

An adequate explanation of this difference in upper-secondary-school attendance would require careful analyses of detailed, comparable educational statistics, and would go beyond the scope of this chapter. For our purpose, it suffices to maintain that the Norwegian upper-secondary school had gradually assumed a less exclusive character without breaking decisively with the continental-European model. By contrast, its Danish counterpart remained more of a continental-style gymnasium, with an exclusive student body and remnants of a classical curriculum. Thus, by 1961, less than 10% of Danish gymnasium graduates came from the working class, as against one-fourth in Norway by 1963 (Aamodt, 1982, p. 79; Hansen, 1997, p. 11).

However, the question remains: to what extent were the curricular and social differences between the two countries' gymnasiums paralleled by differences in their respective teacher cultures?

Danish and Norwegian upper-secondary teachers were in many ways strikingly akin. Both defined themselves in contradistinction to the seminary-trained elementary-school teachers, who, on their side, saw gymnasium teachers as representatives of an outdated elitist and intellectualist educational ideology. The opposition between the two teacher cultures, while also noticeable in Norway, was particularly strongly articulated in Denmark, due to the Grundtvigian hegemony in teacher seminaries (see Chapters 1 and 2) as well as a slightly more exclusive academic culture.

The marked schism vis-à-vis elementary-school teachers accentuated university education as the defining core of the professional and cultural identity of gymnasium teachers. Like their Swedish, German, or French colleagues, they were trained as academic scholars and defined themselves as such, and a substantial minority

continued to perform various forms of scholarship besides their daily schoolwork. Spread thinly across towns and local communities, they formed part of local cultural elites and disseminated their knowledge to wider publics. They thus found themselves in an intermediary position between the exclusive world of academic scholarship and the communitarian ethos of primary-school teachers.

However, while the German *Studienrat*, imbued with classic philology and a neo-humanistic ideology of *Bildung*, has been portrayed as the incarnation of the anti-modern 'German mandarin' (Ringer, 1969), Danish and Norwegian gymnasium teachers were deeply influenced by the so-called modern breakthrough of the late nineteenth century, which replaced the old synthesis of religion, classicism, and scholarship with a positivist ideal of specialised research. This new research ideology accentuated the cultural value of the natural sciences while also transforming the humanities as scientific disciplines and means of general education (P.O. Larsen, 2015b; Lynning, 2007). The gymnasium-teacher cultures of Denmark and Norway became characterised by an enduring tension between this new, science-oriented, cultural creed and an older, classicist idealism.

There is unfortunately a lack of comparable historical data on the sociocultural profiles of Danish and Norwegian gymnasium teachers. In Norway, gymnasium teachers were more democratically recruited – and had higher marks at *examen artium* – than most other academic professionals (Myhre, 2011, pp. 145, 176f). More candidates in the sciences and humanities were children of farmers and teachers, and fewer of wealthy businessmen, than in law and medicine. This seems to have held true in Denmark as well. However, the cultural implications of a rural/farming background may not have been quite the same in the two countries. In Norway, a number of regional, rural gymnasiums (*landsgymnas*) were introduced during the first half of the twentieth century, offering gifted young people in the countryside an education with special emphasis on national cultural heritage, New Norwegian (*nynorsk*), and Old Norse (Høydal, 2003). The *nynorsk* cultural and linguistic movement made up an important recruitment base as well as a cultural frame of reference for many gymnasium teachers, who were particularly attracted to the study of Norwegian language and literature – a core subject of the gymnasium (Lindbekk, 1968, pp. 20f).

Politically, Norwegian gymnasium teachers generally turned towards the left during the first half of the twentieth century. By 1950, they were markedly more left-leaning than most other professional groups. While support for the conservative party was at about the same level among these teachers as in the general public (i.e. below 20%), a third voted for the governing Labour Party, and a strongly disproportional share supported the liberal-progressive party *Venstre*, which had traditionally been the elementary-school teachers' party *par excellence* in Norway (Lindbekk, 1968, pp. 15f).

We have not been able to find comparable data on Danish upper-secondary teachers, but their political profile might not have been all that different. In terms of sociocultural identity, however, there is reason to believe that they had a somewhat stronger upper-middle-class profile than their Norwegian colleagues. Danish society had a more pervasive class structure than the more rural, regionally diverse Norway, and its educated upper-middle classes seem to have had greater hegemony in high culture and higher learning, and more capacity to assimilate newcomers.[3]

The teaching profession and the state: cooperation, control, and co-determination

During the 1950s, the Danish and Norwegian upper-secondary teaching profession exerted a high degree of control of the gymnasium's curriculum, exams, and academic standards through their affiliation with the state administration. Their well-functioning professional organisations provided forums for debate and direct influence on school development.

The Latin schools in Denmark had, since 1848, been supervised and controlled by a central, autonomous governing agency, *Undervisningsinspektionen*. The agency was initially made up of university professors, but from 1906 onwards, it was staffed with representatives of the teaching profession itself. Apart from its supervision of the gymnasiums and their teachers, it was mandated to supervise the new practical-pedagogical education, the *Pædagogicum*. The inspectorate was formally affiliated with the state and its leader had the status of a senior civil servant. In 1963, it was superseded by a directorate (Haue, Nørr and Skovgaard-Petersen, 1998, pp. 200–202). In Norway, a teaching council, *Undervisningsrådet*, established in 1898 and comprising representatives of the profession, was mandated to supervise gymnasiums and their exams. Relatively independent expert councils outside of the Ministry of Education's direct control became a characteristic part of the national governance of education (Sirevåg, 1981; Telhaug and Korsvold, 1989).

Danish and Norwegian gymnasium teachers established their own organisations in 1890 and 1892, respectively, to promote their professional status and autonomy. Most of their collegial pedagogical and didactic debates, however, took place within sub-associations for specific school subjects. In Denmark, subject-specific associations were established already in 1885, five years before the professional organisation *Gymnasieskolernes Lærerforening* (GL). Autonomous and self-governed, these associations were affiliated with the GL and provided pedagogical expertise in matters of educational policy. In Norway, school-subject associations were less autonomous and became organised long after the professional organisation, *Filologenes og realistenes landsforening*. The immediate context was the public debate and government initiatives on secondary-school reform in the 1920s and 1930s. Much like in Denmark, the formation of subject-specific associations was a bottom-up initiative, though enthusiastically supported by the professional organisation (Kristiansen, 1992, p. 78).

After the Second World War, gymnasium teachers in both Denmark and Norway saw a need for curricular reform. In general, they wanted to preserve the gymnasium as a school for the select few. But many reform-oriented teachers were eager to update and invigorate the gymnasium as a provider of general education in its own right. The intent was to cultivate the elite of a democratic society: an elite *of* and *for* the people, recruited from all walks of life. However, the political and cultural situation, and the dynamics of educational reform in the two countries, would lead to unequal opportunities for pursuing curricular reforms from within.

The social-democratic push for unified schooling

The social-democratic model of governance became a well-known feature of Nordic societies in the post-war era, but to different degrees and with divergent outcomes for the secondary-school systems of Norway and Denmark. In Norway, post-war educational reform was shaped by 20 years of majority rule by the social-democratic Labour party (1945–1965). Heavily influenced by the passage of a unified primary and lower-secondary educational system in the Swedish parliament in 1950, Norwegian Labour party officials devised a grand scheme for an extended and more democratic system of education, leading to a series of government-appointed committees reviewing all levels of the educational system (Helsvig, 2017). By the early 1960s, policymakers' view of the gymnasium was changing: previously they had focused on providing equal opportunities for all *gifted* youth to attend upper-secondary school irrespective of geography and social class, thereby accepting its exclusive character on strictly meritocratic principles. Now, they emphasised the need for a radical expansion of secondary education in theoretical and vocational branches alike. While part of an international trend, the new policy was also conditioned by the post-war social-democratic hegemony and long traditions of democratic educational reform in Norway.

In Denmark, social-democratic reform ideas of unified schooling were less dominant, and the reform process caused less controversy. The Danish Social Democratic party was less hegemonic than its Norwegian and Swedish sister parties, and did not continuously control the government for decades. From 1957 to 1964, it governed in coalition with the left-liberal *Radikale Venstre*, a party known for its special attraction for teachers. This left more scope for liberal as well as conservative influences on educational policies (Wiborg, 2008).

The ambition to unify secondary education first became prevalent, and met resistance, within vocational studies. In Denmark, these studies had maintained more of their guild traditions than in Norway, with an apprenticeship system as their foundation and strong school-subject associations. In the 1960s, a coalition of employers and trade unions saw the importance of maintaining close relations between apprenticeship and employment, and resisted the academic drift of vocational training. This resistance constrained Social Democratic ambitions to establish a unified upper-secondary-school system (Jørgensen, 2018, p. 174).

In Norway, a weaker apprenticeship system and less cooperation with employers made vocational studies more susceptible to state-driven reforms. Within a few decades, vocational training was transformed from traditional apprenticeships, via part-time schooling, to new, full-time vocational schools. Vocational teachers were too poorly organised to effectively resist the pressure to reform (Grove and Michelsen, 2005, pp. 106, 406). However, they joined forces with the secondary-school teachers' organisation (*Norsk lektorlag*, NL) in resisting combined upper-secondary schools, and like their Danish colleagues, were wary of the quality of craftsmanship in an increasingly academic, less practically oriented, vocational training (Grove and Michelsen, 2005, p. 190).

The Norwegian trajectory: towards a comprehensive upper-secondary school

In Norway, the social-democratic project of unified schooling was strongly supported by primary teachers, who were eager to bridge the gap between primary and secondary school and their distinct teacher cultures (Helsvig, 2017, pp. 87–89).

Norwegian primary-school teachers had traditionally owed much of their respect and autonomy to their position as role models and leaders within the local community, rather than to their professional expertise (Lauglo, 1995, p. 268). They had also been active in national politics, where they had strongly supported the development of a unified, comprehensive national school system. Through their alliance with social-democratic policymakers, they largely outplayed the secondary-school teachers, and the once-sharp demarcation between the primary- and secondary-school traditions became increasingly blurred.

Primary-school reforms in 1959 did not include reform of the gymnasium, and the NL, representing secondary-school teachers, regarded it as something of a *fait accompli* since it had not been involved (Kristiansen, 1992; Telhaug and Mediås, 2003). The reform of the whole school sector in the 1960s was driven by the transformation of the lower-secondary school, setting the premises and creating path dependence for the upcoming gymnasium reform. Acknowledging its lost influence over primary- and lower-secondary-school reform, the NL presented a report in 1962 in an attempt to set the terms for a debate on gymnasium reform. Partly influenced by the Danish reform four years earlier, the report strongly emphasised the gymnasium's function as a university-preparatory school and expressed concerns about the consequences of the planned comprehensive lower-secondary school. NL feared that students' performance levels would be degraded, and proposed instead the addition of a fourth gymnasium year for students aspiring to university studies (Norsk Lektorlag, 1962).

In the very same year, however, when the Labour government appointed a committee to prepare a reform of upper-secondary education, it mandated the committee to revise all branches of secondary education – vocational, semi-academic, and academic – and to focus specifically on a common core curriculum.[4] The aim was to transform the gymnasium from an exclusive, elitist university-preparatory school to one element of an expansive, increasingly specialised educational system (Tilråding om reform av gymnaset, 1967, pp. 38–39). The ongoing Swedish reform of upper-secondary education was a source of inspiration but was not as directly emulated as with the comprehensive lower-secondary school. The committee proposed a general reduction of lesson hours, combined with new, progressive teaching methods that projected a more independent, self-instructing student, thereby transforming the teacher into more of a facilitator and motivator. Planning for unified upper-secondary schooling continued undisturbed with the Steen committee, appointed by the Labour government in 1965, and underwent only minor revisions under the new centre-right government which took power later that year.

Following the release of the two committees' recommendations, NL raised concerns about the increased emphasis on pedagogy and psychology at the expense of school subjects in teacher education, and the possible levelling down of the

gymnasium's academic standards (Kristiansen, 1992, pp. 226–227). While welcoming the new student-centred pedagogical ideas, most gymnasium teachers opposed the integration of vocational studies and other measures that would undermine the gymnasium's selective and university-preparatory functions (Lauglo, 1971, p. 279). However, theirs was a losing battle: while the gymnasium maintained, for a while, remnants of the old academic culture in everyday subject teaching, its function and identity within the educational system were irrevocably changed. From an elitist university-preparatory school, it became one branch of a comprehensive, increasingly universal upper-secondary school, preparing its students for a broad range of tertiary educations and vocations.

The Danish trajectory the gymnasium sustained, relieved by alternatives

While Norwegian gymnasium teachers were losing their position as scholarly experts in the national school system, their Danish colleagues retained an elite position in society. Danish gymnasiums upheld a distinctly academic profile, with classical studies remaining a substantial part of the curriculum. Here, upper-secondary teachers largely succeeded in preserving much of the continental-style gymnasium tradition *within* a democratised national educational system. The increasing demand for secondary schooling and access to higher education was met chiefly by establishing new educational alternatives alongside the gymnasium, rather than by radically transforming the gymnasium itself.

In 1958, Denmark introduced reforms of both primary and secondary education, driven by a reform of the lower-secondary school (*realskolen*). The reform of the gymnasium, however, was minor, aiming at striking a better balance between its twin functions as a preparation for academic studies and a general education in its own right, by increasing students' freedom of choice of subjects and courses, including in the new social sciences (Læseplansudvalg for gymnasiet, 1960, p. 29). The profession-led committee introduced a more dynamic 'branch gymnasium' which put greater emphasis on student-centred pedagogical methods (Læseplansudvalg for gymnasiet, 1960).[5] This reform paralleled and reciprocated the reform of primary education, which gave gymnasium teachers the opportunity to participate in the reformation of the whole educational system during the 1960s and the decades to come.

In 1966 a new upper-secondary track was introduced, the so-called 'higher preparatory exam' (*højere forberedelseseksamen*, hf). Its primary function was to prepare students for semi-academic studies such as nursing, engineering, and primary-school teaching. While originally intended to be affiliated with the teacher seminaries, these courses were largely hosted by gymnasiums in their formative phase. The professional interests of primary- and secondary-school teachers came together in this innovation: The primary teachers' union (*Danmarks lærerforening*) saw the affiliation with the gymnasiums as a means of raising the status of teacher-training seminaries and the teaching profession. Upper-secondary teachers could appear as proactive school reformers to both the government and the public, while continuing their role as elite scholarly experts, defending the academic tradition

(Bryld et al., 1990, p. 103). In 1972, the higher commercial examination programme was upgraded to a university entrance examination, followed, in 1982, by the higher technical examination programme.

By the end of the 1960s, Norway had implemented nine-year comprehensive schooling for children aged 7–16. Denmark was reviewing the question, but its gymnasium had consolidated its position as a relatively elitist institution and retained most of its distinctive characteristics.

The new gymnasium of the 1970s: political drives and professional co-determination

From the late 1960s, Norwegian and Danish societies both went through a period of political and social confrontation. Education was intensely debated, from the primary level to the universities. Gymnasiums in both countries were criticised as elitist and authoritarian institutions, maintaining social inequality, and wasting the nation's intellectual resources (Ahm, 1966; Haaland, 1966; Hambro, 1966; Westergaard, 1965). In Denmark, advocates for a unified educational system proposed a major reform of all education for 16–19-year-olds (Haue, 2003, pp. 227–228). In Norway, a decade of debate and vigorous government initiatives paved the way for a new reform of upper-secondary schools in 1974. The national EEC referendum in 1972, and changing parliamentary constellations, had paused the reform process, but finally, the far-reaching so-called Reform 74 was enacted with broad parliamentary support. The gymnasium became only one of several study programmes in a new, comprehensive secondary-school system called *videregående skole*. Combined schools, offering both vocational and academic study programmes under the same roof, now became the preferred model (Bjørndal, 2005, pp. 142–144). The traditional final exam which provided students with academic credentials, the *examen artium*, was abolished, and the total number of lessons reduced.

In the late 1960s, a major reform of the Danish gymnasium was also discussed and outlined. Support for unifying the different branches of secondary education was widespread, resulting in the 1973 report popularly known as the Højby Proposition, which aimed at a more flexible curriculum and a common frame of knowledge and competence (Haue, Nørr and Skovgaard-Petersen, 1998, p. 299). The reform was halted, however, because of its estimated cost and the recession that followed the 1973 oil crisis. The reduced scheme that was implemented was nicknamed 'the minor reform'. It concentrated on the curricular content of the gymnasium and was met not only with support but also with criticism within the profession (Bryld et al., 1990, p. 117).

The GL, the Danish teachers' professional association, would play a vital part in the curriculum reform of the gymnasiums. In 1962 it coordinated the pedagogical and didactic efforts of the school-subject associations and unified them into one coordinating council (*Pædagogisk Samarbejdsudvalg*, PS). The PS became the epicentre of pedagogical and didactic debate within the profession in the process of preparing and implementing the minor reform. It functioned as a link between the profession and the state, informing and influencing both the GL and national policy (Bryld et al., 1990, p. 160). The PS and the school-subject associations

thereby consolidated their position as an autonomous, dynamic arena for debate within the profession, and a freestanding organisational pillar of the profession alongside the GL.

In Norway, Reform 74 maintained the close affiliation between the teaching profession and the state through a new council for secondary education (*Rådet for videregående opplæring*, RVO). Its members were recruited from within the profession. They oversaw the administration and pedagogical development of their specific fields of expertise and were in close contact with upper-secondary teachers and schools (L.E. Larsen, 2015a). While the council's mandate was gradually weakened from the late 1970s, debate and commitment within the local teacher councils seem to have increased, reaching a peak in the 1970s and 1980s. NL experienced a steady increase in pedagogical and didactic initiative and enthusiasm among its members, largely channelled through the various school-subject associations. By the 1980s, however, the organisation increasingly mirrored the structure of Reform 74 with a steady influx of new member groups, especially from lower-secondary school, bringing a stronger focus on salary and work conditions and the gradual dwindling of pedagogical and didactic efforts (Grove and Michelsen, 2005, pp. 250–251).

The end of the decade: kindred countries, contrasting outcomes

By the end of the 1970s, Norway had integrated its gymnasium into a comprehensive upper-secondary school, while Denmark largely kept to its tradition. In Denmark, attempts to gather political support in parliament for comprehensive reform had failed and coincided with a general turn of the political tide towards the right. Opposition also came from the well-organised profession, with its autonomous but cooperative units. The gymnasium and its teachers managed to maintain their position in the school hierarchy, and secured the support of primary teachers by accommodating the upper-secondary track which provided the latter with the credentials for teacher training: the higher preparatory exam.

By contrast, the introduction of an increasingly comprehensive system of schooling in Norway had marginalised upper-secondary teachers, who lost most of their influence over lower-secondary school to primary teachers. They retained influence in upper-secondary school, but gradually lost their traditional autonomy as education experts (Skarpenes, 2007; Slagstad, 2000, pp. 56–57). Shifting parliamentary constellations had little impact on the reform process. Some central features of the reform were contested from within the profession, while student-centred pedagogical ideals were welcomed. At the turn of the decade, the NL had been partly transformed from a professional organisation to a union, propelled by the influx of new members.

The 1980s and 1990s: governance, restoration, and managerialism

By the turn of the 1980s, a conservative wind was sweeping Western democracies, notably Britain and the United States. Even in Norway and Denmark, educational policies were shaped by a reaction against the radical educational ideology and progressive pedagogy of the 1970s, the awareness of an emerging global knowledge

society, and the influence of market philosophy (Haue, 2009). Managerialism became the preferred tool of effective governance, reflecting a fundamental distrust of professions and deliberative styles of governing. The affiliation between state and profession again came under scrutiny.

Two charismatic politicians were at the helm of the new reforms: Bertel Haarder in Denmark and Gudmund Hernes in Norway. In the 1970s, both had sharply criticised what they saw as symbiotic relations between the state and the professions. As a member of the Danish Parliament since 1975, Haarder had targeted the influence of teacher organisations in educational policymaking. Hernes, a professor of sociology and leader of the 'power investigation', a large-scale study of the distribution and operation of power in Norway, had directed a more general criticism at the 'segmented state' as the reverse side of the Nordic, corporative method of governing. The government had lost political control as powers within each of its 'segments' had become usurped by vested interests, such as organised pressure groups and professions. Both also held pedagogues in low esteem, seeing them as producers of ideology rather than knowledge-seeking scholars. As ministers of education since 1982 (Haarder) and 1990 (Hernes), they set out to regain political control by cutting the influence of the teaching profession down to size. When planning major reforms of the national educational system, both bypassed the traditional sequence of negotiations and instead handpicked a small group of people to design the structure and content of reform (Telhaug and Tønnessen, 1992; Thue, 2017, pp. 107–112).

However, this selection of a few trusted people reflected the different institutional links between the profession and the state as well as the diverging orientations of the reforms in the two countries. When starting the reform process in 1982, Haarder surrounded himself with a confidential committee of six members, five of them upper-secondary teachers, to circumvent the process in the directorate and take full charge of the school reform. GL, the teacher organisation, was taken by surprise by Haarder's dismissal of the traditional corporatist system and his direct collaboration with the school-subject associations. However, while critical of certain elements, the profession eventually became involved to some extent in the reform process. Haarder succeeded in limiting the GL's influence, but he also sought support for his reform within the profession and its school-subject associations (Haue, Nørr and Skovgaard-Petersen, 1998, pp. 345–349).

