

A state ethnography of progressivism: Danish school pedagogues and their efforts to emancipate the powers of the child, the people and the culture 1929-1960

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Abstract: New education or progressivism challenged the educational orthodoxy of schooling from the 1920s. It attempted to emancipate and unfold the potential of the universal and natural child, the family and the nation, using school pedagogy. It introduced child-centered reforms into the existing state sector school in Denmark. In this article, these developments are constructed theoretically as historical processes of welfare state formation, instituting mental and social categories about the child and the social world, employing prescriptive pedagogy in an emerging field of school pedagogy. Furthermore, the network of the 'significant school pedagogues' that were involved in these endeavors from 1929-1960 are encircled. This group of school pedagogues is characterised as a plurality of disciplines and professions, i.e., teachers, psychologists, artists, philosophers etc., which is conceived of as a sign of an emerging field of school pedagogues. Finally, it is indicated which societal powers that are involved in the making and remaking of this welfare state progressivism, i.e., an upcoming bourgeois and heterogeneous culture: the main figures of the school pedagogues are originating socially from environments of teachers, farmers and small scale trade, grocers and merchants. These social groups are able to reproduce their positions relatively, conquering school pedagogy. At the same time the article describes them as conquered by the state's universalising mechanisms and social ordering devices.

Key words: Progressivism, school pedagogy, state formation, universalisation, hybridity, social history

Prologue

A heterogeneous group of so-called cultural radicals, e.g., architects, medical doctors, teachers and psychologists, engaged in the organisation of the emerging democratisation scheme of the Danish welfare state since the late 1920s (e.g., Buus 2008). Using arguments supported by developmental and child psychology, IQ testing and the social sciences to enhance the overall modernisation process, governing the individual as well as the population, they sought to define, guard, guide and disseminate apparently neutral human values. For example, energy was put into 'proving and showing' that the child had a dynamic nature of his/her own. Furthermore, it was assumed that inner qualities can be observed in 'outer' signs, such as 'disharmonious' hand writing or body movements, and these signs were considered reasons for the teachers to act: to civilise and reform.

Stunned by the power of Fascism and Nazism in the 1930s in Spain, Italy and Germany, circles in Denmark gathered to defend human values, riding the wave of the so-called New Education in Europe. On the one hand, preschool teachers and teachers participated in these activities of cultural politics. Societies and associations of cultural politics had sections of teachers, as well as sections of, e.g., architects and writers. On the other hand, architects, economists, psychologists, etc., came forward as believers in school – although they thought that schools should change. They expected that reformed school education had potential as regards the protection of Denmark in the future, and in the longer run, regarding growth and development in general. Before and during World War II, this flow of newly prepared cultural politics was constituted by resistance movements and cultural criticism vis-à-vis the authoritarian character of social relations in schools and elsewhere. However, these currents turned into explicit welfare state projects of care and democracy after World War II, aspiring to construct and build up society, making use of applied science in the development of the population through, e.g., schooling. School pedagogy, inspired by child pedagogy, social psychology and a focus on the development of the (child's) human potential, was pointed out as a welfare state developmental area that should expand. During the 1950s, several experimental institutions surfaced as a result of this image. The teaching manuals that in 1960 and 1961 went along with the Education Act of 1958, institutionalised and universalised the assumptions developed since the 1920s to a certain extent, e.g., focusing on individual instruction according to the child's own nature and 'developmentality', social studies, group work and international understanding. New Education challenged the educational orthodoxy of schooling in the inter-war period, attempting to emancipate the child, the family and the nation. It introduced child-centred educational reforms into the existing state sector school in Denmark, as well as in other European countries, e.g., in England (Jenkins 2000: 150) and in Sweden (Lundahl 2006). New Education redefined education, rejecting that education was about the acquisition of the wisdom of the past. Education was, instead, about the unfolding of the child's and the society's future potential.

The purpose of this article is to construct these developments as processes of (welfare) state formation, i.e., as historical processes concentrating symbolic power, instituting mental and social categories as if they were universal categories (Bourdieu 1996, 1998, 2006; Lenoir 2006). Primarily, these state processes work their way through schools. Consequently, legitimate categories and assumptions about the child, circulating in schools, are displayed as 'universals' and not social, cultural and historical constructs making order according to the interests of the transforming ruling power. In this article, these social, cultural and historical categorisations about a universal human nature and schooling are contextualised in a societal structure in order to describe the societal powers certified by the state to produce welfare to all via schooling. Thus, the article encircles, delimits and examines the circle of progressive 'significant school pedagogues' from 1929-1960, focussing on their categorisations and professional affiliations. In this manner, the preconditions for the scientific construction of the field of significant school pedagogues from 1929-1960 are gradually laid bare too.