Hernes, on the other hand, did not seek support from within the profession, but surrounded himself with a small group of esteemed scholars, with no direct contact with the profession or upper-secondary schooling. His handpicked advisors instead had backgrounds and networks in universities and colleges (Skarpenes, 2007). The unusually hasty pace of reform outplayed the tradition of deliberation and consultation in curriculum reform. Curriculum committees were given strictly limited mandates, leaving little scope for disagreement, and the tradition of curriculum hearings was de facto terminated (L.E. Larsen, 2015a; Sølvberg, 2004). It was not so much the general ideas behind the reform that infuriated the profession, but rather this cunning way of organising the reform process, the dismantling of professional autonomy, and Hernes' headstrong attitude.

The resulting 1994 reform of the Norwegian upper-secondary school (Reform 94) continued the comprehensive upper-secondary school, bringing in a

strengthened academic component in vocational studies, and a set of common subjects. Reform 94 freed students of the constraints of certain study groups and components, and created a more flexible and coherent upper-secondary school. In Denmark, the study-programme model was continued but the defined branches were abolished, leaving the students to choose more freely among subjects. The gymnasium's character as a general education that prepared students for academic studies continued, with ancient history and culture (*oldtidskundskab*) a mandatory part of the curriculum.

In Norway, managerialism on the school level extended the headmaster's authority at the expense of the teaching staff. The once-prestigious teacher councils were abolished on the account that the interests of the profession were guaranteed through the regulations between the state and the unions. The new administrative order allowed schools to organise pedagogical forums, associations, or councils for the teaching staff, but the legislation granted no formal position to such groups or initiatives.

Denmark saw a parallel trend of managerialism, resulting in the introduction of school boards and closure of the teacher councils. The GL and its upper-secondary teachers were concerned that pedagogical competence would be disregarded in the new governing model. However, contrary to Norway, the reform required pedagogical councils at every school with an advisory function vis-à-vis the headmaster and school board, similar to the teacher councils in Norway in 1976–1994 (Haue, Nørr and Skovgaard-Petersen, 1998). Also, unlike in Norway, the connection between national administration and the schools was preserved, with consultants recruited for school subjects from within the profession and working part-time in the ministry alongside their ordinary teaching duties (Haue, Nørr and Skovgaard-Petersen, 1998, p. 360).

Explaining national differences: politics, social structure, and contingency

The post-war era saw a sharp rise in the demand for longer and more comprehensive education for a greater part of the population. A reorganisation and expansion of secondary education was viewed as a critical measure to meet the demands of the future. By the early 1960s, the position of the gymnasium in Norway and Denmark was largely similar, but only a decade later it would look fundamentally different. These differences would prove persistent. At the turn of the twenty-first century, the gymnasiums of Denmark maintained their traditional profile. Upper-secondary teachers remained scholarly experts within their fields of specialisation, cooperating with the state in shaping the content and structure of the gymnasium and enjoying some self-governance through collegial forums at the school level.

In Norway, a unified upper-secondary school replaced the gymnasium in 1974, which led to a change in its teacher culture. Upper-secondary teachers gradually lost their greater degree of influence within their schools, and increasingly converged towards a unified teacher culture dominated by primary- and lower-secondary teachers. More than their Danish colleagues, they saw their close

affiliation with the state, their status as expert advisers, and their collegial influence at the school level dwindle, particularly after 1994.

What led to such different outcomes for national professions that had looked so similar only four decades earlier? We argue that the key determinants of these diverging developments were the strength and impact of social-democratic reform drives, the chronology of primary- and secondary-school reforms, and the socio-cultural preconditions of elitist educational traditions.

The social-democratic parties, while holding strong positions in all of Scandinavia, were not equally hegemonic throughout the region. The Danish Social Democrats were more dependent on compromise and coalition-building than their Swedish and Norwegian counterparts, which gave more scope for liberal and conservative influences on educational policies. However, ideological hegemony may also reveal itself in a high degree of consensus across party lines. In Norway, the social-democratic project of comprehensive nine-year schooling for all was actually completed by a centre-right government, after 1965. The upper-secondary-school reform of 1974 that followed was also, to some extent, a joint political venture. The general drift of the reforms was embraced by politicians from left to right, and laid the foundations for the *politics versus profession* discourse that would become more prevalent towards the turn of the millennium.

The diverging developments in Norway and Denmark were also partly an effect of the different chronological sequence of educational reforms. The Danish reforms of 1958 consolidated both primary and secondary schools concurrently, and defined a distinctive role for the gymnasium. In Norway, the long postponement of upper-secondary-school reform made the gymnasiums path-dependent on the prior introduction of comprehensive lower-secondary schooling. The democratisation and modernisation of primary education tended to set the agenda for a reform of the entire school system from the bottom up, at the expense of the traditions and distinctiveness of university-preparatory gymnasiums; this was, after all, more or less the explicit aim of the policy effort. Hence, the Norwegian upper-secondary teaching profession was continuously arriving too late to meetings with closed agendas.

The characteristics and social status of the secondary-school teaching profession in society can also help explain the diverging developments. In 1960, Danish upper-secondary teachers held prestigious positions in society, more so than their Norwegian colleagues. A smaller proportion of student age cohorts enrolled in gymnasiums, and largely came from an elite circuit at the top of society. The educated upper-middle classes seem to have exerted a firmer cultural hegemony in Denmark than in Norway, and Danish gymnasium teachers were less identified with counter-cultural currents, at least before 1968.

Denmark still maintains a more differentiated system of upper-secondary schools than Norway, with a stricter separation between vocational and general education, as well as a continued distinction between the time-honoured 'general student exam' and newer tracks that give access to academic studies: the 'higher preparatory', 'higher commercial', and 'higher technical' exams. On the other hand, the more socially exclusive character of the Danish gymnasium has dwindled.[6]

In Denmark, the close affiliation between the profession and the state continued through the period of reinforced political control in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

The Danish Ministry of Education has upheld its tradition of employing school-subject consultants recruited from the profession. At the school level, legislation grants the profession a role in the management of gymnasiums, with pedagogical councils maintaining the profession's advisory role vis-à-vis the headmaster and the board. In Norway, by contrast, the affiliation between the profession and the state was thoroughly altered from the 1990s. Here, the Ministry of Education terminated the expert councils and social scientists, lawyers, and economists gradually replaced bureaucrats recruited from the teaching profession (Helsvig, 2017, pp. 181–187, 234–240; Thue, 2019). Since 2004, a new Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training has become the authoritative centre of the national administration of education (Røvik, Eilertsen and Lund, 2014, p. 88). The teaching profession has thus lost its foothold on the upper tier of school administration.

Unlike their Danish counterparts, Norwegian teacher organisations have undergone profound changes during the past three decades, resulting in their transformation and fusion into a more union-like organisation. In 2001, the Norwegian teachers' union, *Utdanningsforbundet*, was founded, and brought together all teacher groups in a single organisation (Grove and Michelsen, 2005). It has focused its effort on the concept of *teacher professionalism*, signifying the construction of a unified teacher profession with an increased emphasis on common professional conduct and ethics at the expense of subject content and didactics (Mausethagen et al., 2018). At the school level, there are no formalised, autonomous professional communities similar to the pedagogical councils in Denmark. Nor are there any signs that teacher unions have continued the pedagogical and didactic discussions that were once the hallmark of the teacher councils (Bie-Drivdal, 2018).

The Danish educationalist Peter Henrik Raae has argued that a major reason why the Danish gymnasium was allowed to continue in only slightly modified form after the 1960s, unlike their Norwegian and Swedish counterparts which were integrated into a comprehensive scheme of modern mass education, was the existence of a liberal Danish educational tradition crystallising in the schools' right to self-organisation. This liberal educational ideology, articulated particularly in the Grundtvigian free schools and folk high schools, had been a core element of Danish cultural nation-building since the nineteenth century (Raae, 2012). This observation points towards a rather paradoxical conclusion: the Grundtvigian tradition, which had always defined itself in polar opposition to the academic gymnasium and its teachers, may indeed have been an important factor in its survival into the new era of mass education.

Notes

1 We will use the terms gymnasium and gymnasium teachers in this chapter to emphasise the kinship of the Nordic upper-secondary-school tradition to continental European, notably German, models. In Norway, an academically educated upper-secondary-school teacher is called *lektor*, and in Denmark, *gymnasielærer*.
2 This label signifies the professional organisations' subcommittees for the different school subjects, concerned with pedagogical and didactic debate. These existed in parallel to the professional organisations.
3 A detailed study of the recruitment and further educational career of students at the gymnasium of Hjørring, a small town in Vendsyssel, the northernmost county of Jutland,

has shown that these students hardly had a more common social background than Danish students on average, apart from a somewhat higher share of farmers' children. Hjørring's local academic and business elites dominated the gymnasium, and students from the surrounding agricultural districts felt that they crossed a marked sociocultural barrier when they attended the small-town gymnasium (Priemé, 1997).

4 The so-called Gjelsvik committee did include a number of representatives of the upper-secondary teaching profession, however, as well as one student representative.

5 *Læseplansudvalg for gymnasiet*, 'Council for the gymnasium curriculum', presented a model for a new gymnasium, *grengymnas*, or branch gymnasiums. Ten of the twenty members of the commission came from the profession, either as headmasters or upper-secondary teachers.

6 In 2014, 36% of Danish youth attended a general gymnasium, marginally less than the share of Norwegians attending *studiespesialisering* a few years earlier (39% in 2008) (cf. Danske gymnasier, 2015, p. 4; Salvanes et al., 2015, p. 20).

References

Aamodt, P.O. (1982) *Utdanning og sosial bakgrunn. Sosialøkonomiske studier 1951*. Oslo: Statistisk sentralbyrå.

Ahm, J. (1966) *Fremtidens skole*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal.

Bie-Drivdal, A. (2018) 'Public sector unions' ideas about employee-driven development: restricted conceptualization of representative participation in workplaces', *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, 143831. doi: 10.1177/0143831X18814929.

Bjørndal, I. (2005) *Videregående opplæring i 800 år: med hovedvekt på tiden etter 1950*. Halden: Forum bok.

Bryld, C.-J., Haue, H., Andersen, H.H. and Svane, I. (1990) *GL 100, Gymnasieskolen Jubilæumsnummer*. Copenhagen: Gymnasieskolen.

Danske gymnasier (2015) 'Fakta og myter om det almene gymnasium 2015', Available at: http://www.danskegymnasier.dk (Accessed 2 December 2020).

Grove, K. and Michelsen, S. (2005) *Lærarforbundet*. Bergen:Vigmostad & Bjørke.

Haaland, A. (1966) *Gymnaset under hammeren*. Oslo: Pax.

Hambro, C. (1966) *Er gymnasiaster mennesker?* Oslo: Pax.

Hansen, E.J. (1997) 'Perspektiver og begrænsninger i studiet af den sociale rekruttering til uddannelserne', in *Socialforskningsinstituttet (trykt utg.)* vol. 97:17. Copenhagen: Socialforskningsinstituttet.

Haue, H. (2003) 'Parløb og stafet i dansk-norsk gymnasiekultur', in Slagstad, R., Korsgaard, O. and Løvlie, L. (eds.) *Dannelsens forvandlinger*. Oslo: Pax.

Haue, H. (2009) 'En socialdemokratisk fiasko?', *Arbejderhistorie: Tidsskrift for Historie, Kultur Og Politik* 2, pp. 35–50.

Haue, H., Nørr, E. and Skovgaard-Petersen, V. (1998) *Kvalitetens vogter. Statens tilsyn med gymnasieskolerne 1848-1998. [Jubilæumsskrift i anledning af 150-året for Undervisningsinspektionens oprettelse]*. Copenhagen: Undervisningsministeriet.

Helsvig, K.G. (2017) *Reform og rutine: Kunnskapsdepartementets historie 1945–2017*. Oslo: Pax.

Høigård, E., Ruge, H. and Hansen, K.I. (eds.) (1971) *Den norske skoles historie. En oversikt*. Oslo: Cappelen.

Høydal, R. (2003) 'Folkedanning? Landsgymnaset som mothegemonisk danningsprosjekt', *Nytt norsk tidsskrift* 20(4), pp. 363–378.

Høydal, R. (2007) 'Upp og fram! Landsgymnaset vert til', in Forr, G. and Vold, H. (eds.) *Landsgymnaset*. Oslo: Samlaget, pp. 11–68.

Jørgensen, C.H. (2018) 'The modernization of the apprenticeship system in Denmark 1945–2015', in Jørgensen, C.H., Olsen, O.J. and Thunqvist, D.P. (eds.) *Vocational education in the Nordic countries: learning from diversity*. Milton Park, AB: Routledge.

Kristiansen, E. (1992) *Fra fornem bønn til kamp for lønn: Filologenes og realistenes landsforening, Norsk lektorlag, Norsk undervisningsforbund 1892–1992*. Oslo: Cappelen.

Læseplansudvalg for gymnasiet (1960). *Det nye gymnasium: betænkning 269*. Copenhagen: Undervisningsministeriet.

Larsen, L.E. (2015a) *Skolekultur i endring - Om lærernes deltakelse i utviklingen av den videregående skolen 1976–2010*. Master's thesis. Oslo: University of Oslo.

Larsen, P.O. (2015b) 'Forskningsuniversitetets gennembrudd: Københavns Universitet med særlig henblik på Det Filosofiske Fakultet i slutningen av det 19. århundrede', *Uddannelseshistorie* 49, pp. 11–28.

Lauglo, J. (1971) *Attitudes of Norwegian academic-secondary teachers towards educational reform: a dissertation submitted to the faculty of the division of the social sciences in candidacy for the degree of doctor of philosophy*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago.

Lauglo, J. (1995) 'Populism and education in Norway', *Comparative Education Review* 39(3), pp. 255–279.

Lindbekk, T. (1962) 'De lærde profesjoner i Norge', in *En statistisk og sosialhistorisk studie over norske filologer og realister i det nittende og tyvende århundre*. Oslo: Institutt for samfunnsforskning.

Lindbekk, T. (1968) 'Politisk innsats og ideologiske retninger innen filologien', in *Tre essays om profesjonene i det norske samfunn*. Oslo: Institutt for samfunnsforskning.

Lynning, K.H. (2007) 'Dannelse og naturvidenskab i den lærde skole 1878–1886', *Slagmark – tidskrift for idèhistorie* 50. doi: 10.7146/sl.v0i50.421.

Mausethagen, S., Gundersen, T., Larsen, L.E. and Osland, O. (2018) *Evaluering av lærerprofesjonens etiske råd*. Oslo: Oslo Metropolitan University.

Myhre, J.E. (2011) *Kunnskapsbærerne 1811-2011: akademikere mellom universitet og samfunn*. Oslo: Unipub.

Nepper-Christensen, H. (1998) *Uddannelsessystemet i tal gennem 150 år: Undervisningsministeriet 1848–1998*. Copenhagen: Børne-og undervisningsministeriet.

Norsk Lektorlag (1962). *Gymnaset i søkelyset*. Oslo: Cappelen.

Priemé, H. (1997) 'Hjørring Gymnasiums studenter fre 1910 til 1958: hvor kom de fra? Hvad uddannede de sig til?', *Uddannelseshistorie* 31, pp. 53–83.

Raae, P.H. (2012) 'Den nordiske uddannelsesmodel og det danske gymnasium', *Nordic Studies in Education* 32, pp. 311–320.

Ringer, F.K. (1969) *The decline of the German mandarins: the German academic community 1890–1933*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Røvik, K.A., Eilertsen, T.V. and Lund, T.L. (2014) 'Hvor har de det fra, og hva gjør de med det? Utdanningsdirektoratet som innhenter, oversetter og iverksetter av reformideer', in Røvik, K.A., Eilertsen, T.V. and Furu, E.M. (eds.) *Reformideer i norsk skole: spredning, oversettelse og implementering*. Oslo: Cappelen Damm akademisk.

Salvanes, K.V., Grøgaard, J.B., Aamodt, P.O., Lødding, B. and Hovdhaugen, E. (2015) *Overganger og gjennomføring i de studieforberedende programmene: Første delrapport fra prosjektet Forskning på kvalitet, innhold og relevans i de studieforberedende utdanningsprogrammene i videregående opplæring*. Oslo: Nordisk institutt for studier av innovasjon, forskning og utdanning.

Siegrist, H. (1990) 'Professionalization as a process: patterns, progression and discontinuity', in Burrage, M. and Torstendahl, R. (eds.) *Professions in theory and history: rethinking the study of the professions*. London: Sage.

Sirevåg, T. (1981) *Katedral og karusell: streiflys på skole og politikk i krig og fred*. Oslo: NKS-forlaget.

Skarpenes, O. (2007) *Kunnskapens legitimering: fag og læreplaner i videregående skole*. Oslo: Abstrakt forlag.

Slagstad, R. (2000) *Kunnskapens hus: fra Hansteen til Hanseid*. Oslo: Pax.

Sølvberg, E. (2004) *Frå Hernes til Clemet - frå plan til marknad? Kvar går den vidaregåande skolen?* Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.

St.meld. nr 45 (1950) *Om behovet for akademisk utdannet arbeidskraft*, Tilrådning fra Kirke- og undervisningsdepartementet, 5. mai 1950. Oslo: Kirke- og undervisningsdepartementet.

Telhaug, A.O. and Korsvold, T. (1989) *Fra eksamenskommisjoner til politiske råd*. Trondheim: Tapir.

Telhaug, A.O. and Mediås, O.A. (2003) *Grunnskolen som nasjonsbygger: fra statspietisme til nyliberalisme*. Oslo: Abstrakt forlag.

Telhaug, A.O. and Tønnessen, R.Th. (1992) *Dansk utdanningspolitikk under Bertel Haarder*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Thue, F.W. (2017) 'Lærerrollen lag på lag – et historisk perspektiv', *Norsk pedagogisk tidsskrift* 101(1), pp. 92–116. doi: 10.18261/issn.1504-2987-2017-01-09.

Thue, F.W. (2019) 'Den historiske allmenndannelse: historiefaget i høyere/videregående skole, 1869–2019', *Historisk tidsskrift* 98(2), pp. 167–190. doi: 10.18261/issn.1504-2944-2019-02-04.

Tilråding om reform av gymnaset (1967). Oslo: Grøndahl & Søn.

Westergaard, M. (1965) *Om slagtning af hellige køer: et oplæg til en strukturdiskussion om vor uddannelse, Hans Reitzels røde serie*. Copenhagen: Hans Reitzel.

Wiborg, S. (2008) 'Socialdemokrati og skolepolitik: et komparativt perspektiv', *Uddannelseshistorie* 1, pp. 52–69.

11 Negotiating professionalism

Emerging discourses of teacher professionalism in Norway

Sølvi Mausethagen

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the rapidly expanding discourse on teacher professionalism in Norway, why this expansion has taken place, and what has characterised the generation and reception of this discourse over the last two decades.

In recent years, a range of policy initiatives, in Norway as well as worldwide, has aimed to strengthen teachers' performance following a questioning of their credibility and legitimacy as a profession. These policy initiatives have, on the one hand, increasingly held teachers accountable for their performance and professional development efforts and, on the other, intensified the production and use of research. While the teaching profession often resists the former development, the latter appears to be something that most actors in the educational field value (Dahl et al., 2016). However, the kind of knowledge that teachers should prioritise and use remains contested, since the call for 'research-based knowledge' challenges traditional notions of teacher knowledge as highly experience-based and contextual (Larsen, 2016). Related to such contestations is the question whether professional autonomy has decreased because of bureaucratic control in terms of accountability and the use of external evaluations and research.

The policy initiatives in the preceding paragraph can be described as 'professionalisation from above' (McClelland, 1990; Evetts, 2003; Dahl et al., 2016) – government initiatives that are employed to convince professionals to perform in ways seen as appropriate and effective. In the Nordic and German contexts, however, profession-building has historically been characterised by an interconnectedness of impetuses from 'above', i.e., from the state, and from 'within' the professions themselves (McClelland, 1990; Larsen, 2016). These terms are often used in combination with sociological theory on professions which emphasises the 'gold standard' of an occupational group: its scientific knowledge, autonomy and responsibility (Freidson, 2001). 'Professionalisation from within' is usually employed to describe the profession's initiatives to develop and to construct an identity in ways that can secure and maintain its autonomy and discretionary power. However, several studies have concluded that the teaching profession is socialised into – and, in fact, often asks for – bureaucratic support in its work (Hopmann, 2003; Mausethagen and Mølstad, 2015).

DOI: 10.4324/9781003082514-15

In Norway, policymakers have emphasised the combined power of strengthening teachers' knowledge base through reforms to teacher education whilst implementing national and local quality assessment systems that hold teachers and education leaders increasingly accountable for their performance – a development that is seemingly influenced by Finnish and Anglo-American exemplars (Mausethagen and Smeby, 2016). Policy initiatives have encouraged greater research orientation in teacher education and the creation of partnerships between schools and teacher education institutions (Lillejord and Børte, 2016). Over the past decade, Norwegian teacher education has been extended to a five-year master's programme, PhD programmes have been established, and national and local development programmes have increasingly involved teacher education institutions in supporting schools in their work. This has led to a distinctive combination of academisation and practice orientation, where policies have increasingly positioned the educational sciences as the profession's core subject (see also Chapter 7). Moreover, teacher education policy processes in Norway have been found to rely more heavily on political actors and political conditions than on academic expertise (Afdal, 2013; see also Chapter 13 in this volume).

In this context, the term 'teacher professionalism' has been increasingly employed in education policy, among researchers and within the teachers' union. Although in everyday speech the term is often used normatively to describe a kind of standard for 'good work', several authors have shown how professionalism has been used in various ways over time, from requesting changes to defending the status quo (Ozga and Lawn, 1981; Evetts, 2003; Hilferty, 2008). Teacher professionalism should therefore also be seen as a *discourse* that actors seek to employ in different ways and for different purposes (Evetts, 2003; Mausethagen and Granlund, 2012). Discourses are defined as ways of talking about and understanding the world (Winther Jørgensen and Phillips, 1999). They are created and maintained by actors in institutions who influence and transform those institutions through the dissemination of ideas, values and practices. A discourse-inspired analysis primarily examines how such meanings appear through the use of language. The shaping and reshaping of discourses are important tools in policymaking and the formulation of strategies (Winther Jørgensen and Phillips, 1999).

In this chapter, I will analyse both the generation and the reception of the discourse of professionalism. I will focus on the generation of this discourse in education policy and within the Norwegian teachers' union about 20 years ago, and its role in shaping a new teacher identity. To do this, I will look more closely into the reception of this discourse in teacher education institutions and thereby elucidate the epistemic aspects of professionalisation efforts by asking: What characterises discourses on teacher professionalism, and how are they used by different actors? What does the rapidly expanding discourse on teacher professionalism in Norway reflect, and how is it reflected in teacher education?

To answer these questions, I will first outline the generation of the increasingly hegemonic discourse of teacher professionalism. Thereafter, I will focus on current discourses in teacher education, before turning to the role of the discourse on teacher professionalism, in particular, seeking to understand recent developments in the educational field in Norway, with a brief review of research in other Nordic countries.

The emergence of a discourse

In Norway, there has been a substantial increase in the use of the terms 'profession' and 'professionalism' since the beginning of the 2000s (Mausethagen and Granlund, 2012). In a 2012 study, we found that constructions of teacher professionalism were produced both by the government and from within the teaching profession, but were utilised first by policymakers before the profession developed its own discourse of professionalism. As the new century progressed, educational policymakers and the national teachers' union, *Utdanningsforbundet*, increasingly used the term 'professionalism' in their documents, and by 2009, it had become a prominent term both in government white papers on teacher education and in the policy documents of the teachers' union. For example, while the term was used only twice in white papers in 1995, it appeared about 100 times in 2002 and 220 times in 2009. In union documents, the term did not appear at all in 2002, but was increasingly used throughout the following decade. However, there were differences between government and union views on the characteristics of teacher professionalism. While the government emphasised accountability, research-based practice and specialisation, union documents highlighted research-informed practice, the use of discretion, responsibility for educational quality, and professional ethics.

Three areas of discursive 'struggle' between education policymakers and the teachers' union were evident. First, the union strongly resisted accountability policies, a position that must be seen in the light of international and national policy trends toward increased external control of teachers' work (accountability). In terms of increased emphasis on student achievement and teacher accountability, the accounts centred on a more narrow and instrumental view of learning, emphasising how external control could lead to the de-professionalisation of teachers. Second, the teachers' union sought to redefine the notion of research-based practice from the more evidence-based construction of research favoured by policymakers. Thus, in 2009, the union strongly emphasised that teachers' knowledge needed to be based on research *in addition to* experience-based knowledge. This discourse advocated a form of 'research-informed' practice, which emphasised teachers' discretion in deciding what research to use and how to use it. Third, the union aimed to elevate teacher education to the master's degree level, and was here ahead of the government. More academic competence was presented as enhancing trust and legitimacy.

The union's responses to education policy discourses can be seen as a way of discursively negotiating with the government about the meaning of teacher professionalism. Instead of merely resisting the policy discourse, the teachers' union acted proactively by emphasising trust and legitimacy. In particular, a prominent aspect of this response was to highlight research-informed practice and take responsibility for quality. Arguably, by being proactive and constructing itself as future-oriented, the teachers' union backed claims for autonomy over the profession's knowledge base and work situation, an approach that may be particularly important in a context where there is increasing focus on accountability. This can be interpreted as an attempt to gain discursive control of the term 'professionalism' and to ascribe a meaning to it that differs from more control-oriented

constructions of professionalism and professional responsibility (or accountability) promoted by policymakers.

The discourse of professionalism was produced first by the government, after which the teaching profession developed its own version when faced with demands from outside to 'professionalise'. Clearly, aspects of the sociological theory of the professions resonated with the union, such as the emphasis on professional discretion and autonomy, and was used actively in the construction of union discourse. Locally, however, teachers might place emphasis on other aspects of professionalism than the union, or teachers might be little involved in union work, and not relate to this discourse at all. Also, the union did not discuss possible alternatives to external control, and thus it could be questioned whether the emphasis on responsibility, research-informed practice and ethics was sufficient to maintain and strengthen public trust in, and the legitimacy of, the teaching profession. On the other hand, one might also question whether trust in the teaching profession in society has indeed weakened. For example, a recent study from Norway suggests that trust in teachers is quite high (Helland et al., 2016), and is in fact considerably higher than implied by the policy discourse, which has specifically pointed to teacher education as responsible for decreasing trust in the profession.

The discourse of professionalism in teacher education

How is the discourse of teacher professionalism constructed in teacher education today, ten years after this discourse suddenly became virtually hegemonic? As teacher education lies at the intersection between policymakers and the profession in creating the knowledge base for future teachers, and given that both sets of actors agree that strengthening teacher education is imperative to develop the profession, it is of interest to examine the kinds of discourses on professionalism that have come to dominate.

I do this through an analysis of current constructions of teacher professionalism in PhD programmes at four teacher education institutions in Norway. Research and research training within teacher education is of particular interest, and doctoral programmes at teacher education institutions provide a fruitful entrance point for such analysis as they outline their aims and teaching content in their profiles and educational courses. These programmes can be described as 'flagships' for the institutions and represent the increasing research orientation in teacher education institutions. Within these programmes, students produce research that is expected to be used in teacher education and in practice. The increase in research training in teacher education is demonstrated by the growing numbers of PhD programmes and candidates in the past decade. An analysis of such programmes can thus shed light on the future of teacher professionalism.

Study plans and webpages were strategically selected as study objects, as likely to present the prominent ideas of the respective institutions. I first read all descriptions on the websites of the PhD programmes in the 11 universities and university colleges that offer teacher education in Norway, and reviewed the usage of the terms 'profession' and 'professionalism' in the plans, examining the extent and ways in which they were used. Some programmes rarely or never used the terms

'profession' and 'professionalism' or were either general (educational sciences) programmes, or more specific in scope (reading literacy, pedagogical resources). Four institutions were selected for closer analysis (here designated A, B, C, and D), in which these terms were extensively used in their presentations and study plans.

In descriptions of current PhD programmes in Norwegian teacher education institutions, a range of words and expressions derived from the term 'profession' appear. They are seemingly used descriptively, referring to teachers as an occupational group, and/or persuasively, as shorthand for the desired future of teacher education, teachers, and teaching in Norway. The terms used include *teaching profession*, *professional development*, *professional education*, *professional practice*, *professional understanding*, *professionally oriented teacher education subjects*, *research on/in professions*, *professionalisation*, *theory of the professions*, *professionally relevant*, *occupational professions*, *pedagogical professionalism*, *professionally oriented pedagogy*, *professional field*, *professional autonomy*, and *professional knowledge*. These terms are, however, rarely defined. The term 'profession' is mainly used with positive connotations; thus, not defining it could be either a deliberate or an unconscious act. It is therefore necessary to analyse other words and expressions used alongside these terms to study how discourses of teacher professionalism are currently constructed in Norway.

Through a close analysis of the study plans and webpages of PhD programmes in four Norwegian teacher education institutions, I identified three major ways in which the term professionalism is given meaning in such programmes: (1) teacher professionalism as a function of the production and use of research-based evidence; (2) teacher professionalism as a function of the production and use of practice-relevant research; and (3) teacher professionalism as a function of the production and use of meta-knowledge on teacher practice. These constructions entail positions on teacher knowledge that can be described as instrumental, relational, and critical, respectively. Moreover, while the former two constructions are mainly policy- and consensus-oriented, the third is more tension-oriented.

Developing professionalism through the production and use of research-based knowledge

In institution A, teacher professionalism is defined on the basis of the definitions of professionalism in policies implemented in recent years to enhance quality in teacher education and teaching. The term 'professional' is discursively linked to the performative aspects of teaching (i.e. teacher practice), which should be based on research-based knowledge, a construction which implies that if practice is not based on research, it is not professional. The knowledge dimension thus becomes a crucial part of the definition. The direct use of policy documents is striking and pervasive, communicating a somewhat friction-free vision of the production and use of knowledge in teacher education. While there is also an emphasis on producing research in cooperation with the practice field, teachers' knowledge is presented more as acquisition and 'use' of existing research. This emphasis is central to the construction of the discourse of teacher professionalism. The reference to policy documents is quite striking, and professionalisation efforts at this institution

largely mirror government initiatives. Harmony and consensus between education policymakers and the teaching profession appear to be central to this discourse.

Developing professionalism through the production and use of practice-relevant research

Institution B emphasises that the production and use of research in teacher education should be relevant to practice. Research-based knowledge is not a term that is used in the programme plan; instead, other terms, such as innovation and development, are central. There are interesting contrasts to institution A: while both have a practice orientation, their views on the kind of knowledge that should be produced in teacher education and used in teaching practice differ. The emphasis in institution B is on the production and co-production of knowledge rather than on its acquisition and use. The competence that teachers should develop in teacher education is also constructed differently, and there are differences in how relations between the teacher education institutions and the field of practice are described. While institution A places more emphasis on knowledge production occurring outside of school, and positions actors as more passive in using that knowledge, institution B emphasises the co-production of knowledge and equal relationships between teacher education and the practice field. In the discourse of this institution, professionalism is largely constructed as active involvement in partnerships to produce relevant knowledge for practice. Consensus between policy, profession, and teacher education is also part of the discourse at institution B.

Developing professionalism through the production and use of meta-knowledge on practice

In institutions C and D, yet another, more critical, discourse on teacher professionalism is constructed. As in the two discourses discussed previously, the issue of teacher knowledge is at stake. In institution C, experience-based knowledge is strongly emphasised, but professional practice must be researched in order to further professional education and professional practice. Research activities are supposed to have a meta-perspective on practice, and to aim to improve professional practice. The documents do not describe research-based knowledge or cooperation, nor do they use these terms. Rather, research performed at the institution should improve understanding of teachers' professional practice and thereby also improve it. This programme includes research on a range of different professions.

Critical reflection is also emphasised in the PhD programme at institution D, where the institutional discourse of professionalism is similar. The discourse in institutions C and D is more strongly based on pedagogy than that in institutions A and B. Within this discourse, professionalism is related to *Bildung* (i.e. self-formation or self-cultivation), which entails a critical meta-perspective on existing knowledge and practice. Consequently, professionalism is seen as something that will *strengthen* research-based teaching. In this discourse, therefore, teacher professionalism encompasses educational theory and critical thinking; it is not the *result* of strengthening research-based education.

To summarise, institutions C and D emphasise a meta-perspective on practice, in which research seemingly means educational theory as much as empirical research. Professionalism is related to the subject of pedagogy as an integration of theory and practice. As such, it can also be suggested that these two institutions attempt to redefine professionalism in ways that place pedagogy at the centre of teachers' education and work, where professionalism is not possible without a critical meta-perspective on practice. Another contrast between institutions C and D on the one hand, and institutions A and B on the other, lies in the stronger orientation of the former towards tensions between education policy and the teaching profession.

Unfolding discursive struggles

At first sight, these three ways of constructing teacher professionalism in the four teacher education institutions appear rather similar. All three treat teacher professionalism solely as positive, and their discourses use similar terms and share a common end: improved teaching practices and student learning. However, the three discourses vary in quite significant ways. In particular, as the analysis above reveals, the discourses reflect more fundamental epistemic questions in education. These can be described as discursive struggles that materialise differently in different institutions and have consequences for teacher practice.

Moreover, the three constructions can be related to debates about the discipline of pedagogy, which, arguably, is challenged by the discourse of professionalism. Whereas the first two discourses (exemplified by institutions A and B, respectively) are mainly consensus-oriented, emphasising empirical research-based and practice-relevant knowledge as ways to develop professionalism, the third discourse (exemplified by institutions C and D) runs counter to the policy discourse by seeing teacher professionalism as emerging from pedagogical theory and practice. This use of an 'older' discourse on teacher knowledge may be read as an attempt to 'take back' the term professionalism, as pedagogical theory is ascribed a limited role in the first two discourses. This indicates that discourses on professionalism in teacher education may differ not only in their emphasis on broader cultural values versus attention to technical skills (Larsen, 2017), but also in their affinity to pedagogy versus the increasingly expansive field of educational sciences (Rasmussen, Kruse and Holm, 2007). It thus seems likely that, in recent years, strong policy calls to form partnerships and 'strengthen' educational research in order to transcend the alleged lack of practice-relevant research and teaching in teacher education have incited these institutions to reorient themselves from the former to the latter. Larsen (2016, p. 224) describes this development as a 'mode 2 professionalisation of academia' and questioned whether sound professionalism can be based on academisation alone.

Across the institutional discourses, professionalism is mainly related to practical pedagogical work, i.e., the performative dimension of the teaching profession (Molander and Terum, 2008). Issues concerning the organisation of teachers' work – questions of autonomy, trust and discretion – are hardly addressed. Issues such as whether and to what extent accountability mechanisms influence

teachers' work are highly relevant to efforts to improve professional practice (Buchanan, 2015; Mausethagen et al., 2018). This sole emphasis on the performative dimension of teaching may reflect a certain ambivalence within teacher education institutions, which work to strengthen the knowledge base of the teaching profession while adopting the strategies of policymakers. This distinctive combination is a crucial characteristic of discourses on teacher professionalism in Norway, and can be seen as an impediment to ambitions to develop an independent research profile in teacher education that can help develop and safeguard teachers' professional knowledge base (Hermansen, 2017). This might in turn challenge political discourses on teacher professionalism (Ozga and Lawn, 1981; Gewirtz et al., 2008; Mausethagen and Granlund, 2012).

Thus, this analysis finds that there is an ongoing appropriation of policy constructions in teacher education, although this may develop and change as research competence grows. This also raises the question of the potential future outcomes of these discursive struggles. The consensus orientation is probably most productive for bringing about changes in teachers' work. However, professionalisation efforts also include the development of knowledge that stimulates critical perspectives on policy initiatives. We thus need to better understand what kinds of knowledge is produced and used by teacher education, as not only students but also teacher educators are socialised into certain forms of knowledge appropriation. For student teachers, it is important to be familiar with different positions on teacher knowledge and to explore alternative discourses in order to develop a nuanced understanding of the complexity of their work. The discursive struggles have also shown that although teacher education is governed by national guidelines in Norway, leading to very similar descriptions of learning outcomes across institutions (Myklebust et al., 2020), the differences in institutional discourses on teacher professionalism may indicate that the education of student teachers, and thereby their socialisation into teaching, can still be quite different in character.

The role of discourses

Current discourses on teacher professionalism in Norway are, at first sight, characterised by consensus between policymakers, the profession, and teacher education institutions. However, a closer examination reveals significant differences between these actors and also, interestingly, among teacher education institutions. While the different actors agree that the knowledge base of the teaching profession needs to be developed and safeguarded, my examination has identified a variety of epistemic positions and relations to policy discourses. The analysis has also shed light upon how the profession's own efforts at professionalisation relate to recent policy developments. The teaching profession has been particularly concerned with resisting policy initiatives that are seen as vehicles of an accountability agenda with an increased focus on performance (Mausethagen and Granlund, 2012; Haakestad, 2019). This resistance seems, however, to be less prominent in teacher education discourses on professionalism.

From being marginal in Norway during the 1990s, the discourse of teacher professionalism became almost hegemonic in the 2000s as a way to develop the

education system and, particularly, to improve the work of teachers and schools. To some extent, one could say that this discourse 'won' over other discourses on teachers' work, such as the *Bildung* discourse or those emphasising teachers' experience-based knowledge. As these older and perhaps more conservative discourses have been prominent within pedagogy in particular, the newer discourse of teacher professionalism has, arguably, contributed to challenging pedagogy, or at least to realigning it with, first, a somewhat paradoxical combination of practice orientation and academisation, and second, a policy orientation towards reform and partnerships. According to the policy discourse, teachers form, or are supposed to form, an identity as reform-oriented, research-informed, accountable, and collaborative. This top-down discourse generation may result in a more authoritarian 'do as you are told' culture.

For this reason, it is important to investigate the role of discourses in order to understand and explain processes of change in the Norwegian educational system since 2000. A range of factors has contributed to these developments, in which internationalisation, and particularly the results of the PISA studies, became an important catalyst of education reforms, particularly in the first years of the new millennium. These led to an increased focus on student performance, testing, and accountability, combined with massive efforts to strengthen teachers' knowledge base, including the implementation of a five-year teacher education programme. This occurred within a broader context of structural reforms in higher education which led to larger institutions and an increased orientation towards research in teacher education (Karlsen, 2005).

In this broader picture of international policy development and changes in the institutional landscape, the discourse of teacher professionalism was clearly a good fit. But how was this discourse received in the field of teacher education? The identification of the three different constructions of how teacher professionalism should best be developed showed that 'professionalisation from above' aptly describes the development of teacher education in Norway. This can be explained by the Ministry of Education's time-honoured practice of governing teacher education in a direct and detailed manner. The government has long seen teacher education as an important 'governing object' and a tool for fulfilling its visions for the education system as a whole (Karlsen, 2005).

Although the interconnectedness of 'professionalisation from above' and 'professionalisation from within' can be described as a hallmark of teacher education, it has also been described as a 'counter culture' that has criticised and challenged current education policy discourses (Karlsen, 2005; Haugen and Hestbæk, 2017). This may be a somewhat misleading characterisation, given the historically close relationships between the Ministry of Education and teacher education institutions. The consensus orientation towards professionalisation apparent in the PhD programmes discussed earlier in this chapter may thus reflect a historical continuity. Moreover, Norwegian teachers have long been characterised by their close relationship with the state, and have trustingly adopted policymakers' strategies. Teachers have historically had a high status in society, particularly outside the larger cities (Tarrou, 1991; Rovde, 2006). Although Norwegian teachers have tended to resist academisation (Hagemann, 1992), their unions have also played an important

role in educational reforms, and have actively supported academic teacher education and calls for increased teacher professionalism (Tarrou, 1991; Nerland and Karseth, 2015). In the current situation, however, it is primarily the teachers' union that maintains a critical role, for example, by addressing tensions that occur when policy meets the practical work of teachers and by raising questions about autonomy, responsibility, and ethics.

The discourse of professionalism in Nordic teaching cultures

New calls for accountability, research-based knowledge, and collaboration within and across educational levels and institutions in partnerships are also heard in other Nordic countries, and have led to the development of new discourses on teacher professionalism. While there is substantial research addressing such policy developments, research on the discourse is rarer. Exceptions include research on how teachers' unions in Sweden and Denmark have used the discourse actively in their strategies to enhance status and legitimacy. For example, both the Swedish Teachers' Union (*Lärarförbundet*) and the National Union of Teachers in Sweden (*Lärarnas Riksförbund*) have actively used 'professionalism' as a symbolic resource to supply teachers with legitimacy and increased status (Lilja, 2013). As in the Norwegian context, the professionalism discourse was originally mainly political and decoupled from teachers' everyday work, but was reframed by the unions to pertain to issues of social justice and democracy (Lilja, 2013; Milner, 2018). By contrast, the teachers' union in Norway has maintained a stronger position by presenting a clear counter-narrative to increased external control of the teaching profession (Lilja, 2013). In both Norway and Sweden, the unions call for renewed state involvement in order to increase legitimacy, even though it could reduce professional autonomy (Mausethagen and Mølstad, 2015; Milner, 2018). However, while unions in Sweden advocated for certification as a way to professionalise, the same strategy has been rejected in Norway out of fear that the government could use it to control teachers (Haakestad, 2019).

In Denmark, the professionalism discourse has also been challenged by new policy discourses on the 'knowledge society', continual change, competency development performance, and accountability (Hjort, 2006; Krejsler and Moos, 2006). Krejsler and Moos (2006) argue that since this discourse tends not to include challenges in teachers' practical work, they have found it difficult to take part in the discourse of professionalism. Instead, the dominant discourse mainly emphasises generalist and standardised knowledge, while dynamic and specialised competence and practice has been downplayed. Moreover, the emphasis on loyalty to the school organisation, interdisciplinary cooperation, and international influences make discourses of professionalism misleading, as Krejsler (2011) argues. As the teaching profession has used new discourses on competence development and professionalism to enhance its status, it has also, to some extent, accepted increased external control of its work (Hjort, 2006).