The article is divided into three parts. The first briefly unfolds a socio-historical approach to state issues, using the sociology of Pierre Bourdieu and the social and cultural history approach of Paula S. Fass. The second, and longer part, sketches out the course of events and the network of people involved in the universalising and monopolising processes of the state viewed from the inside of school pedagogy. Thus, the construction of the demarcation of these events and the network of people involved are clarified. Furthermore, the cultural constructs about the child and the future, and the categorisation and universalisation process embedded in these courses of events, are indicated. The main question is the following: which categories are used – and by whom – to release the child's potential in order to intervene and develop the population legitimately? A variety of sources are employed in this section, e.g., periodicals, conferences, newspapers, books and pamphlets, private notes and records filed in private archives as well as official records of an administrative nature. The third part of the article concludes, in brief, by contextualising the universal categories socially, pointing them out as particularities referring to social groups reproducing their conditions as time changes those conditions.

School pedagogy as a process of universalisation: A social history of the state

Following Bourdieu, we can investigate processes of state formation as historical processes, concentrating symbolic power, e.g., in the field of school pedagogues. Activities in schools slowly gained their *raison d'être*, believing in the child's nature, universal reason and human nature as reasonable in order to develop the nation. These assumptions, cultural constructs and categorisations are thought of as produced in a social field of school pedagogues: a social field linked to the welfare state field of power, and characterised by the power to define distinctive capitals and categories that impinge on the field of schooling, e.g., activities in schools (Broady 1998: 20-21;

Øland 2009: 30-32).¹ The heterogeneous group of progressive school pedagogues, between 1929-1960, who were involved in the making and remaking of the welfare state, gained that power: they maintained and developed interests, recreating the dynamics of the state capital, i.e., the hierarchisation and valorisation of capitals sanctioned by the state (cf. Bourdieu 1996: 55; Lebaron 2001: 128). Thus, the State was the result of a concentration process. The essential characteristics of the group and the process of forming state capital were hybridity and plurality of disciplines and professions. Therefore, state capital is also understood as a combination of forces which at the same time can be depicted as a concentration process, conflating dynamic societal forces. As Hofstetter and Schneuwly notes, hybridity is a sign of an emergence. The challenge is how to make a historical reading of a process of hybridity (Hofstetter and Schneuwly 2004: 575). Thus, a state concentration process does not mean that diversity and dynamics disappear: these features are concentrated.

Furthermore, the interests of this group were subtle due to the quality of universalisation. Universalisation is a twofold 'working process' (Bourdieu 1996: 49-55, 73-74). On the one hand, what qualifies as 'universal' has to be determined and acknowledged as disinterested, neutral knowledge. In this case, the emerging definitions, though ambiguous, of the child's inner biological and human nature as reasonable and thus 'cultivable', are the universals that gained legitimacy. Please note that what gains universal neutral status are different cultural and social structures. On the other hand, 'the universals' has to be monopolised. In this case they were monopolised by the school pedagogues representing different professions and disciplines: they monopolised the universal, situating themselves, and being situated by the state and other agencies, as a profession that knows about the universal child, exercising legitimate symbolic violence (Bourdieu 1998: xvii). School pedagogues are institutionalised according to their know-how: they know how to enhance the universal human being when observing outer signs of the 'need to be' cultivated. To conquer the monopoly requires that the profession subjects itself and adapts to the universal: to recognise and work for the distribution and spreading of assumptions about the universal.

Implied in this is the assumption that to dominate and monopolise is a legitimate endeavour as long as the profession doing it is in tune with universal values. In this manner, values of neutrality and altruism are repeated as if they were of reasonable interest for all human beings. In the 1940s and 1950s in Denmark, it seems as if these

¹ Prior to this, I examined *the field of schooling* (skolegangsfeltet) as a field of reproduction, related to social fields of production. The social fields that 'delivered' the categories to the field of schooling were depicted (Øland 2009). In this article, I *conceive of* the school-pedagogues as a social field, producing categories of distinction that impinge on the field of schooling. The distinction between fields of reproduction and production is not absolute, but relative and has an analytical purpose. Even the *field of school-pedagogues* (feltet af skolepædagoger) is, as the article will show, a field that it is difficult to characterise as absolutely autonomous, e.g., as a scientific subject, and certainly not homogeneous. However, to be able to delve into the emergence of progressivism and what cultural constructs it is made of, the concept of a social field is useful, pinpointing exactly that an area of social function is about to constitute itself in exchange with other areas and functions.

state processes of universalisation were still rather heterogeneous matters that slowly got sanctioned and purified by the existing state organisation.