Thus, a challenge that Nordic teachers encounter today is how to deal with the policy discourses on teacher professionalism if they want to have a voice in policymaking. This is an urgent question since the dominant discourses of

professionalism have consequences for how teachers are perceived as an occupational group in society. A key aspect of this question concerns the ways the teaching profession, through its reception of the policy discourses, contributes to constraining teachers' work and forms of professionalism, and how its generation of the discourse succeeds in 'taking back' the discourse of professionalism. So far it seems that there are some minor but significant differences between Nordic countries. Across the countries, policymakers have produced discourses of professionalism that are partly accepted and partly resisted by the profession itself. Yet there are also differences as to the extent to which discourses address issues of external control.

However, research has to date only rarely addressed the epistemic dimension of professionalisation efforts. The analysis of PhD programmes in Norwegian teacher education institutions earlier in this chapter has shed light on this dimension through the past decade and thereby also their reception of the discourse on teacher professionalism as constructed in education policy. Although these discourses appear similar on the surface, tensions remain as to what knowledge is, what kind of knowledge teachers should use, how it should be produced, and who has the right to define it. There is reason to believe that a similar analysis in the other Nordic countries would yield different views on teacher knowledge and academisation in teacher education, including how teacher education and educational research are organised (Larsen, 2016; see also Chapter 7 in this volume). An important construction in the newer policy discourse on teacher professionalism has been to promote research-based knowledge, and the so-called 'pre-scientific' character of the knowledge base for the teaching profession must be seen as a prerequisite for this discourse (Nilsson-Lindström and Beach, 2019). On its surface, this resonates with the core constructions within teacher education and in academia more generally. However, the analysis performed in this chapter shows that, for a more differentiated understanding, it is imperative to investigate constructions on how, and by what means, teacher knowledge should promote teacher professionalism. Such studies can shed light on the future of professionalism.

Concluding remarks

This chapter has discussed the generation of the discourse on teacher professionalism in Norway, its reception in teacher education institutions, and its increasing role in shaping teacher identities. From being quite marginal, in the past 20 years, the discourse of professionalism has achieved almost hegemonic status in defining teachers' identities and work. There is, however, a paradox: in their attempts to transform themselves into research-based study programmes, teacher education institutions have so far tended to mirror policy discourses on teacher professionalism, rather than the 'counter-discourse' of the profession itself. Even though such 'professionalisation from above' does not necessarily represent radically new ways of governing the teaching profession, it might reflect a drift towards a new social contract between teachers, teacher education institutions, policymakers, and administrators (Dahl et al., 2016). We may discuss if teacher education institutions are still the obvious supporters of teachers' efforts to negotiate different expectations and to involve themselves actively in critical discussions about

professionalisation processes. Moreover, my findings may suggest that in the past two decades, the teachers' union has driven critical discussions about teacher professionalism just as much as teacher education institutions have.

References

Afdal, H.W. (2013) 'Policy making processes with respect to teacher education in Finland and Norway', *Higher Education*, 65(2), pp. 167–180.

Buchanan, R. (2015) 'Teacher identity and agency in an era of accountability', *Teachers and Teaching*, 21(6), pp. 700–719.

Dahl, T., Askling, B., Heggen, K., Iversen Kulbrandstad, L., Lauvdal, T., Qvortrup, L., Salvanes, K. G., Skagen, K., Skrøvset, S. and Thue, F.W. (2016) *Om lærerrollen. Et kunnskapsgrunnlag*. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.

Evetts, J. (2003) 'The sociological analysis of professionalism: occupational change in the modern world', *International Sociology*, 18(2), pp. 395–415.

Freidson, E. (2001) *Professionalism: the third logic*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gewirtz, S., Mahony, P., Hextall, I. and Cribb, A. (eds.) (2008) *Changing teacher professionalism: international trends, challenges and ways forward*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Haakestad, H. (2019) 'Kall eller lønnskamp? En casestudie av Utdanningsforbundets holdning til lukning av læreryrket', *Tidsskrift for samfunnsforskning*, 60, pp. 50–73. doi: 10.18261/issn.1504-291X-2019-01-03.

Hagemann, G. (1992) *Skolefolk. Lærernes historie i Norge*. Oslo: Ad Notam Gyldendal.

Haugen, C. and Hestbæk, T.A. (2017) 'Tensions between knowledge discourses in Norwegian teacher education: does current reform represent an attack on critical knowledge?', *Knowledge Cultures*, 5(4), pp. 91–109. doi: 10.22381/KC5420177.

Helland, H., With, M.L., Mausethagen, S. and Alecu, A. (2016) 'Lærernes status', *Bedre skole*, 2, pp. 12–16.

Hermansen, H. (2017) 'Knowledge relations and epistemic infrastructures as mediators of teachers' collective autonomy', *Teaching and Teacher Education: An International Journal of Research and Studies*, 65, pp. 1–9. doi: 10.1016/j.tate.2017.03.003.

Hilferty, F. (2008) 'Theorising teacher professionalism as an enacted discourse of power', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 29(2), pp. 161–173. doi: 10.1080/01425690701837521.

Hjort, K. (2006) 'Diskursen om kompetenceudvikling', *Nordic Studies in Education*, 004/2006, pp. 333–345.

Hopmann, S. (2003) 'On the evaluation of curriculum reforms', *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 35(4), pp. 459–478.

Karlsen, G.E. (2005) 'Styring av norsk lærerutdanning – et historisk perspektiv', *Norsk Pedagogisk Tidsskrift*, 89, pp. 402–416.

Krejsler, J. and Moos, L. (2006) 'Dominerende diskurser i talen om professioner', *Nordic Studies in Education*, 004/2006, pp. 281–287.

Larsen, J.E. (2016) 'Academisation of teacher education: sites, knowledge cultures and changing premises for educational knowledge in Norway and Denmark', in Hoffmann-Ocon, A. and Horlacher, R. (eds.) *Pedagogy and educational knowledge: ambitions and imaginations in teacher education*. Bad Heilbrunn: Verlag Julius Klinkhardt.

Larsen, J.E. (2017) 'Et importeret begreb uden naturlige fjender? Professionsbegrebets rejse fra amerikansk sociologi til europæiske fagkampe', *Uddannelseshistorie*, 51, pp. 9–26.

Lilja, P. (2013) 'A quest for legitimacy: on the professionalisation policies of Sweden's teachers' unions', *Journal of Education Policy*, 29(1), pp. 86–104. doi: 10.1080/02680939.2013.790080.

Lillejord, S. and Børte, K. (2016) 'Partnership in teacher education – a research mapping', *European Journal of Teacher Education*, 39(5), pp. 550–563.

Mausethagen, S. and Granlund, L. (2012) 'Contested discourses of teacher professionalism: current tensions between education policy and teachers' union', *Journal of Education Policy*, 27(6), pp. 815–833. doi: 10.1080/02680939.2012.672656.

Mausethagen, S. and Mølstad, C. (2015) 'Shifts in curriculum control: contesting ideas of teacher autonomy', *Nordic Journal of Studies in Educational Policy*, 2015(2), 28520. doi: 10.3402/nstep.v1.28520.

Mausethagen, S. and Smeby, J.-C. (2016) 'Contemporary education policy and teacher professionalism', in Dent, M., Bourgeault, I.L., Denis, J.-L., and Kuhlmann, E. (eds.) *The routledge companion to the professions and professionalism*. Routledge, pp. 329–342.

Mausethagen, S., Prøitz, T.S. and Skedsmo, G. (2018) *Elevresultater. Mellom kontroll og utvikling*. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.

McClelland, C.E. (1990) 'Escape from freedom? Reflections on German professionalization 1870–1933', in Burrage, M. and Torstendahl, R. (eds.) *The formation of professions: knowledge, state and strategy*. London: Sage, pp. 97–113.

Milner, A. (2018) 'Bridging the divide: examining professional unity and the extended teacher union role in Sweden', *Educational Policy*, 32(2), pp. 189–210. doi: 10.1177/0895904817741547.

Molander, A. and Terum, L.I. (2008) 'Profesjonsstudier – en introduksjon', in Molander, A. and Terum, L.I. (eds.) *Profesjonsstudier*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, pp. 13–27.

Myklebust, R., Afdal, H.W., Mausethagen, S., Risan, M., Tangen, T.N. and Wernø, I.L. (2020) *Rekruttering av menn til grunnskolelærerutdanning for trinn 1–7*. OsloMet skriftserie, nr. 8. Oslo: Oslo Metropolitan University.

Nerland, M. and Karseth, B. (2015) 'The knowledge work of professional associations: approaches to standardisation and forms of legitimisation', *Journal of Education and Work*, 28(1), pp. 1–23. doi: 10.1080/13639080.2013.802833.

Nilsson-Lindström, M. and Beach, D. (2019) 'Utbildningsfältets omvandling och läraryrkenas professionalisering', in Brante, T., Svensson, K. and Svensson, L.G. (eds.) *Det professionella landskapets framväxt*. Lund: Studentlitteratur AB, pp. 127–169.

Ozga, J. and Lawn, M. (1981) *Teachers, professionalism, and class: a study of organized teachers*. London: Routledge. doi: 10.4324/9781315225548.

Rasmussen, J., Kruse, S. and Holm, C. (2007) *Viden om uddannelse: Uddannelsesforskning, pædagogik og pedagogisk praksis*. Copenhagen: Hans Reitzel.

Rovde, O. (2006**)** *Vegar til samling. Norsk lærarlags historie, 1966–2001*. Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget.

Tarrou, A.-L.H. (1991) 'Norway', *European Journal of Teacher Education*, 14(3), pp. 275–286. doi: 10.1080/0261976910140310.

Winther Jørgensen, M. and Phillips, L. (1999) *Diskursanalyse som teori og metode*. Roskilde: Roskilde Universitetsforlag.

12 Teachers' autonomy in assessment: Swedish and German teachers between perceptions of fairness and institutional framings

Kathleen Falkenberg and Johanna Ringarp

Introduction

Teachers' autonomy in assessment is framed through the expectations of school policy- and curriculum-makers, formalised in laws and regulations, and lived through interactions with pupils and their parents. Assessing pupils is always a balancing act between those norms, expectations, rules and regulations on the one side, and teachers' beliefs and professional self-conceptualisation on the other (Falkenberg, 2020). Therefore, when focusing on teachers' autonomy in assessment – and the beliefs, routines and practices connected to it – we can learn about different understandings of teachers' professional role in general, and their autonomy in different education systems in particular.

Teachers' autonomy in assessment is especially crucial in tracked school systems like the German one, since grades and certificates are used at various selective moments with repercussions on further education and the future life chances of pupils. However, even in comprehensive school systems with a clear compensatory and inclusive mission like the Swedish one, grades provide condensed information about pupils' achievements and abilities, becoming a sort of 'quick language' (Lundahl and Waldow, 2009). Although classroom assessment is accompanied by central standardised tests in both countries – though to different degrees and stemming from different traditions (Waldow, 2014) – it is still the individual teachers who make final decisions about pupils' school reports. Teachers' autonomy regarding assessment and grading, therefore, plays a vital role in both countries. This is why, in this chapter, we have chosen Sweden and Germany as comparative units.

Sweden's assessment system has been described as an outlier in the Nordic context. The Swedish education system incorporated an American test-based assessment approach early on, while Norway and Denmark, for example, maintained a more continental tradition until the so-called PISA-shock in the early 2000s (Lundahl and Tveit, 2014; Tveit, 2014). Since our aim is to shed light on what could be called *Swedish* teacher culture regarding assessment using a comparative approach to teachers' beliefs, in our analysis we focus on Sweden as rather atypical compared to other Nordic countries and Germany as a more continental case in terms of assessment traditions.

DOI: 10.4324/9781003082514-16

By focusing on teachers' beliefs in both countries, we hope to facilitate a deeper understanding of the broader concept of teacher autonomy. Beliefs structure people's perceptions and influence behaviour in highly complex situations, such as classroom assessment. Additionally, beliefs are 'embedded in the broader educational system, and touch upon social, ethical and political characteristics of a country or culture' (Braeken and Blömeke, 2016, p. 733). As our findings show, it is this interplay between institutional framing of assessment and teachers' beliefs that influences how much autonomy teachers are granted and how they make use of it.

In this chapter, we first describe our theoretical point of departure. We then present the twofold main part of the chapter, beginning with a review of the main features of the assessment system in each of the two countries, especially of teachers' role in assessment processes. Second, we use a typology of justice beliefs in order to structure and analyse the empirical data, focusing on teachers' beliefs regarding assessment and professional autonomy. In the last section, we discuss our findings in the light of professional theory approaches, and end with some final reflections.

Teachers as professionals

Professionals are organised into professional groups which have a relatively high degree of independence, and their own norms and criteria, and their competence in the field is widely accepted (Evetts, 2011, 2013). This traditional definition (see Larson, 1977; Abbott, 1988) has been criticised for not being suitable for welfare state professions such as teaching (Burrage and Torstendahl, 1990; Evetts, 2003). Moreover, due to societal changes and increased specialisation in many occupational areas, the number of professions has increased – a process that is often described as professionalisation or, from a more critical perspective, as credential inflation (Collins, 2011).

In recent times, with the introduction of New Public Management (NPM) into different societal subsystems, market logic has had a major impact on professions. NPM is usually described as a collection of reforms linking certain international administrative trends that entered the public sector in a number of countries during the 1980s and 1990s (Hood, 1991). For professionals, the introduction of NPM has meant that their autonomy has diminished (Stenlås, 2009). In previous research, this change has been explained through the concepts of professionalisation 'from above' and professionalisation 'from within' (Evetts, 2003). According to Evetts, professionalisation 'from above', or organisational professionalism, involves an increase in the standardisation of work on the part of management, while professionalisation 'from within' describes a situation where professionals, through their autonomy and their scope of action, control themselves. She also refers to the latter as occupational professionalism (Evetts, 2003, 2006, 2013).

Teachers' professional status in the countries analysed is, of course, highly influenced by differing education- and teacher-education systems (for more details, see Chapter 13). However, there are also certain similarities. In both Sweden and Germany, the teacher is both a 'street-level bureaucrat' (Lipsky, 2010) – a civil servant of a public organisation who, in his or her professional practice, executes

political decisions at the local level – and, at the same time, a member of a profession (Fredriksson, 2010). This balancing act, of working as a public official whilst belonging to a profession, has proven to be a challenge for teachers' self-conceptualisation. The reason lies in the relationship between the profession and public sector organisation, since bureaucratic organisations often conflict with the structures of professions (Terhart, 2011). At the same time, teachers in Nordic countries, not least in Sweden, have enlisted the help of the public sector organisation in their process of professionalisation.

In the following sections, we will analyse teachers' role in assessment in Germany and Sweden. Overall, it becomes clear that the standardisation of professional work has had a greater influence in the Swedish educational policy context than in the German. In the German case, we argue that, despite policy changes, occupational professionalism is still much higher.

Institutional framing of assessment in Germany and Sweden

Assessment is a crucial part of teachers' daily routines in both countries but there are major differences in the institutional framing and regulation of assessment practices between Sweden and Germany.

Since Germany is a federal republic, with 16 more or less different education systems, we restrict our focus in this chapter to the system in North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW). NRW is a populous federal state in western Germany, with about as many inhabitants as Sweden. In NRW, compulsory schooling starts at the age of six, and children attend a comprehensive primary school for four years. Grading starts at the latest in year 3 and pupils receive school reports with numerical grades (1–6) for each subject at the end of each semester. In year 4, pupils receive – based upon their learning and grades in the first years of schooling – a 'recommendation for further education', stating which secondary school track pupils should apply for. Although this recommendation is not legally binding, parents tend to follow those recommendations, which means that teachers' judgements have a huge influence on pupils' future schooling and life chances. Sorting pupils into different school types is an expressed policy based on the pedagogical idea of homogenisation through ability-grouping into schools with special profiles where (theoretically) the pupils' full potential and needs will be optimally met. Each of the five secondary tracks follows its own curriculum based upon national education standards, and ends with centralised final exams leading to school-leaving certificates that allow for (or exclude from) certain further educational options.

In each educational track, it is mainly teachers who assess pupils' learning achievements based upon their professional experience and the standards defined in the respective curricula. Even the standardised mandatory proficiency tests (*Vergleichsarbeiten*) in years 3 and 8, which were introduced in 2008, are marked by teachers from the same school. Pupils' work is constantly graded throughout the school year and regularly summed up in school reports which are then used to decide whether pupils move up to the next grade or must repeat the school year. If pupils repeatedly fail to reach a certain grade in the main subjects, teachers and headmasters can advise pupils to leave the school type and continue at a 'lower'

track (*Abschulung*). Thus, there are several points of selection in German education systems where teachers' assessments can lead to far-reaching consequences for pupils' lives. Historically speaking, the importance of grades and certificates for further careers has its roots in a hierarchical system where access to societal positions is bound to certain educational certifications and eligibility (*Berechtigungswesen*; see Zymek, 2008).

The Swedish comprehensive school system has traditionally aimed at democracy and equality under the social-democratic slogan of 'one school for all', but has been challenged more and more by decentralisation and marketisation since the early 1990s. The system today consists of a nine-year *grundskola* (combining preschool, primary- and lower-secondary education) followed by a three-year *gymnasieskola* for upper-secondary and vocational education. Grading traditionally started comparatively late: until 2012, pupils were graded for the first time in year 8; nowadays grading starts in year 6 with an ongoing debate about starting grading already in year 4 (Utbildningsdepartementet, 2019). Assessment in the first years focuses mainly on formative feedback and individualised study, with development talks between teachers, pupils and parents every semester. These lead to the formulation of individual development plans (IUP) for every child. In addition to classroom assessment, there is a strong tradition of standardised testing in the Swedish school system (see Waldow, 2014) which is supposed to guarantee equivalent grading throughout the country. In order to apply for one of the national secondary school programmes, pupils need to fulfil certain minimum standards defined in the curriculum. Pupils who do not meet these standards for one or more subjects can still complete their school report through various programmes. There are no final exams, and pupils receive final report cards containing all their course grades at the end of secondary school.

Complementing the regular school system, there is also a system of adult education (*Komvux*), through which secondary education can be completed at any stage in life. Compared with the selective German system, in the Swedish comprehensive school system, there are far fewer consequences for pupils attached to teachers' grading. But paradoxically, as we will show later, this doesn't reduce pressure on either pupils or teachers.

Looking at the norms and regulations for assessment in both countries, there is a strong normative discourse in Swedish official documents and regulations regarding teacher assessment, focusing on a notion of holistic yet equivalent assessment of pupils' knowledge. Nearly all publications of the Swedish National Agency for Education (*Skolverket*) regarding assessment stress the importance of equivalent grading throughout the country. What is expected of teachers in assessment and what counts as 'fair' assessment seem far clearer on a normative level in the Swedish case than in the German. On the other hand, Swedish teachers enjoy much more freedom in terms of the actual form and frequency of assessment than their German counterparts. In the NRW curriculum documents, learning goals are defined for every school year, which implies linear knowledge acquisition and leads to pressure on both pupils and teachers to cover all the topics expected to be dealt with during a school year. Additionally, detailed guidelines exist on the number of written tests teachers have to process in a certain subject during a certain timespan, and how much weight these should have relative to oral assessments. This level of detail

stands in sharp contrast to the generosity of the general service regulations (*Dienstordnung*) for teachers in NRW, which states that 'it is part of being a teacher to educate, teach, advise and assess pupils on their own responsibility and in pedagogical freedom' (MSW, 2011, section 4(1)).

Although the Swedish regulations do not prescribe specific forms of assessment, the comprehensive school curriculum contains far more grading details than the German. The curriculum contains syllabuses with learning objectives for years 3, 6 and 9, which are then further specified into knowledge requirements for each subject at three different grade levels (A, C and E). Those knowledge requirements express minimum standards that should be achieved by all pupils in order to get a certain grade and are presented as the most important tool for teachers when grading their pupils' work. There are numerous additional publications for each subject explaining how to use the knowledge requirements in assessment practice. At the same time, teachers are encouraged to use all available information about pupils' learning process when assessing them.

It is important to keep in mind that the institutional framing of assessment practices – and thereby teachers' autonomy in assessment – provides precisely that: a framing of practices. How this framing and the embedded room of manoeuvre is used by professionals is still highly contextual and situationally bound.

Teachers' perspective on autonomy in assessment

The empirical data discussed in this section stem from a comparative research project focusing on teachers' justice beliefs regarding assessment in Germany and Sweden (Falkenberg, 2020).[1] The analysis draws on three types of data: official documents (e.g., regulations, laws, guides for teachers), 44 interviews with teachers from different school types who teach Maths or German/Swedish in years 7–10 and assessment materials used or produced by teachers. The interviews focused on teachers' understandings of 'fair assessment', their assessment routines and practices, as well as challenges or constraints they faced when trying to reach an assessment that they perceived as fair. The issue of autonomy in assessment came up regularly in all interviews with teachers from both countries – whether as a prerequisite for fair assessment or in terms of a perceived lack of autonomy that prevents a fair assessment. The outcome of the analysis is a typology of four different patterns of teachers' justice beliefs regarding assessment that were found across the entire sample of teachers from both countries: arithmetic, procedural-bureaucratic, discursive-interactive and compensatory justice. Each of these shows how teachers balance different expectations in order to reach a fair assessment by using different assessment strategies. In the following sections, we will discuss these four types of justice beliefs and their country-specific tendencies, with a focus on the issue of professional autonomy in assessment.

Manipulating the numbers: autonomy and the arithmetic justice belief

The *arithmetic justice belief* is marked by a self-image as subject teacher, whose main responsibility is to convey subject knowledge and, afterwards, to test pupils' knowledge. Assessment is mainly understood as a measurement using written tests while

other forms of assessment, for example, oral examinations or group work, are considered less valid. The focus is on summative assessment at the end of a learning unit with no further advice for improving the learning process. The entire assessment process is dominated by arithmetic procedures in which pupils' tested abilities and performances are transformed into points or numbers that are summarised and converted into grades, often by averaging individual grades from different assessment occasions throughout the school year into final grades. Teachers expressing an arithmetic justice belief tend to expect a Gaussian 'normal' distribution of grades in each classroom and tend to use marking schemes with strict grade boundaries that fit this expectation. Pupils then get sorted into the grading scale along this normal distribution, but the teachers' strategy is challenged regularly through unexpected pupil achievement. Especially, the German teachers who hold this kind of justice belief often change marking schemes retrospectively – meaning, after marking all the tests of a learning group – in order to align grades with their expectations of a particular learning group. This manipulation of marking schemes is then legitimised by referring to teachers' 'pedagogical freedom',[2] stressing that this would be 'way more fair' to the whole learning group. In other words, although those teachers ground their justice belief in arithmetic accuracy, it is their professional room for manoeuvre that enables them to reach a fair assessment even in challenging situations.

The Swedish teachers mostly rejected the idea of assessment as (mainly) assigning points to written tests and grade averages and stated that 'we should assess formatively'. Marking tests and having strict grade boundaries like their German counterparts is considered as summative assessment – which many teachers referred to as something from the past or at least something to be soon overcome.

One way to move away from points and grades dominating communication with pupils about their achievement is the semantic differentiation between 'grades' and 'grade levels'. A Swedish teacher, Pernilla, explained that in her communication with pupils, she uses the term 'grade level' when talking about their learning process during the school year. In her opinion, only when awarding the final grade at the end of the school year should the term 'grade' be used. Otherwise, pupils would be tempted to merely sum up individual grades 'as if they were facts'. Pernilla insisted instead: 'I am looking at all the tasks in the end and then I'll see the progression and the grade they are growing into'. In doing so, Pernilla acts in line with the Skolverket regulation which explicitly states that final grades should not be simple averages of all grades received at a certain time, but instead should be comprehensive and reflect all the information the teacher has about pupils' knowledge (Skolverket, 2012, p. 23).

Nevertheless, some Swedish teachers reported that they do sum up and average all the assessments from one school year, knowingly ignoring the abovementioned regulation.

One explanation for this can be found in an interview with Malin, who stated that pupils get highly confused about the difference between 'grade level' and 'grade'. Malin uses rubrics for her own documentation and as feedback instruments for pupils. These are based on the syllabuses and contain the core content and four columns for notes. Those columns are labelled as follows: level 1 (F), level

2 (E), level 3 (C) and level 4 (A). It may seem like a minor detail, but by naming the columns in this manner, the teacher herself blurs the semantic distinction between grade level (1–4) and grade (A–F) while at the same time knowing that 'actually you shouldn't say C about the competences. You should say level because it is only then C if all […] is compiled into a grade'.

Although all Swedish teachers denied that their own assessment practice is based on arithmetic procedures – as did several of their German counterparts more self-confidently – traces of those procedures can be found in the analysis. But, in contrast to the German teachers, who lean towards an arithmetic justice belief, the Swedish teachers point to external expectations (like Skolverket regulations, or pupils' complaints about the vagueness of the term 'grade level') to legitimate their assessment practices. German teachers rely instead on the vague but obviously reassuring concept of 'pedagogical freedom', which can be understood as a hint at differing modes of professional autonomy.

Following and bending the rules: autonomy and the procedural-bureaucratic justice belief

For those holding the *procedural-bureaucratic justice belief*, an objective, comparable and correct assessment is central. This is achieved through thorough accountability, along with an emphasis on transparency and the need for detailed documentation. In contrast to the discursive-interactive and compensatory justice beliefs discussed later in this chapter, transparency and documentation serve mainly as legal protection strategies in case pupils or parents question teachers' decisions, rather than as ways of reaching a shared understanding or of giving formative feedback. Consequently, these teachers refer often to the legal framework, stressing their status as public servants with professional duties.

However, the need to produce legally safe grades is framed very differently in the two countries: whereas German parents have the right to appeal against individual grades in court, in Sweden, there is no possibility of a judicial appeal process once grades are written down in reports (Waldow, 2014). Nevertheless, Swedish teachers are obliged to make sure that their grades are legally sound, which seems to lead to a growing pressure for documentation. As one teacher, Fredrik put it, he feels the need to 'keep track of EVERY SINGLE STEP right from the beginning', which he does using a digital assessment tool. This tool is based on the core content and knowledge requirements in the syllabuses, which means that Fredrik can 'copy and paste' everything 'easily' into separate files for each pupil. He stressed repeatedly that assessment has become easier, his workload is reduced and that his assessments are somewhat more 'objective' and legally sound. The way he described his assessment practice, though, is reminiscent more of a mechanical sorting process: picking the learning goals, 'results' building up in the programme's registers, 'plop-plop-plop', clicking the right grade, colour coding it, 'very easy', 'that's how it goes'. There is virtually no hesitation or doubt in his narrative but a strong emphasis on matching pupils' abilities to the 'right' grade level.

The German Maths teacher Herr Dabert[3] uses a similar strategy, keeping very detailed documentation in order to be accountable 'at any time' and to secure a

legally sound assessment. But, in contrast to the Swedish teacher, Fredrik, he confidently admitted that he actively chooses to bypass certain regulations by referring to his 'pedagogical freedom'. A telling example of this is that, although he knows about the rule that homework shouldn't be graded, Herr Dabert includes missing homework, disguised as demerits, in his documentation system, in which he assigns points to each pupil in every lesson, aggregates them and incorporates them into the final grade at the end of the school year. Here, he demonstrates that he knows the rules very well – and also knows how to bend them. The discourse of 'pedagogical freedom' helps him as an occupational professional to legitimise deviancies from what he himself states is important for fair assessment: to stay within the legal framework and follow meticulous assessment procedures.

In general, when explaining their assessment practices, Swedish teachers referred far more often to Skolverket publications and positions than their German counterparts to official documents from the NRW Ministry of Education. We argue that this is an example of the increased standardisation of Swedish teachers and teaching. Since digitised assessment systems have become more and more popular in Sweden since data were collected for this study in 2015, future researchers may determine how enhanced digitisation since then has influenced assessment practices and led to an even more standardised approach to assessment.

Deciding together: autonomy and the discursive-interactive justice belief

The *discursive-interactive justice belief* is marked by a strong focus on personal relationships and intensive communication between teachers and their pupils as well as between colleagues. While teachers with arithmetic and procedural-bureaucratic justice beliefs try to avoid 'exhausting discussions' with pupils about assessment and grading, those with a discursive-interactive justice belief rest their perception of fairness in exactly these interactions with pupils and the communicative validation of their judgements. Ensuring transparency about assessment criteria by talking through and reaching an agreement about assessment results is a typical strategy for these teachers. They distance themselves sharply from the arithmetic logic, as a German teacher at Hauptschule expressed it: 'And if it happens that a class goes along with [the grade in the school year report] then we have achieved more than if I hide myself away behind some points saying: You have achieved an average of 2.75 and that's grade 3. That is not ok, I think'. This teacher prefers to discuss her decisions regarding the final grades of individual pupils with the whole learning group. Especially for critical decisions, like giving the same grade to two pupils with differing performances, she stresses her professional autonomy in assessment and uses classroom discussions about individual abilities and learning difficulties in order to make her decisions transparent to the pupils. By opening them up to discussion, she seeks – and gets – legitimation for these grades. The term 'pedagogical freedom' in this justice belief is used in a different sense than in the arithmetic justice belief: here, communicatively produced agreement between teachers and pupils allows for deviations in the common procedure of summing up and averaging grades into a final grade.

In the Swedish interviews, it emerged that discursive-interactive strategies are mainly used for the interpretation of different knowledge requirements for certain grades. By discussing the detailed syllabuses intensively with colleagues and through collaborative teaching strategies, teachers try to reach a 'shared understanding' of the regulations which, in their opinion, promotes a fair assessment. Even though German syllabuses contain core contents and learning goals just like the Swedish ones, they are lacking in precise assessment criteria resembling the Swedish knowledge requirements. German teachers are freer in defining what exactly pupils need to know – or, better, show – in order to get a certain grade, while the Swedish knowledge requirements, intended by Skolverket to help teachers assess pupils' abilities and performance, instead pose a challenge. The 'translation work' of the official documents takes up much time and mental resources of these teachers since they aim at a deeper understanding of assessment than just giving the same grade (as is the focus of teachers who adhere to a procedural-bureaucratic justice belief).

Interestingly, Swedish teachers tend more often to engage in collegial debates and cooperative teaching than their German colleagues who emphasised instead their idea of assessment being an individual rather than a collective act by talking about 'my criteria', 'my grades' or 'in my opinion'. Younger teachers are an exception, as are those who stated that the introduction of standardised proficiency tests and centralised final exams has led to a greater need for cooperation amongst teachers in terms of grading (see Maag Merki, 2012).

The most important country-specific difference relates to timing: whereas German teachers mostly tend to explain final grades retrospectively *after* the learning process is finished, Swedish teachers start discussing *at the beginning* of the learning process with an explanation of knowledge requirements. This can partly be explained by the differing regulations: there are numerous publications from Skolverket expressing the need to explain criteria to pupils, make sure they know where they stand during the learning process and to communicate every little achievement (see, e.g., Skolverket, 2012, pp. 10–11). The downside of this continuous 'achievement talk' is that pupils are fixated on grades rather than the actual learning and knowledge gained, which sometimes leads to performance pressure on pupils (see Vogt, 2017). There are few hints in the German documents that pupils should be informed about their achievements and grades by their teachers but since the actual definition of which performance equals which grade is up to the individual teacher, there is much more freedom for German teachers than for their Swedish colleagues.

Nevertheless, achieving communicative validation of their assessment through discussions with either pupils or colleagues is a common element of all teachers who adhere to a discursive-interactive justice belief.

Finding different ways – autonomy and the compensatory justice belief

The *compensatory justice belief* is shaped by a self-image as a 'coach' or 'pedagogue' who feels responsible for pupils' learning processes and the creation of an environment where all pupils can achieve their best. Teachers take responsibility for pupils' learning – and sometimes even the production of learning outcomes – referring to

assessment as an ongoing process that should mainly serve as formative feedback for pupils. Individual support is highlighted as a key instrument for fair assessment and considering effort and individual learning curves instead of focusing only on results. In accordance with this, concepts like objectivity, comparability and measurement are of minor importance, unlike in the arithmetic justice belief. The compensatory justice belief is found in both Sweden and Germany but, with their differing institutional frames, the extent to which teachers can put it into practice differs greatly.

Most differences are found in the organisational adaptations for individual pupils. Under Swedish regulations, all pupils should be enabled to develop and learn as far as possible (SFS, 2010:800, Chapter 3 section 2). This translates into IUPs and extra adaptations or special support as an integral part of teaching and assessment, resulting in greater organisational flexibility for teaching and assessment.

German regulations, on the other hand, also refer to individual support for pupils, but there is little or no room for teachers to adjust assessment processes. The only exception is when pupils have diagnosed special needs that entitle them to extra support or compensatory measures like more time for written tests.

This institutional framing makes it harder for German teachers with a compensatory justice belief to actually live up to their ideals and make use of their professional autonomy in assessment. One exception in the sample is the headteacher of a Realschule, Frau Hollerdieck, who spoke about her supportive and individual-focused assessment practice. Contrary to Sweden, where headteachers are only responsible for managerial issues, German headteachers regularly teach in addition to those other tasks. Throughout the interview, it became clear that Frau Hollerdieck, due to her position as headteacher, has more room for manoeuvre and is able to ignore or suspend certain rules that regular teachers are obliged to follow. She insisted that teachers should use their pedagogical wiggle room 'ALWAYS in favour of the pupil when in doubt' and described how she tries to encourage the teachers of her school to have a stronger focus on individual support. Compared to other teachers in the sample, it is far easier for her as a headteacher to make use of her professional autonomy (and to recommend her staff to use theirs) than it is for regular teachers at schools where other beliefs are dominant. Additionally, working in a tracked school system like the German one often leads to the common belief that tracking pupils into different school types is sufficient to provide them with individual support – which is highly debatable (e.g., Tillmann, 2008).

Most Swedish teachers referred to individualised teaching and learning as common ground, although the intensity varied. Those who expressed a strong compensatory justice belief often stressed that it is their 'mission' to create diverse possibilities where pupils can learn and achieve as much as possible. 'Taking pupils by the hand' or 'showing them the way' were typical metaphors used to express how responsible teachers feel about their pupils' learning outcomes. In general, Swedish teachers with a compensatory justice belief make use of several organisational instruments in order to adjust teaching and assessment to individual pupils: by using different assessment forms, extending the time span during which grades are assigned for certain subjects into the next school year, offering additional

tutoring, etc. Sometimes, finding different ways even means deviating from Skolverket regulations. But, as one teacher reported, finding different ways can be tricky if pupils do not cooperate.

In short, compensatory justice beliefs are found in interviews from both countries, albeit with different emphases and implications. But, unlike the other three types of justice beliefs, Swedish teachers have much more professional autonomy to realise their ideals than their German colleagues.

Discussion and final reflections

This chapter demonstrates that teachers' professional autonomy in assessment is highly contextual and teachers' beliefs regarding assessment differ not only *between* different contexts, but also *within* educational settings.

However, the interviews also make clear that the German teachers, especially, refer to a so-called 'pedagogical freedom' when talking about their assessment practice. Nevertheless, the way this freedom is used in certain situations differs according to the four justice beliefs: legitimating the manipulation of marking schemes, navigating around and bending regulations, achieving communicative agreement between teachers and pupils, or using it for compensatory purposes. Pedagogical freedom is therefore used to legitimate professional decisions, especially sensitive ones that will probably have severe repercussions on pupils' life chances, such as school year reports. Swedish teachers, on the other hand, refer more often to regulations and to Skolverket as the central actor in assessment-related questions when talking about their assessment practices. Often, they bring their own copy of the curriculum, explaining their assessment practice by reading out the detailed knowledge requirements. We therefore argue that Swedish teachers are far more limited in their professional autonomy regarding assessment than their German colleagues – with an exception being compensatory measurements and individual adjustments in assessment where the institutional framing supports Swedish teachers more than German ones. Linking again to the distinction of professionalisation 'from above' and 'within', we propose that Swedish teachers tend more to organisational professionalism ('from above') whereas German teachers lean towards occupational professionalism ('from within'), in Evetts' (2003, 2006, 2013) understanding. This is in line with other findings about educational governance regimes and teacher autonomy in Sweden and Germany (Wermke, Rick Olason and Salokangas, 2019).

We conclude that teachers in both countries refer to different sources of legitimation when explaining their assessment practices – and that those legitimations are partly framed through institutional settings such as regulations and the school system in general and partly through teachers' own justice beliefs. Although teachers in both countries act as professionals when assigning grades, their degree of autonomy in those decisions is highly influenced by what is possible from an institutional perspective and by what is seen to be fair.

This chapter has not only contributed knowledge about Swedish and German teachers' professional autonomy regarding assessment in school. It has also

contributed to a broader understanding of the concept of teacher autonomy and its local contextuality – which is especially fruitful for the analysis of Nordic teacher cultures.

Notes

1 This project was part of the Emmy-Noether-research group 'Different worlds of meritocracy? Educational assessment and conceptions of justice in Germany, Sweden and England in the age of "standards-based reform"' (2010–2019) led by Florian Waldow and funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG).
2 Interview extracts are marked by quotation marks.
3 The pseudonyms used in this study reflect an additional difference between German and Swedish teachers: whereas in Sweden and other Nordic countries, it is common to refer to people by their first name – even in professional contexts – German teachers (and other professionals) are addressed using the formal titles Herr/Frau and the person's last name.

References

Abbott, A.D. (1988) *The system of professions: an essay on the division of expert labour*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Braeken, J. and Blömeke, S. (2016) 'Comparing future teachers' beliefs across countries: approximate measurement invariance with Bayesian elastic constraints for local item dependence and differential item functioning', *Assessment & Evaluation in Higher Education*, 41(5), pp. 733–749. doi: 10.1080/02602938.2016.1161005.

Burrage, M. and Torstendahl, R. (eds.) (1990) *The formation of professions: knowledge, state and strategy*. London: Sage.

Collins, R. (2011) 'Credential inflation and the future of universities', *Italian Journal of the Sociology of Education*, 3(2), pp. 228–251.

Evetts, J. (2003) 'The sociological analysis of professionalism: occupational change in the modern world', *International Sociology*, 18(2), pp. 395–415. doi: 10.1177/0268580903018002005.

Evetts, J. (2006) 'Short note: the sociology of professional groups: new directions', *Current Sociology*, 54(1), pp. 133–143. doi: 10.1177/0011392106057161.

Evetts, J. (2011) 'A new professionalism? Challenges and opportunities', *Current Sociology*, 59(4), pp. 406–422. doi: 10.1177/0011392111402585.

Evetts, J. (2013) 'Professionalism: value and ideology', *Current Sociology*, 61(5–6), pp. 778–796. doi: 10.1177/0011392113479316.

Falkenberg, K. (2020) *Gerechtigkeitsüberzeugungen bei der Leistungsbeurteilung. Eine Grounded-Theory-Studie mit Lehrkräften im deutsch-schwedischen Vergleich*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Fredriksson, A. (2010) *Marknaden och lärarna: hur organiseringen av skolan påverkar lärares offentliga tjänstemannaskap*. Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet.

Hood, C. (1991) 'A public management for all seasons?', *Public Administration*, 69(1), pp. 3–19. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9299.1991.tb00779.x.

Larson, M.S. (1977) *The rise of professionalism: a sociological analysis*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lipsky, M. (2010) *Street-level bureaucracy: dilemmas of the individual in public services*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Lundahl, C. and Tveit, S. (2014) 'Att legitimera nationella prov i Sverige och i Norge – en fråga om profession och tradition', *Pedagogisk forskning i Sverige*, (4–5), pp. 297–323.

Lundahl, C. and Waldow, F. (2009) 'Standardisation and "quick languages": the shape-shifting of standardised measurement of pupil achievement in Sweden and Germany', *Comparative Education*, 45(3), pp. 365–385. doi: 10.1080/03050060903184940.

Maag Merki, K. (2012) *Zentralabitur. Die längsschnittliche Analyse der Wirkungen der Einführung zentraler Abiturprüfungen in Deutschland*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Ministerium für Schule und Weiterbildung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen (MSW) (2011) *Allgemeine Dienstordnung für Lehrerinnen und Lehrer, Schulleiterinnen und Schulleiter an öffentlichen Schulen*. Düsseldorf: MSW.

Skolverket (2012) *Bedömning och betygssättning i gymnasieskolan (Allmänna råd)*. Stockholm.

Stenlås, N. (2009) *En kår i kläm: läraryrket mellan professionella ideal och statliga reformideologier*. Stockholm: Regeringskansliet.

SFS, 2010:800. *Skollag*, Swedish Government Act, 2010:800, Education Act.

Terhart, E. (2011) 'Lehrerberuf und Professionalität: Gewandeltes Begriffsverständnis – neue Herausforderungen', in Helsper, W. and Tippelt, R. (eds.), *Pädagogische Professionalität (57. Beiheft der Zeitschrift für Pädagogik)*. Weinheim: Beltz, pp. 202–224.

Tillmann, K.-J. (2008) 'Die homogene Lerngruppe – oder: System jagt Fiktion', in Otto, H.-U. and Rauschenbach, T. (eds.), *Die andere Seite der Bildung*. Wiesbaden: Springer Vorschau, pp. 33–39.

Tveit, S. (2014) 'Educational assessment in Norway', *Assessment in Education: Principles, Policy & Practice*, 21(2), pp. 221–237. doi: 10.1080/0969594X.2013.830079.

Utbildningsdepartementet (2019) *Möjlighet till betyg från årskurs 4* (Promemoria, U2019/04190/S). Available at: https://www.regeringen.se/rattsliga-dokument/departementsserien-och-promemorior/2019/12/mojlighet-till-betyg-fran-arskurs-4/ (Accessed: 13 May 2021).

Vogt, B. (2017) *Just assessment in school: pupils' conceptions in Sweden and Germany*. Växjö: Linnéuniversitet.