The Danish educational system emerged as a decentralised system structured by a network of life-modes, associations and organisations, short of political power to dominate the system directly (Archer 1979). Some life-modes, associations and circles in the Danish decentralised system, however, developed their own educational institutions. Consequently, a market was created in the field of education within the state. Hence, examining educational state issues in Denmark between 1929 and 1960 directs one's attention not only to official state structures and policies, but to some of the activities, associations and private educational institutions that later gained support from national or international bodies. This points to a Bourdieuan observation as well: the state is not necessarily where we look for it instinctively (Bourdieu 1998: xvii). In other words, the efficacy and effects of the state are strongest where we do not expect them to be: in our categories, constructions and assumptions about the human being and the social world, instilled via schooling. The state is a way of thinking about what counts as valid representations of the collectivity. This article investigates how some of the categories and constructions that later gained the collective universalising power of the state, emerged in the field of school pedagogy.

To historicise school progressivism effectively, the cultural-historical elements can be engaged with analytic tools and perspectives drawn from social history about social organisation and social function. Social history provides the research process with an effective structure and clarity, a 'disciplining hand', as Paula S. Fass describes it, and a systematic strategy for engaging in the past (Fass 2003: 39). Cultural history, without the methodology of social history, often turns to deconstructing identities and exploring language in bits of data, believing that all culture is connected and therefore all articulation could be studied as exemplary, revealing fundamental social beliefs. Accordingly, cultural historians question social categorisation of any kind. Social history, on the contrary, establishes a sense of whom or what is the focus of study, i.e., using a sociological theoretical framework to make conclusions from systematic forms of data (Fass 2003: 43; Bourdieu 1998: 325; Noiriel 1994: 554). Thus, data are analysed in order to describe the cultural constructs and the social order and social function of which these constructs are a part. The details examined are thus objectified according to sociological theory. Hence, the cultural constructs are analysed as societal and state-related constructs. Following Bourdieu, and Durkheim and Mauss too, this means that the cultural constructs are conceived of as social and not produced by the school-pedagogues as individuals – even though the constructs, obviously, are voiced by individuals.

Therefore, when investigating the course of events in the following, the sociological discipline ensures that the writing of history not only deals with the history of ideas and courses of events as they are already represented in the sources. Moreover, the courses of events that the school pedagogues are engaged in themselves are described in order to grasp the logic of practice that constitutes the state.

Courses of events up to and after the Emdrup plan for schooling of 1945

As a point of departure, the circle here is defined as the group of people that comes forward, involving themselves in a variety of endeavours, striving to make their mark and form the future school pedagogy of the period.

These endeavours are detected in courses of events, e.g., the establishment of associations, clubs, societies and experimental institutions which have an explicit purpose regarding the building up and forming of the population through school pedagogy and child psychology in a time of anticipated crises. A network of people surfaced in these events; unifying spirits and identity formation emerged around these different projects, associations and institutions. In these courses of events, the heterogeneous network of people made statements that others in the field necessarily had to relate to. This made them 'significant school pedagogues', i.e., significant according to the logic of the field.

A school pedagogue is not necessarily a teacher. The term refers to a broader spectrum of professionals engaged in schooling and civilising the population via school pedagogy. Thus, a 'significant school pedagogue' is a person who employs specific categories, assumptions, practices, methods, scientific arguments etc., having specific personal and social relations and involving him/herself in specific associations or journals, joining the battle on what good and better school pedagogy consists of. A 'significant school pedagogue' is part of a social field that structurally has the power to reproduce, produce and define distinctive categories that impinge on activities in school via legitimate categories, reproducing social order and relations.