Waldow, F. (2014) 'Conceptions of justice in the examination systems of England, Germany, and Sweden: a look at safeguards of fair procedure and possibilities of appeal', *Comparative Education Review*, 58(2), pp. 322–343. doi: 10.1086/674781.

Wermke, W., Rick Olason, S. and Salokangas, M. (2019) 'Decision-making and control: perceived autonomy of teachers in Germany and Sweden', *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 51(3), pp. 306–325. doi: 10.1080/00220272.2018.1482960.

Zymek, B. (2008) 'Geschichte des Schulwesens und des Lehrerberufs', in Helsper, W. and Böhme, J. (eds.), *Handbuch der Schulforschung* (2nd ed.). Wiesbaden: Springer Vorschau, pp. 203–237. doi: 10.1007/978-3-531-91095-6_8.

13 Integration, fragmentation, and complexity

Governing the teaching profession and the Nordic model

Wieland Wermke and Tine S. Prøitz

Introduction

National and regional variations in Nordic school systems and elsewhere have traditionally been explained in terms of their input or output governance strategies. The latter are often associated with 'standard-based reforms' designed to control schools' outputs through standard-setting and school evaluation. These approaches emphasise competition or so-called choice policies, which establish quasi-markets within the education system by, for example, shifting from supply to demand financing. By contrast, input-oriented regimes are often associated with centralised regulation of inputs, such as economic resources, detailed curricula, and standardised professionalisation of teachers. There is today, considerable room for multiple and hybrid versions of school governance in which individual teachers, principals, students, or parents influence the direction of development (Steiner-Khamsi and Waldow, 2012; Frostensson, 2015; Wermke and Prøitz, 2019). The emergence of hybrid forms of governance lays the groundwork for recognising the formation of a conglomeration of influences rather than a singular, state-based form of governance. By comparing the teaching profession across three countries from a sociohistorical perspective, we suggest an approach to understanding national teaching professions that emphasises not only the input–output dichotomy, but also the varying degrees of complexity of these governance regimes. We understand complexity in terms of how the components of particular systems interact in contingent and multiple ways (Kauko and Wermke, 2018).

The more entities involved in a system – stakeholders with particular expectations and differing evaluation technologies – the more potential solutions for system-relevant problems are probable. The more solutions there are, the higher the risk of teachers choosing the wrong ones. Reform strategies, including various levels of fragmentation and integration, produce different levels of complexity that national teaching professions must manage. Complexity in teachers' working lives becomes an issue of risk management: decision-making increasingly aims to minimise the possible risks associated with wrong decisions which might lead to sanctions of different kinds. An example of complexity and risk management is what Wermke and Salokangas (2021) call the 'autonomy paradox': the more the decisions to be made and the greater the number of stakeholders involved, the more the teachers may restrict themselves in order to reduce the risk of doing something wrong.

DOI: 10.4324/9781003082514-17

The three countries compared in this chapter are Sweden, Norway, and Germany. For the purpose of our comparison, Sweden and Norway represent the Nordic context, while Germany has been included as a contrasting context outside the Nordic setting. We argue that there is no uniform Nordic teaching profession, even if there is a guiding Nordic ideology of universalism and equality in welfare systems, in which education continues to play an important role (Prøitz and Aasen, 2017). Despite their shared Nordic heritage, we argue that Sweden and Norway differ considerably in their methods of school system regulation – indeed, Norway more closely resembles the German case, which, as a highly stratified, organisationally differentiated, education system, does not have many Nordic-model features at all.[1] Moreover, all three countries have undergone education reforms, but in different ways and at different times. Our comparison will reveal the complementary relationship between output and input strategies, and a pattern of more and less complex multi-governance relationships (Frostensson, 2015).

Swedish teachers: rolling reforms, politicisation, and marketisation

The Swedish education reform in the 1980s and the 1990s was a two-step process (Lundahl et al., 2010): decentralisation, which involved handing over responsibility for schools to municipalities; and marketisation, which introduced free school choice. Decentralisation increased local autonomy and municipal responsibility for financial resources and the organisation of schools. For example, responsibility for teacher employment and salaries was transferred from the central government to municipalities. This was followed by a strong marketisation of the school system. The introduction of school vouchers, which expanded the parents' right to choose a school for their child, transformed the system. Technically, every pupil was given a school voucher which financed the school he or she attended. Teachers were also free to move around within the market. Traditionally strong unions, that were hitherto indicative of a strong corporative teacher culture, lost influence with marketisation and the decentralisation of teachers' work (Persson, 2008). By the early 1990s, teachers bargained for their salaries individually with their principals, and became dependent on the school's individual situation within the market. It has been argued that Swedish teachers shifted from being civil servants and having a civil servant ethos (Lundqvist, 1998) to becoming market actors (Fredriksson, 2010).

In the 1990s, there were few bureaucratic regulations on teachers, as long as the expected results were achieved. Moreover, goals and results were defined openly in the curriculum and syllabi. The main rationale for these reforms was that autonomous teachers in the schools were expected to contribute actively to the curriculum and to interpret the formulated goals and implement them in their local contexts (Carlgren, 2009). This also accelerated market mechanisms. The radical opening of the school system to new actors following marketisation and decentralisation was accompanied by collateral damage. A traditionally centralised and uniform system became increasingly segregated and too complex to

monitor (Wermke and Forsberg, 2017). Moreover, since 2000, large-scale international assessment studies, such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) and Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS), have become increasingly important to Swedish policymaking. Disappointing results after the turn of the millennium showed declining performance among Swedish pupils. The state's response was to roll out strict recentralisation reforms with new control technologies. Since 2008, the government has increased school evaluation through an extended system of school inspectorates and national curriculum testing, increased the number of subjects, included more age cohorts in the testing procedure, and used the results more extensively in assessment (Rönnberg, 2011). Meanwhile, in schools, syllabi have not only become more structured and detailed, but also more prescriptive. Teachers today feel a cross-pressure from increased decision-making responsibilities and individualisation of their work on the one hand, and strict control regimes of different actors at the national and local levels, on the other (Wermke and Salokangas, 2021). In summary, the Swedish school system has become complex and highly fragmented.

The current situation must be understood against its historical backdrop. There has long been a close relationship between certain groups among Swedish teachers (elementary school teachers) and the politically dominant social-democratic movement. From early in its development, therefore, the teaching profession was heavily influenced by politics (Hartman, 2012). Within this social-democratic governance regime, politicians, policymakers, and educational researchers worked closely to govern schools. In other words, the modern Swedish mass schooling project has been highly politicised. This politicisation can be seen as the root of the complexity and fragmentation of the school system today. It can be argued that politicisation, together with decentralisation, actually accelerated fragmentation. Schooling today depends on the municipality in which it takes place, and which political group governs there. It has been shown that the municipal school administration has also become increasingly politicised (Bergh, 2015).

Another historical feature of the Swedish system, related to its high degree of politicisation, is a belief in ongoing school reform. Since the implementation of comprehensive schooling (*grundskola*) by 1962, the government has maintained a stream of school pilots and research projects, requiring constant evaluation and observation. This phenomenon has been described as a 'rolling reform' (Hartman, 2012), an expression of the continuing adjustment and development of the school system by the state. It can be argued that rolling reform has been the state's attempt to shape the relationship between teachers and the state. Therefore, change, or reaction to change, has become an essential part of the Swedish teaching profession over the past decades. Crucially, the rapid pace of reform over the last 30 years or more is likely to have generated feelings of insecurity and instability amongst teachers in an environment in which they are in a perpetual state of novicehood and dependency (Wermke, 2013). Moreover, this 'innovation fetishism' produces a multiplicity of practice, increasing complexity and fragmentation.

Norway: transformation towards output governance in a strong and universal welfare state

In Norway, as in Sweden, an active state has traditionally regulated the educational system, including teacher education, and largely defines the premises of the teaching profession. Through national educational policy, the formation and operationalisation of a comprehensive public education system has helped to realise broader social goals, such as nation-building, economic growth, and a universal welfare system (Telhaug et al., 2006). Within this framework, the teaching profession is an important agent for achieving national policy goals and, consequently, a target of national education policy development, exemplified by numerous reforms and strategies. The last 20 years of intensive education reform have had particular influence on the formation of Norway's teacher culture today. The central elements of these reforms include the introduction of a more results-oriented education system and systems for assessment, combined with a stronger accountability script within a decentralised system (Aasen et al., 2012). Following a period of decentralisation and governing based exclusively on learning outcomes and result-monitoring, policies strengthening central state control were implemented once more, resulting in a mosaic of governing by results, regulations, supervision, various support systems and guidelines, school inspections, and professional development programmes (Prøitz and Aasen, 2017).

In the early reform period, starting in 2006, Norwegian teachers were influenced by new accountability policies that broke with the country's traditional low-stakes educational context. Still, Norway has not put into place the characteristic high-stakes follow-up mechanisms, such as incentives and rewards, found in, for instance, the United States. On this basis, it can be argued that Norway has only moved partway toward an accountability system. The country's reform efforts can be described as an attempt to navigate the tensions between accountability and answerability – with the aims both to reach short-term goals and to fulfil broader purposes – as well as to build capacity for both (Hatch, 2013). Furthermore, the new policies, which emphasise external control of teachers' work, challenge traditional trust in, and autonomy of, teachers (Mausethagen, 2013). Teachers also report being affected by the accountability movements introduced by the latest reforms (Mausethagen et al., 2018). Still, Norwegian teachers today perceive themselves as a rather autonomous occupational group, possibly because of the relatively low-stakes policy, strong teacher unions, and the orientation towards consensus, which requires the involvement of stakeholder groups in policymaking (Helgøy and Homme, 2007; Prøitz and Aasen, 2017).

When new ways of governing Norwegian education were introduced with the so-called Knowledge Promotion Reform (*Kunnskapsløftet*) in 2006, the Norwegian school system had little experience with working with predefined learning outcomes and assessment (Lysne, 2006), as a strongly process-oriented tradition had dominated (Engelsen and Smith, 2010). The introduction of a new curriculum with a learning outcome rationale paved the way for a stronger assessment regime consisting of national curriculum tests, diagnostic and mapping tests, revisions to

the national regulations for assessment, and an intensive government-initiated campaign to enhance the practice of formative assessment. These trends were similar to those seen in Sweden.

Today, Norway is again at the threshold of a new curriculum reform, officially starting in 2020/2021. *Fagfornyelsen*, or 'the renewal of school subjects', is inspired by the international twenty-first-century skills movement, and introduces broader competency goals, an emphasis on 'deep learning', and three specified multidisciplinary topics: public health and life skills, democracy and citizenship, and sustainable development. Within this new development in education policy, teachers are considered as change agents and framed by expectations that they should be both controlled and autonomous in education reform (Prøitz, Rye and Aasen, 2019). On their side, teachers and school leaders report that they have, in recent years, developed a stronger focus on nationally defined learning goals and assessment. Teachers describe their daily work as characterised by a balancing act between fulfilling the requirements of the formal system in terms of national examinations and final grading on the one hand and, on the other, professionally developed ways of teaching within an education system oriented towards learning outcomes (Mølstad, Prøitz, and Dieudé, 2020). This duality underscores how Norwegian teachers must balance the requirements of state governance with their professional ways of working in schools.

The shifts that the current reforms represent for the Norwegian teaching profession are shaped by certain characteristics of its past (Thue, 2017). In 1889, Norway introduced a comprehensive elementary school system, a social equality initiative that took place earlier than in most other countries in Europe. The introduction of this system sparked a growing debate on the kinds of teachers it required. Since then, debates about qualifications for both primary- and secondary-school teachers, and where they should be educated, have recurred (Grotnæss, Sundet and Øygarden, 1982; Garm and Karlsen, 2004). Since 2017, all teacher education requires master's-level qualifications obtained at a university or university college.

Norway has thus had a strong dynamic towards a more integrated and comprehensive professionalisation of primary- and secondary-school teachers (see Chapter 10). Its development can be understood by looking at how the education system, including teacher education, have been coordinated and reformed in parallel by successive governments within a political system characterised by a high degree of consensus regarding educational issues, and with strong cooperative traditions. This historical development provides the basis for a more unified teaching profession and teacher education today. Simultaneously, and in contrast to the move towards more integrated and unified teacher education, tensions have emerged between the expectations of the state and professional ways of working in schools. In regard to how these tensions are handled, a blended teacher culture is apparent, in which teachers have developed professional ways of handling both the requirements of the state and the requirements of the profession.

The state has continuously had a strong role in the development of the teaching profession, from earlier times to today, but its governing has also been characterised by dialogue and collaboration, negotiation and compromise. We might argue,

therefore, that the Norwegian case is not as politicised as the Swedish. This might reflect the difference between the rapid and radical change towards an education system with more private schools owned by private companies, which we find in Sweden, and the scepticism that meets such developments in Norway. This scepticism illustrates how openings for more private schools and new education markets challenge the public universal education system, as well as the collaborative traditions that exist between policymakers and the teaching profession in Norway. Close integration between the state, municipalities, and schools, paralleled by strong unions, a cooperative democratic tradition, and orientation towards consensus in policymaking, can be seen as a continuation of the idea of education as a central part of the welfare system and the nation-building project after the Second World War (Telhaug et al., 2006).

German teachers: organisational differentiation and bureaucracy

In the Federal Republic of Germany, education is the responsibility of the federal states (*Bundesländer*). There are thus certain regional differences in schooling and teaching cultures. However, since the *Bundesländer* work together on educational issues, and are obliged to harmonise their systems, the main structures, such as school governance, and crucial educational traditions and trends, are quite similar (Tenorth, 2008).

Furthermore, when discussing the teaching profession, the division of the German school system into different school types with different kinds of teachers must be taken into account. The school system has separate paths for pupils performing at different levels. Children are instructed together at an elementary school (*Grundschule*) up to the fourth, fifth or sixth grade, depending on which *Bundesland* they live in. The pupils are then assigned to different schools based on academic performance, with parental involvement. The central idea is that homogeneous groups form the best foundation for successful education (Diederich and Tenorth, 1997). Therefore, unsurprisingly, Germany also has a highly complex system of special schools for students with various needs. This academic-performance-based system of organisational differentiation is based on grading and teacher recommendations, illustrating the significant responsibility that teachers have early in students' educational careers. Consequently, if a Nordic model of education draws on the idea of universalism and equal opportunity, the German system displays the opposite: organisational differentiation and meritocracy.

German teachers are mostly tenured civil servants (*Beamte*) employed by the federal state. The federal state also regulates, examines, and certifies teacher education. The civil service structure of the teaching profession can also be seen in initial teacher education, which involves state examinations. The assessment of teaching skills by the seminary heads involves a series of demonstration lessons. This, alongside the prevalence of didactic reasoning (e.g., Klafki's [2000] didactic analysis) as the master plan for lesson planning, leads to a standardisation of teachers' work. Since it is the state that has the overall responsibility for teacher examinations, these have been termed state examinations. Wermke and Paulsrud (2019) argue that the German form of teacher training has a strongly integrative character.

These very traditional structures have been affected by different reforms since 2000, mostly to do with accountability (Thiel, 2019). At the beginning of the 2000s, the shock of German pupils' low rankings in large-scale international studies of student performance, such as the PISA tests, led to a national response. Traditionally, the state has governed the inputs to the school system through the consistent distribution of resources and teacher education, thereby regulating the process of schooling. Since the early 2000s, there has been a shift toward output control. This has meant the implementation of tests based on the central curriculum, and central examinations (*Zentralabitur*) in all German states. However, schools have also gained more autonomy in certain areas. Principals are allowed to use some of their resources more freely and employ more teachers according to their schools' needs. Their responsibilities related to staff development have also increased. This kind of school autonomy was not possible before. All this also implies that teachers and schools today are more accountable for their pupils' performance on standardised curriculum tests and central examinations (Thiel, 2019).

However, despite these reforms, the German education system has not undergone a total 'paradigm shift' (Thiel, 2019). Teachers remain (in most states) tenured civil servants. Although the reforms rolled out in Germany were intended to improve school results through competition, the results of curriculum testing are not made public. Germany does not have a market-regulated school system where schools receive resources based on the number of pupils enrolled, as in Sweden. The reforms have been keenly debated, and the new public management ideology has not been embraced by German teachers and their traditional civil service structures (Terhart, 2011).

Historically, the resilience of traditional structures, even in the face of strong international trends towards reform, is unsurprising. In the nineteenth century, teachers were not controlled by a clerical school inspectorate, but were subordinate to or even part in the Prussian state administration. The state formulated the curriculum and certified teachers' competence through a state exam. By the turn of the twentieth century, a second part of teacher education, which had a didactic and practical focus and was led by expert teachers, became mandatory for secondary-school teachers. This part was also examined by the state (Lundgreen, 2011). The secondary schools were autonomous organisations, in which teachers exercised their judgement about teaching content and methods, as well as more general issues, such as student recruitment and admissions (Tenorth, 1996). Consequently, German teachers have also been considerably secured from political trends and a severe politicisation of the school system.

This considerable decision-making capacity at the school level, and the status of teachers as equivalent to senior civil servants, are today important pillars of the German teaching profession (Lundgreen, 2011). Formal status is also something that elementary school teachers (*Volksschullehrer*) strived for and, in the second half of the twentieth century, were granted by the state. Consequently, the German teaching profession is closely related to state administration but is licensed to teach and run schools autonomously. This historically based teacher privilege was legitimised through teacher training at seminaries. Didactic reasoning was the language for legitimising teachers' interpretation of the curriculum in practice (Hopmann,

2003), but was also an effective way of standardising and shaping teacher practice, following Herbart's and his successors' models of educational practice (Wermke, 2013). This regulated and structured the system of teacher education and licensed teachers according to the state's requirements. The teaching 'license' was, therefore, an integrative instrument. Such extended training required significant resources, but by incorporating standards, norms, and competence into teacher training, the state was able to save on costs related to extensive teacher monitoring. This also resulted in the desired displacement of the church as the main organisation responsible for people's education (Hopmann and Künzli, 1992).

Time has proven the stability of the German teaching profession. The First and Second World Wars did not bring significant changes to its governance (Tenorth, 2008), nor did the end of the National Socialist regime. There were no significant changes during the educational expansion of the 1970s (Terhart, 1998), or after reunification and the incorporation of the East German comprehensive school system in 1990 (Gehrmann, 2003). The stability of the German structures and their underlying bureaucratic traditions stand in striking contrast to the lively history of reform in Sweden and Norway. In Germany, tradition can be seen as integrating and complexity-reducing (Kauko and Wermke, 2018).

Discussion

Our exploration of the education systems of three countries reveals a variety of relationships between states, municipalities, principals, teacher education, and the teaching profession. In the words of Frostensson (2015), teachers must navigate 'multiple governance relationships'. These different actor configurations are important for the understanding of national teaching professions in the Nordic countries and elsewhere in Europe. Using the sociohistorical perspective employed in this chapter, we have traced aspects of output and input governance, as well as their hybridisation, in these three education systems. The German system can be described as a more input-governed regime than the two Nordic cases, while Sweden employs many more techniques of output governance and Norway falls between the two.

Swedish teachers operate within a highly complex system. Radical decentralisation and marketisation reforms since the 1990s have resulted in a confusing system, which tends to blend together many different ideas of what schools and schooling can look like. This has fragmented and increased the complexity of the Swedish system significantly (Wermke and Forsberg, 2017), and is driven by the marketisation and politicisation of the school system. The integrating aspects of the Swedish teaching profession have disappeared, such as strong unions as corporate political actors, and the corporate identity of teachers as civil servants within a stable state bureaucracy. In recent years, the state has started to recentralise its school system, most visibly with the implementation of rigid school inspections and registration for teachers. There is also a growing emphasis on testing for the national curriculum.

However, it is important to remember that in such reform processes, centralised governance is not simply replaced by decentralised governance and then recentralised again. Instead, it is common for hybridised systems to emerge from such

back-and-forth processes. Indeed, after a vast number of reforms, Swedish teachers must now relate in their professional practice to a plethora of governance instruments and are accountable to numerous stakeholders with varying expectations. Historically, Swedish teachers have been used to political reform pressure from above. The phenomenon of rolling reforms has long been a significant feature of the system. This distinctively Swedish pattern, which we might call innovation fetishism, constantly introduces significant new reforms with consequences for teachers' practice, rendering the profession highly dependent on political change. The danger of fragmentation has consequently long been part of the teaching profession's DNA and has provided a fertile ground for radical change in Sweden since the 1990s.

Although similar to some extent, the Norwegian case is less complex. Education here is more streamlined because of the strongly consensus-oriented style of state governance and a comparatively unified teacher education and school system. Nevertheless, the state's strong governance has also produced tensions. A multitude of governing tools are applied, ranging from a competence-based national curriculum to school inspections. There are several stakeholder groups whose interests must be accommodated, and autonomous local authorities with varying governing and financial capacities. There is thus some complexity in the forms of state governance, local autonomy, accountability, and responsibility. Within this context, the teachers are exposed to a high degree of pressure around student performance, while also retaining a high degree of autonomy around teaching and classroom activities. Thus, Norwegian teachers operate within a strong government-defined framework of formal education and teacher education, with a multitude of supporting measures; however, the co-existence of a diversity of expectations from different levels, institutions, and stakeholders also generates complexity and tensions. Historically, Norwegian teachers have been trained for and are used to handling a blend of external requirements and internal responsibilities within an integrated and – certainly in comparison to Sweden – low-stakes professional context.