School pedagogues are related to the state twofold: elements of their school pedagogy are gradually recognised and approved of officially, and the activities, statements and assumptions are made useful and applied as welfare state ordering devices. They conquer the school pedagogy and at the same time they generate and renew the state, conquered by the state. Following this, the scientific construction of the courses of the events focuses on the emergence of a modernised and scientifically-based school pedagogy for democracy and welfare.

The Emdrup plan for schooling of 1945

Until the end of World War II, a German school was located in the building where the Danish School of Education resides today in a northwestern part of Copenhagen called Emdrup. During World War II, Nazi Germany constructed a monumental building on the site, in order to form the Danish Youth.² At the end of the war, the educationalists in Copenhagen discussed how to make use of this huge building. Although the aesthetics of the building were not appealing, the educationalists were inspired by the fact that the building was there (Christensen

² Document dated January 24, 1942, the archive of Emdrupborg teacher-training college (Arkivet for Emdrupborg Statsseminarium), Provincial Archives of Zealand (Landsarkivet for Sjælland m.v.).

1945: 124). Educationalists belonging to different associations and educational establishments prepared the so called Emdrup plan for schooling, aspiring to develop the Danish school in the spirit of democracy (cf. Nørgaard 2005: 218). After the liberation, they handed over the plan to the Ministry of Education.³

The plan suggested that the Ministry of Education take charge of the German school building, providing space for the Royal Danish School of Educational Studies (Danmarks Lærerhøjskole) and an experimental school including a youth centre facility. Additionally, the plan recommended the creation of a pedagogical-psychological research institute, a state-governed teacher-training college for both men and women, a pre-school teacher-training college including a day nursery and a kindergarten for the students to get some experience with their profession (Christensen 1945: 127-129).

In the Emdrup plan, a psychological understanding of the human being is associated with a broad assumption about 'the human potential' as a raw material of nature to be accessed and used for societal purposes and the development of democracy. The school was 'nominated' as the place where human potential is supposed to be influenced and released, and the social and societal development can be set in motion using applied science, e.g., psychology and sociology. Early childhood is proposed as the important time of influence: Children should be given possibilities as opposed to being directed. For example, exams should be abolished and the methods of teaching should engage the child's activity and effort, e.g., using individual instruction and material that are adapted to the individual.⁴ Furthermore, the plan referred to 'facts' of school psychology and IQ testing. Following this, differences between children's capacities or gifts reveal themselves already in kindergarten. Intelligence then becomes an instrument of differentiation and a marker of difference: a measure of human potential and a resource with which to organise the teaching process. Thus, the Emdrup plan believes in rational experiments to better the future. Tests, intelligence, observation, child- and developmental psychology are central turning points to secure a democratic order effectively and within the frameworks of the nation. The enhancements are thought of as both practical and scientific.

The texts explaining the plan in greater detail refer equally to the philosophies of J. -J. Rousseau, I. Kant and J. Dewey. Phases that schools are assumed to go through are listed, referring to pioneers: from the transforming school (transmitting knowledge and skills from one generation to the next, according to the philosopher Herbart), to the inspiring school (the school for life, advocating the spoken word, according to Grundtvig), to the activating school (using activity pedagogy, self-work, forming cha-

³ The Emdrup plan for schooling was printed as part of several texts, written by different authors, dated both before and after July 1945. This might be due to the fact that it was developed by a whole range of participants. For example, it is part of a piece created by I. M. Nordentoft and G. J. Arvin (1946) and it is an appendix in Nordentoft (1944).

⁴ The inspiration from the American Winnetka plan is evident (Washburne 1937). The fundamental idea of this plan was that the child should compete with him or herself and have responsibility and control as regards the school activities. The book describing this plan was translated into Danish by child psychologist Anne Marie Nørvig, who became head of the Emdrupborg experimental school in 1948.

racter, actions more than words, using laboratories, libraries, according to the educationalists Dewey and Kerchensteiner), and finally to the psychological school (based on biology, sociology and psychology, opposed to classroom teaching, advocating for a so-called natural teaching method: a combination of individual instruction, group work and classroom teaching, according to the medical doctor Ovide Decroly and Pestalozzi) (Nordentoft & Arvin 1946: 340-341). Referring to Kant, it was emphasised that human potential is perfected only through education, worldwide.