Finally, Germany is an interesting comparative case to the two Nordic countries, and serves to illuminate our arguments about complexity. The German system has also been influenced by international trends, such as accountability and monitoring cultures. However, the German system was highly complex even before accountability reforms were introduced. German teachers work in a tracked system in which students are sorted based on academic ability. Such a system has significant consequences, for example, on grading and assessment practices. Since different kinds of schools are related to different life chances for students, German teachers bear great risks for their decisions in classrooms and the school. However, teachers can utilise various robust, historically based coping strategies to diminish such complexity. The German system is heavily bureaucratised, which influences teachers' work in the face of such heavy decisions. Their close relationships with the state, as civil servants, give German teachers a robust basis for manoeuvre. These historical particularities, which have been stable for over 120 years, have enabled teachers to defend their profession against accountability-oriented school reforms. Even when PISA results showed up the shortcomings in the German system, such

as mediocre student performance, resulting in a 'PISA shock' (Ertl, 2006) and efforts to reform, the underlying structure of the German teaching profession remained largely unchanged (Wermke, 2013).

This leads us to conclude that, in order to understand all the hybrid forms of education governance we see today, we must introduce *complexity* as a sociohistorical concept. A historically grounded comparison of complexity in school systems – combining knowledge from multiple fields, such as teacher professionalism, education, and education policy – is a fertile way of comparing different national teaching professions. Complexity can then be both described and encountered through processes of *integration* and *fragmentation*.

In relation to the Nordic model, these arguments might be understood as follows: in recent decades, both Norwegian and Swedish teachers have experienced a transition towards more output-oriented, accountability-based governance regimes. Even German teachers have encountered reform attempts. The Swedish strategy of addressing reforms using radical decentralisation and marketisation, accompanied by strong politicisation, has led to a fragmentation of the school system (Wermke and Forsberg, 2017). The Norwegian system does not allow for such a multiplicity. Like in the German system, we see more integrating strategies, and teachers have a corporate identity as civil servants (Wermke and Prøitz, 2019). Moreover, the school administration is relatively less politicised. In both aspects, Germany resembles the Norwegian case.

The Norwegian case is also characterised by the stronger role of national authorities in education governance. A strong state in the reform processes has had an integrating effect and has therefore led to lower complexity for the Norwegian teaching profession. It remains to be seen if recently introduced governance technologies will prove sustainable in Norway, which has not been the case in the German system (Terhart, 2011). Other structures have remained sustainable, which has prevented the significant increase in complexity seen in Sweden. Bureaucratic structures, based on hierarchy and *Didaktik* (a particular system of reasoning), are still important conditions of the German teaching profession. In 1988, Hopmann presented the term *Bürodidaktik* (administrative didactics), which, within the frame of curriculum administration, ties the practice of teaching to an administrative logic provided by state governance. This phenomenon has proven to be highly integrative and sustainable, at the price, however, of reform inertia (Wermke, 2013). However, it is also something that has made German educational complexity manageable, even amidst various crises.

Our comparative analysis leads also to the conclusion that there is no uniform Nordic teacher model today. There is still a guiding idea of a Nordic model in education in terms of universalism and equality (Prøitz and Aasen, 2017), but the ways of reaching such goals with the help of national teaching professions differ for a number of social and historical reasons. The Nordic countries vary in terms of integration and fragmentation, at least in relation to education reform. The ideational basis of a hypothetic Nordic model is similar in both Nordic countries, but the means to achieve them differ, and thereby also the shape and practices of national teaching professions and their practice (Schulte and Wermke, 2019). That is why it is possible that the German and Norwegian teaching professions are

rather similar, even though the German system, with its many forms of organisational differentiation, stands in strong contrast to the Nordic model.

Note

1 That this is provided by different perspectives on the (welfare) state is, as shown by Esping-Andersen (1990), obvious, but will not be elaborated further in this chapter.

References

Aasen, P., Møller, J., Rye, E., Ottesen, E., Prøitz, T. S. and Hertzberg, F. (2012) *Kunnskapsløftet som styringsreform – et løft eller et løfte? Forvaltningsnivåenes og institusjonenes rolle i implementeringen av reformen* (Report 20). Oslo: Nordisk Institutt for studier av innovasjon, forskning og utdanning (NIFU).

Bergh, A. (2015) 'Local educational actors doing of education – a study of how local autonomy meets international and national quality policy rhetoric', *Nordic Journal of Studies in Educational Policy*, 1(2). doi: 10.3402/nstep.v1.28146.

Carlgren, I. (2009) 'The Swedish comprehensive school – lost in transition', *Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft*, 12(4), pp. 633–649. doi: 10.1007/s11618-009-0103-1.

Diederich, J. and Tenorth, H.-E. (1997) *Theorie der Schule*. Berlin: Cornelsen Scriptor.

Engelsen, K. and Smith, K. (2010) 'Is "excellent" good enough?', *Education Inquiry*, 1(4), pp. 415–431. doi: 10.3402/edui.v1i4.21954.

Ertl, H. (2006) 'Educational standards and the changing discourse on education: the reception and consequences of the PISA study in Germany', *Oxford Review of Education*, 32(5), pp. 619–634. doi: 10.1080/03054980600976320.

Esping-Andersen, G. (1990) *Three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Fredriksson, A. (2010) *Marknaden och lärarna. Hur organiseringen av skolan påverkar lärares offentliga tjänstemannaskap*. Gothenburg: Gothenburg University.

Frostensson, M. (2015) 'Three forms of professional autonomy: de-professionalisation of teachers in a new light', *Nordic Journal of Studies in Educational Policy*, 1(2), 28464. doi: 10.3402/nstep.v1.28464.

Garm, N. and Karlsen, G.E. (2004) 'Teacher education reform in Europe: the case of Norway; trends and tensions in a global perspective', *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 20(7), pp. 731–744. doi: 10.1016/j.tate.2004.07.004.

Gehrmann, A. (2003) *Der professionelle Lehrer. Muster der Begründung – Empirische Rekonstruktion*. Opladen: Leske und Budrich.

Grotnæss, I., Sundet, O. and Øygarden, S. (1982) *Søkelys på praktisk lærerutdanning – Pedagogisk seminar i Oslo 75 år*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Hartman, S.G. (2012) *Det pedagogiska kulturarvet* (2nd rev. ed.). Stockholm: Natur & Kultur.

Hatch, T. (2013) 'Beneath the surface of accountability: answerability, responsibility and capacity-building in recent education reforms in Norway', *Journal of Educational Change*, 14(2), pp. 113–138. doi: 10.1007/s10833-012-9206-1.

Helgøy, I. and Homme, A. (2007) 'Towards a new professionalism in school? A comparative study of teacher autonomy in Norway and Sweden', *European Educational Research Journal*, 6(3), pp. 232–249. doi: 10.2304/eerj.2007.6.3.232.

Hopmann, S. (1988) *Lehrplanarbeit als Verwaltungshandeln*. Kiel: Institut für die Pädagogik der Naturwissenschaften (IPN).

Hopmann, S. (2003) 'On the evaluation of curriculum reforms', *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 35(4), pp. 459–478. doi: 10.1080/00220270305520.

Hopmann, S. and Künzli, R. (1992) 'Didaktik-Renaissance', *Bildung und Erziehung*, 45(2), pp. 117–136. doi: 10.7788/bue-1992-0201.

Kauko, J. and Wermke, W. (2018) 'The contingent sense-making of contingency: epistemologies of change and coping with complexity in comparative education', *Comparative Education Review*, 62(2), pp. 157–177. doi: 10.1086/696819.

Klafki, W. (2000) 'Didaktik analysis as the core of preparation of instruction', in Westbury, I., Hopmann, S. and Riquarts, K. (eds.), *Teaching as reflective practice*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, pp. 139–160.

Lundahl, L., Erixon Arreman, I., Lundström, U. and Rönnberg, L. (2010) 'Setting things right? Swedish upper secondary school reform in a 40-year perspective', *European Journal of Education*, 45(1), pp. 49–62. doi: 10.1111/j.1465-3435.2009.01414.x.

Lundgreen, P. (2011) 'Pädagogische professionen. Ausbildung und professionalität in historischer perspektive', *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik*, 57, pp. 9–39.

Lundquist, L. (1998) *Demokratins väktare. Ämbetsmannen och vårt offentliga etos*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Lysne, A. (2006) 'Assessment theory and practice of students' outcomes in the Nordic countries', *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, 50(3), pp. 327–359. doi: 10.1080/00313830600743365.

Mausethagen, S. (2013) 'Reshaping teacher professionalism. An analysis of how teachers construct and negotiate professionalism under increasing accountability', PhD thesis. Oslo: Oslo and Akershus University College.

Mausethagen, S., Prøitz, T.S. and Skedsmo, G. (2018) *Elevresultater: mellom kontroll og utvikling*. Oslo: Fagbokforlaget.

Mølstad, C.E., Prøitz, T.S. and Dieudé, A. (2020) 'When assessment defines the content – understanding goals in between teachers and policy', *Curriculum Journal*. doi: 10.1002/curj.74.

Persson, S. (2008) *Läraryrkets uppkomst och förändring: En sociologisk studie av lärares villkor, organisering och yrkesprojekt inom den grundläggande utbildningen i Sverige ca. 1800–2000*. Stockholm: Arbetslivsinstitutet.

Prøitz, T.S. and Aasen, P. (2017) 'Making and re-making the Nordic model of education', in Nedergaard, P. and Wivel, A. (eds.), *Routledge handbook on Scandinavian politics*. London: Taylor & Francis/Routledge.

Prøitz, T.S., Rye, E. and Aasen, P. (2019) 'Nasjonal styring og lokal praksis – Skoleledere og lærere som endringsagenter', in Jensen, R., Karseth B. and Ottesen, E. (eds.), *Styring og ledelse i grunnopplæringen*. Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk.

Rönnberg, L. (2011) 'Exploring the intersection of marketisation and central state control through Swedish national school inspection', *Education Inquiry*, 2(4), pp. 689–707. doi: 10.3402/edui.v2i4.22007.

Schulte, B. and Wermke, W. (2019) *Internationellt jämförande pedagogik. En introduktion*. Stockholm: Liber.

Steiner-Khamsi, G. and Waldow, F. (2012) 'Policy borrowing and lending in education', *World Yearbook of Education, 2012*. London: Routledge.

Telhaug, A.O., Mediås, A. and Aasen, P. (2006) 'The Nordic model in education: education as part of the political system in the last 50 years', *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, 50(3), pp. 245–283. doi: 10.1080/00313830600743274.

Tenorth, H.-E. (1996) 'Die professionelle Konstruktion der Schule – Historische Ambivalenz eines Autonomisierungsprozesses', *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik*, 34, pp. 285–297.

Tenorth, H.-E. (2008) *Geschichte der Erziehung. Einführung in die Grundzüge ihrer neuzeitlichen Entwicklung* (4th ed.). Weinheim and München: Juventa.

Terhart, E. (1998) 'Changing concepts of curriculum: from 'Bildung' to 'learning' to 'experience': developments in (West) Germany from 1960s to 1990', in Gundem, B.B. and Hopmann, S. (eds.), *Didaktik and/or Curriculum*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, pp. 107–126.

Terhart, E. (2011) 'Lehrerberuf und Professionalität: Gewandeltes Begriffsverständnis – Neue Herausforderungen', *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik*, 57, pp. 202–224.

Thiel, C. (2019) *Lehrerhandeln zwischen neuer Steuerung und Fallarbeit. Professionstheoretische und empirische Analysen zu einem umstrittenen Verhältnis*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Thue, F.W. (2017) 'Lærerrollen lag på lag – Et historisk perspektiv', *Norsk pedagogisk tidsskrift*, 101(01), pp. 92–116. doi: 10.18261/issn.1504-2987-2017-01-09.

Wermke, W. (2013) *Development and autonomy. Conceptualising teachers' continuing professional development in time and space*. Stockholm: Stockholm University.

Wermke, W. and Forsberg, E. (2017) The changing nature of autonomy. Transformations of the late Swedish teaching profession. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, 61(2), 155–168.

Wermke, W. and Paulsrud, D. (2019) *Autonomie im Lehrerberuf in Deutschland, Finnland und Schweden: Entscheidungen, Kontrolle, Komplexität*. Münster: Waxmann Verlag.

Wermke, W. and Prøitz, T.S. (2019) 'Discussing the curriculum – Didaktik dichotomy and comparative conceptualisations of the teaching profession', *Education Inquiry*, 10(4), pp. 300–327. doi: 10.1080/20004508.2019.1618677.

Wermke, W. and Salokangas, M. (2021) *The autonomy paradox: teachers' perceptions of self-governance across Europe*. Berlin: Springer Nature.

Conclusion

Schoolteachers and the Nordic model

Jesper Eckhardt Larsen, Barbara Schulte and Fredrik W. Thue

To what extent can we talk about a Nordic model, and how have schoolteachers interacted with and contributed to such a model? As argued in the Introduction, the notion of a 'Nordic model' has served as an instrument of internal regional identity-building as well as of external cultural and political diplomacy. Nordic references were mobilised in Denmark against the threat from Germany since the second half of the nineteenth century, in Finland after the civil war, and in most of the Nordic countries during and after the Second World War, not least during the ideologically polarised Cold War. Particularly during the twentieth century, the Nordic societal model functioned largely as a canvas on which the outside world projected its utopian – and sometimes dystopian – ideological dreams.

The contributions to this volume have studied Nordic schoolteachers comparatively and historically as a patchwork of national historical trajectories, which, while converging and interacting at certain points, have also been distinct and, in some respects, contrasting. Can we nonetheless identify some crucial commonalities or family resemblances between the five countries' educational traditions and teachers' roles and cultures in support of the hypothesis of a common Nordic path? If so, what is the proper historical outlook for identifying such a Nordic distinctiveness – how deeply into the past should its origins be traced? Finally, how have the Nordic countries responded to a new era of globalisation, neoliberalism, international student assessments, and increasing output control of teacher performance? Has (any) distinct Nordicness in education declined or evaporated through immersion into global trends?

The questions raised in this conclusion are thus directed towards a historical assessment of whether, or to what extent, a distinct Nordicness can be found within the field of education and teacher cultures, as well as towards the similarities and differences between the Nordic countries in each of the three areas covered by this volume: schoolteachers in the context of a Nordic model; Nordic teacher education; and Nordic teachers, their professional identities and practices, and their governance.

Schoolteachers in the context of a Nordic model

The 'Nordic model' can be approached either with a view from the outside, or from within. As a widely circulating stereotype during the period since the Second World War, the 'Nordic model' has tended to privilege the case of Sweden, as if this

DOI: 10.4324/9781003082514-18

country incarnated more general qualities of the Nordic region or found itself at the vanguard of a distinctively Nordic trajectory of democratisation and modernisation. This view from the outside has also typically concentrated on the heyday of social democracy and of the welfare state as the high point and *telos* of Nordic modernity.

Viewed from the inside, a distinct, shared Nordic perspective on education was, arguably, the earliest and maybe even the sole successful outcome of the political movement to create some kind of 'real' Scandinavian unity in the second half of the nineteenth century. There are diverse interpretations of the discontinuities between the earlier Scandinavianism and later Nordic cooperation (Hemstad, 2010). However, for the educationalists involved, this discontinuity was perhaps less overt. As mentioned in the Introduction, the first 'Nordic school meeting' for regional networking was to take place in Denmark but was prevented from occurring by the war with Prussia and Austria in 1864 (*De nordiska skolmötenas silfverbröllop*, 1895). Scandinavianism as a political movement proved unable to mobilise military forces in defence of Denmark but, during and after the war, the idea of an educational-cum-cultural counterreaction to the defeat and loss of Danish territory became very prominent in the minds and hearts of many Danish and Nordic actors within the field of education (Skovmand, 1983; Nielsen, 1995). Nordicness in education, as epitomised by the folk high-school movement, crystallised in the form of recurrent school meetings over the following century. This established an arena of interchange and communication of educational ideas. The share of active schoolteachers as participants in these meetings was substantial (Landahl, 2015).

The contributions to this volume have identified several important similarities and differences between education in the Nordic countries even before the first manifestation of a common Nordic educational arena. While Denmark–Norway made the first attempt to implement mandatory elementary schooling as early as 1739, Sweden only followed suit a century later, and Iceland and Finland did not introduce compulsory school attendance until 1907 and 1921, respectively. The balance between top-down and bottom-up forces in the formation and reformation of national school systems and teacher education has also varied between the Nordic countries as well as over time in each country.

The volume shows a diverse and multifaceted picture of how teachers across the region were emissaries of the state and how some formed groups with their own distinct agendas. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century schoolteachers were, for political as well as social reasons, humble servants of the absolutist state and the church, and had to align with their top-down initiatives. This can be seen very clearly in the Danish implementation of the monitorial system of instruction in the beginning of the nineteenth century, where the king simply overruled all opposition among schoolteachers and the clergy in an absolutist move (Reeh and Larsen, 2014). In the second half of the nineteenth century, however, teachers generally assumed a more assertive role, with emerging teacher unions and individual teachers becoming politically active in early processes of democratisation. Not least in countries that developed strong rural countercultural movements, such as Norway and Denmark, the politicisation of teachers had far-reaching consequences.

The dual character of these late-nineteenth-century teachers as organic intellectuals of the people, and at the same time, as servants of a nation-building state, was, to some extent, in continuity with the past. The history of the 'teacher as peasant', which Christian Larsen presents in Chapter 3, neatly epitomises the ambivalent position of teachers as role models *of* and *for* the people. By cultivating their own piece of land, teachers became part of the local community *and* public emissaries of innovation and industriousness on behalf of a modernising state. Thue, in Chapter 2, argues that the amphibiousness of the teacher's role echoed that of the pastor in earlier times, who in the late eighteenth century, was often labelled 'folk teacher'. Thinly dispersed throughout the country, both pastors and teachers were 'frontline public servants' in close contact with local communities and the life world of their 'subjects'. Thue thus emphasises continuity, arguing that Nordic teachers' double role as disseminators of officially esteemed values, and caretakers of children's subjectivity, reflects a complex religious heritage: Lutheranism's seemingly paradoxical combination of rigid religious confessionalisation driven by the state and a radical religious subjectivity and individualism leading to lay revivalism.

The idea of a folk teacher, however, assumed a new and potentially revolutionary meaning when the concept of 'folk' changed from signifying a subservient role under a guardian state into a category of sovereignty in the democratised nation-state (Korsgaard, 2012). The Nordic countries have been described as being discursively dominated by a continuity of positive political connotations of the 'folk' concept since the late nineteenth century (Trägårdh, 1990). Briefly summarised, an alliance emerged between liberal farmers and reformist social-democratic workers in the early twentieth century. The Nordic conception of 'folk' was thus coloured by liberalism in combination with reformist, democratic socialism and was distinguished by class compromise. It thereby departed from the *völkisch* ideologies instrumentalised from the 1920s onwards in Germany (ibid.).

The Scandinavian comprehensive school systems of the period following the Second World War have, arguably, been shaped by this collaboration and compromise between liberal and social-democratic parties and movements (Wiborg, 2009). The exact way these political forces interacted in the formation of comprehensive school systems varied from country to country. In late-nineteenth-century Sweden, liberal and labour political mobilisation largely concurred and elementary schoolteachers were roughly equally divided in their support for the two parties. In Denmark and Norway, a broad liberal-democratic movement arose several decades before the labour movement came of age, and liberals took the first decisive steps towards a comprehensive national school system. In Norway after 1945, the governing Labour Party implemented a comprehensive lower-secondary school which, while strongly inspired by the Swedish example, could also be seen as a continuation of previous liberal-progressive educational policies. In Denmark, social democrats were less hegemonic and partly governed in coalition with the liberal-progressive party *Radikale Venstre*. Educational reforms were less pervasive; the Danish folk school remained deeply influenced by the Grundtvigian heritage of the late nineteenth century, and the traditional cultural schism between primary and secondary schoolteachers endured.

The distinctive Nordic teacher cultures that prepared the soil for the partnership between Labour-dominated governments and folk schoolteachers had been born of the rise of civil society in the nineteenth century, with a dense network of local organisations, popular movements, as well as religious and national revivalism. The folk high-school movement represented a crucial link between these currents and primary teachers' coming-of-age as a self-conscious vocational group. While uniquely strong in Denmark, the movement was also vital in Norway and Sweden. In all three countries it influenced teacher cultures and bolstered an educational ideology that stressed the intrinsic value of the folk school as a 'school for life', to use Grundtvig's term. These ideas may have enhanced the receptivity towards child-centred pedagogical methods in the early twentieth century and later contributed to deprioritising the propaedeutic and selective functions of primary schooling after the Second World War. However, there was a symptomatic difference between the national populist folk high schools of Denmark and Norway, and the more rationalist profile of their Swedish counterparts, many of which were part of the Swedish labour movement's uniquely powerful institutional network for popular education. This relates to the Nordic differences analysed in Jesper Eckhardt Larsen's chapter (Chapter 1) between the more 'organic' Danish and Norwegian teachers and their more 'colonising' Swedish, Finnish, and Icelandic colleagues, which reverberated in twentieth-century school development and teacher cultures. Larsen bases this characterisation on observations of more centralised and statist forms of control, as distinct from civil society control of teacher education institutions from around 1880 to 1920, as well as on data on recruitment patterns and the location of preservice teacher education institutions.

As community leaders and politically active agents, teachers in Sweden on the one hand, and Denmark and Norway on the other, were less contrasting. Like their Danish and Norwegian colleagues, Swedish teachers were often leaders in organisations and movements in their local communities and shared some characteristics of organic intellectuals. However, the general Swedish teacher culture was, arguably, of a more top-down, rationalist, and statist kind. The harsh opposition between the urban elites and rural countercultural Norwegian and Danish groups of teachers was not to be found in the Swedish case, where relations between academic life and the 'folk' were more harmonious, or, if expressed in a more critical way, of a more hierarchical nature. The Finnish case, on the other hand, shows a full victory of the urban elites within the field of education. In Iceland, the picture is that of strong integration between folk and state, without the existence of strongly countercultural institutions within the field of teacher education.

As also argued in the chapter by Jesper Eckhardt Larsen (Chapter 1), the organic teacher type was not without a colonising and statist function. Thus, Norwegian and Danish teachers were not free of 'colonising' traits as they operated as emissaries of Christianity and nationalism among the Sami population of North Norway, the Inuit in Danish Greenland, and in the disputed border area of Schleswig/South Jutland. Within national borders, the strategy towards minorities could be quite assimilative in these two otherwise culturally defensive countries. Teachers of the organic type may even have helped reproduce subtle inequalities: as not only

emissaries of the state but also cultural mediators between state and civil society, who met the people on an equal standing as 'folk teachers', they may indeed have been more efficient disseminators of cultural nationalism and state loyalty than the more unambiguously colonising teacher type. The more colonising teacher type found in Sweden, Finland and, to some extent, also in Iceland can thus, by contrast, be seen as characterised by a more urban and perhaps cosmopolitan outlook.

One of the most crucial points of convergence between the different Nordic trajectories was the common propensity of elementary schoolteachers to align with 'progressive' parties and movements to introduce and expand comprehensive school systems dominated by their own cultural and vocational values. From the late nineteenth century to the interwar period, Nordic elementary schoolteachers strongly endorsed liberal and/or social-democratic initiatives to build a common folk school as a crucial instrument of nation-building, democracy, and egalitarianism. After the Second World War, folk schoolteachers enthusiastically supported the integration of the lower-secondary school into an expanded scheme of compulsory comprehensive schooling. They saw their jurisdiction and career opportunities boosted by Labour-dominated governments which argued that a unified compulsory school required a unified teaching profession. A core defining feature of the 'Nordic model' of education was the close cooperation between progressive political forces and elementary schoolteachers in the pursuit of a comprehensive national school system. In the post-war welfare states, this cooperation was institutionalised in a corporatist form; teacher unions and expert councils took an active part in educational policymaking and the day-to-day administration of the educational system (Wiborg, 2009, 2017; Helsvig, 2017).

While a long historical continuity in Nordic education and teacher cultures can arguably be traced backwards from the post-war welfare states to the nineteenth century and even further back, from the era of absolutism and Lutheran orthodoxy, a complex and controversial question is whether, or to what extent, this continuity has been broken by new policy trends since the 1980s. These trends have included the dismantling of corporatist educational governance and the reduction of teachers' codetermination in local and central school management, increasing focus on students' measurable learning outcomes and output control of educational quality, as well as a range of measures to 'professionalise' teachers from above and hold them accountable for their performance.

Nordic teacher education

In recent decades, Finland has stood out among Nordic countries with its internationally admired system of academic teacher education, a carefully selected and uniquely autonomous teaching profession, and a school system largely steered by professionals at arm's length from the government (see Chapter 4). By contrast, the Swedish educational system has been subject to 'rolling reforms', politicisation, and marketisation, as pointed out in Chapter 13, and teachers' social status has been in marked decline. Norway seems to have found a wavering compromise between its democratic-egalitarian school tradition and new, more performance-oriented aspirations, though challenged by an ongoing though unspoken tug-of-war between

the government's thrust to professionalise teachers and the teachers' pre-emptive attempts to professionalise themselves, as Mausethagen shows in Chapter 11.

In Sweden and Norway, folk schoolteacher training was upgraded and integrated into the general higher education sector in the 1970s, and new opportunities opened for continuing education with flexible combinations of teacher colleges and university credentials. While the old dualism between academically oriented upper-secondary teachers and more pedagogy- and nurture-oriented folk schoolteachers was hardly fully transcended, the entire education systems of both countries were successively reformed, from the primary and lower-secondary to the upper-secondary and tertiary school levels (see Chapter 10). The comprehensive school project thus laid the foundation for reform at a higher level, leading to a pervasive democratisation and equalisation of the entire educational system. This was particularly evident in Sweden, where even university studies became thoroughly transformed.

In Denmark, the strongly consolidated culture of the folk schoolteachers was less able to penetrate the higher levels of the school system and vice versa, and the dualism between the two teacher cultures and their respective schools largely continued. Danish social democrats, less hegemonic in national politics, and more influenced than their Swedish and Norwegian fellows by a liberal educational tradition rooted in the nineteenth century, generally showed more restraint around reforming teacher training institutions, and educational policies were shaped by coalition and compromise with the liberal and conservative opposition. In the crucial years of the common Nordic reform wave in the 1970s, the differences were consolidated between, on the one side, a more continental upper-secondary school tradition in Denmark with a continuing focus on *Bildung* (Danish *almendannelse*) and, on the other, a more Anglo-Saxon high-school inspiration in Sweden and Norway (see Chapter 10 in this volume; Haue, 2003).

Finland's trajectory is exceptional in the Nordic context (see Chapters 5, 6, 7, and 9). From around 1970, a comprehensive teacher culture was effectively created by transforming all teacher training into academic programmes organised by the universities. Preliminary initiatives to academise primary schoolteacher education were taken much earlier, as shown in Chapters 5 and 7. Still, full academisation was not realised without cultural struggles to preserve a more folk-adjacent teacher culture (Nieminen, 2018).

In Iceland, granting teacher training institutions university status in 1971 seemed a less dramatic step due to the smaller scale of the teacher training sector. This process resembled the slow integration between primary teacher training and the universities that took place in Sweden and Norway, where the education of comprehensive primary and lower-secondary teachers was integrated into higher education systems from the 1970s onwards. Denmark is, in this respect, an outlier, not only in the Nordic area, but also compared with most other Western countries. In Denmark, primary schoolteachers are still educated in non-academic, professional, so-called 'development-based' institutions, in contrast to the 'research-based' ones now found in all the other Nordic and in most continental European countries (see Chapter 7).

Nordic teachers, their professional identities and practices, and governance

The construction of a past with regard to education and teachers' vocational identity is intimately connected to negotiations of the present. By using the concept of *professionalism* and viewing schoolteachers' occupation as a *profession*, actors in the field seem actively to promote a notion of fundamental historical discontinuity. In a Nordic context, the 'professional teacher' represents a rather new teacher type. As shown by Mausethagen in Chapter 11, the discourse of teacher professionalism did not take off in the Nordic context before the turn of the millennium. And, clearly, it was a departure from the previous comprehensive teachers, closely connected to the educational discourse and institutions of Nordic welfare states. Now, with a new focus on performance, professionalised teachers are intended to become learning optimisers, more specialised in dealing with different age groups, and legitimising their knowledge of teaching through universal evidence-based methods.

Nordic teachers have long been characterised by close relationships with the state and have, in most instances, trustingly adopted policymakers' strategies. Even after what some have regarded as the end of corporatism, as Mausethagen's study shows, there is an enduring willingness among teachers to be bureaucratically governed. The current Nordic teaching profession is socialised into – and, in fact, often asks for – bureaucratic support in its work.

However, this common 'statism' of Nordic teachers is not mirrored in a shared Nordic model of governance. On the contrary, the Nordic countries have quite differing approaches to the governance of teachers. As several contributions to this volume show, this field is constituted differently in each country, even though an initial observation suggests that all have moved somewhat from input towards output governance, following global education trends.

The Finnish case shows most clearly a centralised and state-driven allocation of resources in advance (*ex ante*), financed as a public good, certified and high-level academic pre-service education of teachers, general curriculum guidelines, freedom of methods, and a low stakes educational context, with a strong continuity from the 1970s onwards, albeit challenged by recent reforms in upper-secondary vocational schools in the direction of OECD-inspired output governance.

At the other end of the spectrum is Sweden, in this respect, almost a land of extremes. Sweden turned from a highly state-driven system into an output-oriented regime in the 1980s and 1990s. This includes decentralised allocation of resources after evaluation of performance (*ex post*), combined with semi-market 'choice' financing (state vouchers) and high-stakes follow-up mechanisms for individual institutions. It also included a wave of privatisation, generating a whole range of so-called 'free schools' that are still completely financed by the state, but whose profits go to private companies. However, the chequered results led these moves to be partly reversed in 2008 with the introduction of central state inspectorates and national testing. The impression of the Swedish case is thus one of 'rolling reform' and 'innovation fetishism' (see Chapter 13).

In most cases, however, Wermke and Prøitz argue for multiple and conglomerate combinations of input and output types of governance. Norwegian governance is traditionally state-centred, but with increasing municipal and output control since the turn of the millennium. Being almost exclusively public (97% of all pupils) it thus resembles Iceland which also has an almost total state monopoly on schooling (private schooling has recently grown to 3%). In governance, Iceland has, however, emulated a more Danish model with strong school boards with parents as members. The Danish case exhibits more traditional private characteristics – since the free school law of 1855, it has been possible to open civil-society schooling based on distinct pedagogical ideals, and which are not-for-profit – albeit with the special twist that 'private' here means that the state pays anyway (with 80% public financing). Around 18% of all children attend private schools in Denmark. As mentioned, parents have a large say in the Danish municipal school boards of publicly financed and driven schools.

Turning to the classroom roles of teachers and their use of pedagogical approaches, several chapters in this volume (Chapters 7 and 13) describe the Nordic countries as influenced by the German *Didaktik* tradition. This approach has been contrasted with the Anglo-American curriculum approach as two distinct 'constitutional mindsets' (Hopmann, 2008). The question is how and to what extent each of the five countries has received, interpreted, and integrated the *Didaktik* approach into schooling practice. This approach is connected quite intimately with an input governance regime.

The *Didaktik* approach is heavily influenced by the work of Johann Friedrich Herbart and his students, and was unevenly imported into the different Nordic countries, having the greatest influence in Finland. However, since the arrival of the German idea of *Bildung* from the early nineteenth century onwards, each of the Nordic countries has developed both similar and differing interpretations of this shared idea. After its import from the late-eighteenth-century German use of the concept, *Bildung* evolved into its constituent notions of institutionalised learning and general philosophical patterns of interpretation. Thus, *dannelse* in Danish and Norwegian, *bildning* in Swedish, *mentunn* in Icelandic, and *sivistus* in Finnish have had their own trajectories in each national context.

The shared aspects of these concepts in the Nordic cases include the critical importance of the teacher's reflective interpretation of subject content in instruction. In this tradition, the teacher is responsible for elaborating the intrinsic value of a subject for the education of pupils. The Nordic tradition thus stresses that the reflective practice of teaching and pedagogy is, so to speak, the 'theology' of the teaching profession in this tradition (Chapter 7).

This approach is contrasted to the so-called curriculum approach with its roots in Anglo-American education systems. This approach is associated with the idea of building systems of public schools in which the work of teachers is explicitly directed by an authoritative agency as part of a larger curricular programme containing a statement of aims, prescribed content, textbooks (in the American case), and methods of teaching which teachers are expected to implement (Wermke and Prøitz, 2019). The curriculum approach leaves more of the normative judgements to the administrative and political levels, whereas the *Didaktik* approach actively

involves teachers in the interpretative and normatively guided implementation of the intended aims and content of education.

In line with the curriculum tradition, Sweden incorporated an American test-based assessment approach soon after the Second World War, while Norway and Denmark, for example, maintained a more continental tradition until the so-called PISA shock in the early 2000s (Lundahl and Tveit, 2014; Tveit, 2014). Sweden has therefore been described as an outlier in the Nordic context. Falkenberg and Ringarp, in this volume, argue that Swedish teachers are far more limited in their professional autonomy regarding assessment than their German colleagues. The turn from input towards output governance can, partly, be interpreted as a shift in the Nordic context from a more German orientation to an increasing influence from English-speaking countries – methodologically, content-wise, and normatively.

New agendas, new Nordic reactions

Many observers and historians of education have interpreted the new policies in the Nordic region as a neoliberal turn driven by an emulation of international policy trends and incited by such transnational drivers as OECD policy recommendations and international student assessments (e.g., PISA). We choose, tentatively, to distinguish between three possible readings of these new developments: (1) an idea of necessary reforms on the basis of pressures from globalisation, (2) an evolving complex conglomerate of tradition and renewal, and (3) a specific Nordic path into the era of globalised education.

An influential contribution to the first reading in the case of Denmark was the almost officially endorsed shift from a 'welfare state' to a 'competition state'. According to the political scientist Ove Kaj Pedersen, Nordic welfare states transformed themselves into competition states as a necessary innovation due to the pressures of a globalised knowledge economy (Pedersen, 2011). A competition state aims at maximising innovation and competitiveness through a combination of high-quality mass education, scientific excellence, and networks of institutionalised cooperation between science, technology, and industry. This new interpretation, or model, of a state presented by Pedersen, was welcomed in 2013 by the Danish minister of finance, Bjarne Corydon, a member of the Social Democratic government.

In line with this reading, Waine and Wiborg argue in their chapter (Chapter 8) that we are now witnessing the dawn of a new era for education and teacher training, as countries are plunged into a changed international environment of globalisation, technological innovation, and intense economic competition. Countries are faced with the so-called 'crisis of the welfare state', the onset of fiscal austerity, demands for government efficiency, and rising disaffection with centralised, bureaucratic modes of governance. In this reading of the new era, the creation of egalitarian education structures is no longer enough, and the emphasis is now on academic excellence, which the existing institutions were not specifically designed to provide.

In line with the second reading, Wermke and Prøitz caution against too-strong dichotomies in the interpretation of recent developments. They argue that today

there is considerable room for multiple and hybrid versions of school governance in which individual teachers, principals, students, or parents influence the direction of development. The emergence of hybrid forms of governance lays the ground for recognising the formation of a conglomeration of influences rather than a singular, state-based form of governance. From a sociohistorical point of view, they suggest an approach to understanding national teaching professions that emphasises the varying degrees of complexity of these governance regimes. Complexity is understood in terms of how the components of particular systems interact in contingent and multiple ways. In certain aspects, this second reading resembles the one taken by a recent national Norwegian report on teachers, which identifies layers upon layers of teacher roles that add up to a conglomerate, or archaeological, interpretation of the present situation (Dahl et al., 2016).

Finally, both politicians and scholars have tended towards the idea of multiple paths into a new global era. In what could be referred to as a 'sushiology' of global trends, highlighting the comparative benefits of cultural interchange, the culinary parallel was easily identified in the initiative towards a 'New Nordic School' introduced by the Danish minister of education, Christine Antorini (Ministeriet for Børn og Undervisning, 2012). Like the Copenhagen restaurant Noma, which epitomises New Nordic cuisine with clear Asian inspirations, Nordic education policymakers and practitioners should consciously play to the existing strengths of the Nordic model in a proactive and responsive reaction to competitive global agendas (Skerry, 2002; Christensen and Kristensen, 2012).

The introduction to this volume pointed to the drastic increase in both political and scholarly references to a Nordic model; a specific path into a new global environment is now quite actively being constructed, nominated, and also branded as 'Nordic'. But are these just rhetorical exercises in view of a general decline of the Nordic model? The contributions to this volume point in multiple directions and thus we cannot aim for an ultimate synthesis in this conclusion. Instead of adhering to a uniform reading of globalisation, and the 'abstract universalism of transnationally disseminated models' as well as the 'global spread of a world-level developmental and educational ideology', we have given attention to both 'deviation-generating structural elaboration' and 'the persistent diversity of socio-cultural inter-relationship networks' (Schriewer, 2003, p. 31) in the pursuit of comparing and historically interpreting schoolteachers' changing roles and cultures in the Nordic region.

References

Christensen, S. and Kristensen, J.E. (2012) 'Ny Nordisk Skole', *Tubulens.net: Forum for samtidsrefleksion*, 17 October 2012. Available at: https://turbulens.net/ny-nordisk-skole/ (Accessed 12 May 2021).

Dahl, T., Askling, B., Heggen, K., Iversen Kulbrandstad, L., Lauvdal, T., Qvortrup, L., Salvanes, K.G., Skagen, K., Skrøvset, S. and Thue, F.W. (2016) *Om lærerrollen. Et kunnskapsgrunnlag*. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.

'De nordiska skolmötenas silferbröllop' (1895) *Svensk Läraretidning*, 27, p. 334.

Haue, H. (2003) 'Parløb og stafet i dansk-norsk gymnasiekultur', in Slagstad, R., Korsgaard, O. and Løvlie, L. (eds.) *Dannelsens forvandlinger*. Oslo: Pax Forlag, pp. 210–231.

Helsvig, K.G. (2017) *Reform og rutine: Kunnskapsdepartementets historie 1945–2017*. Oslo: Pax.
Hemstad, R. (2010) 'Scandinavianism, Nordic co-operation and "Nordic democracy"', in Kurunmäki, J. and Strang, J. (eds.) *Rhetorics of Nordic democracy*. Studia Fennica Historica, vol. 17. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, pp. 179–193.
Hopmann, S.T. (2008) 'No child, no school, no state left behind: schooling in the age of accountability', *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 40(4), 417–456.
Korsgaard, O. (2012) *Kampen om folket: Et dannelsesperspektiv på dansk historie gennem 500 år*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal.
Landahl, J. (2015) 'Det nordiska skolmötet som utbildningspolitisk arena (1870–1970): ett rumsligt perspektiv på den moderna pedagogikens historia', *Utbildning & Demokrati* 24(3), pp. 7–23. doi: 10.48059/uod.v24i3.1040.
Lundahl, C. and Tveit, S. (2014) 'Att legitimera nationella prov i Sverige och i Norge – en fråga om profession och tradition', *Pedagogisk forskning i Sverige* (4–5), pp. 297–323.
Ministeriet for Børn og Undervisning (2012) *Velkommen til Ny Nordisk Skole*. Copenhagen: Ministeriet for Børn og Undervisning.
Nielsen, V. (1995) 'En dansk og nordisk kampskole', in Norlan, F. and Christiansen, E. (eds.) *Harpens Kraft – Frederiksborg Højskole i 100 år*. Aarhus: Systime.
Nieminen, M. (2018) 'Teachers' written school memories and the change to the comprehensive school system in Finland in the 1970s', *Paedagogica Historica* 55(2), pp. 253–276. doi: 10.1080/00309230.2018.1499785.
Pedersen, O.K. (2011) *Konkurrencestaten*. ISSN 2245-5116. København: Hans Reitzels Forlag.
Reeh, N. and Larsen, J.E. (2014) 'From competing technologies of mass schooling to the spiritual enlightenment of the nation: the reception of the monitorial system of education in Denmark 1814–1849', in Caruso, M. (ed.) *Classroom struggle: organizing elementary school teaching in the 19th century*. Studia Educationis Historica, vol. 2. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
Schriewer, J. (2003) 'Comparative education methodology in transition', in Schriewer, J. (ed.) *Discourse formation in comparative education*, vol. 10. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, pp. 3–52.
Skerry, P. (2002) 'Beyond sushiology: does diversity work?', *Brookings Review* 20(1), pp. 20–23. doi: 10.2307/20081016.
Skovmand, R. (1983) *Samspillet mellem Nordens folkehøjskoler indtil anden verdenskrig. Skrifter udgivet af Jysk Selskab for Historie*, vol. 41. Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget.
Trägårdh, L. (1990) 'Varieties of völkish ideologies. Sweden and Germany 1848–1933', in Stråht, B. (ed.) *Language and the construction of class identities*. The struggle for discursive power in social organisation: Scandinavia and Germany after 1800, Report from the DISCO II Conference, Gothenberg: Göteborg University.
Tveit, S. (2014) 'Educational assessment in Norway', *Assessment in Education: Principles, Policy & Practice* 21(2), pp. 221–237. doi: 10.1080/0969594X.2013.830079.
Wermke, W. and Prøitz, T.S. (2019) 'Discussing the curriculum-Didaktik dichotomy and comparative conceptualisations of the teaching profession', *Education Inquiry* 10(4), pp. 300–327. doi: 10.1080/20004508.2019.1618677.
Wiborg, S. (2009) *Education and social integration: comprehensive schooling in Europe*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
Wiborg, S. (2017) 'Teacher unions in the Nordic Countries: solidarity and the politics of self-interest', in Moe, T.M. and Wiborg, S. (ed.) *The comparative politics of education. Cambridge studies in the comparative politics of education*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Index

Page numbers in *Italics* refer to figures; page numbers followed by 'n' refer to notes numbers