In general, familiarity with pioneers from other countries was stressed, thus revealing an affiliation with, e.g., New Education Fellowship (NEF), headquarters situated in London, and contacts of Anglo-Saxon character through the resistance movement (Nordentoft & Arvin 1946: 328). American education, community studies and citizenship education inspired the Danish school pedagogues during this time period (Ross 1945: 119; Christensen 1945: 112; de Coninck-Smith 2002) – directly as well as through the NEF whose momentum came from the USA and the emphasis on empirical and applied research from the late 1920s, disseminating to a whole range of countries all over the world (Brehony 2004: 749).

Thus, the Danish school-pedagogues and the cultural constructs were part of a larger analytical space of societal dynamics, crossing and travelling national borders and at the same time they were formed by the national historical space (Popkewitz 2005). This 'detail' put on view gigantic possibilities and quests for comparative and transnational points of views on the research topic of this article. However, the main topic is not developed due to systematic comparative or transnational perspectives, but due to a state formation perspective, which in turn is not conceived of as disconnected from the comparative and transnational perspectives. They are just not unfolded here. However, whenever relevant, research on similar topics in other countries is referred to.

The Emdrup plan was never implemented in full (cf. Nørgaard 2005: 211-257). In the years that followed, the Royal Danish School of Educational Studies moved in, and an experimental school (Emdrupborg skole) and a teacher-training college (Statsseminariet på Emdrupborg) were established on the site. However, due to ensuing events, the plan is methodologically positioned as a concentrate of the ideas and practices that gained state support many years later, culminating in 1960 with the teaching manuals that went along with the passing of a new Education Act in 1958.

Thus, the Emdrup plan for schooling is positioned as a 'junction' of the investigations of the process of hybridity. The course of events, and the network of people and their statements, until and after the plan surfaced, is examined. The Emdrup plan was signed by two associations on July 25, 1945: 1) The teachers' division of the resistance movement 'A liberated Denmark' (Frit Danmarks lærergruppe), signed by Georg Christensen, literary historian and principal of a teacher training college, Inger Merete Nordentoft, school head-master and later an MP for The Communist Party, and C. F. Vorbeck, a high school teacher; and 2) The Danish division of the New Education Fellowship (NEF) (Socialpædagogisk forening for ny opdragelse), signed by

Georg Julius Arvin, head of the Royal Danish School of Educational Studies and chairman of NEF Denmark, and Jens Rosenkjær, head of a section of the Danish State radio and former principal of Borup folk high school (Christensen 1945: 125).

Courses of events and the network of people 1929-1960: An outline of the sources and of the preliminary thematic order

As thoroughly as possible, people in the governing bodies and committees around these two associations were encircled and listed, and their communications in written products such as periodicals, pamphlets and books, as well as events that facilitated the exchange of ideas, e.g., conferences and gatherings, were noted and studied. Delving into these two associations, other material infrastructure of the emerging field of school-pedagogues appeared, e.g. other associations, institutes etc. that were prior to the two associations that were the point of departure. For example, I discovered that the members of 'The teacher's division of A liberated Denmark' to some extent were organised in the 'Association in favour of the liberal cultural battle' a few years back – and here the same questions about upbringing and cultivation were the focus of attention. Then I investigated into that association and its periodicals and events and discovered that a lot of the persons were connected to 'The school for kindergarten teachers' at the same time and after, but here with a slightly different focus of attention. This was investigated into via the school's archives. Relevant sources are thus retrieved following chains of persons and overlapping projects which are accounted for in the following text. I consider this chain-search a necessary precondition for being able to construct the emerging social field of significant school pedagogues, making sure that the social field is composed of a logic of practice 'measured', e.g., by the extent to which individuals actually were 'members' of several associations, arguing about the same overall questions on school pedagogy and the modernisation of school-pedagogy for democracy and welfare. In the following, the network of people and the associations and institutions, in which they met and expressed themselves and their missions, are depicted, thematically and chronologically. Thus the research process went back and forth from the Emdrup plan, while the representation of the research is accounted for in themes that are organised chronologically one by one. Although it might seem like a pointless myriad of names and details reoccurring, there is a purpose: to show the existence of a network of people engaging in school pedagogy and new education.

Preliminary demarcations of these courses of events and the network of people and professions associated with these events are as follows regarding general endeavours of cultural politics and specific pedagogical missions.⁵ The overall period from 1929 to 1960 marks what may be considered as main events, respectively an inter-

⁵ Obviously, the research could have included other sources about other institutes and associations, e.g. the Office for School Psychology, Copenhagen municipality (Københavns Kommunes Skolepsy-kologiske Kontor) and the Association of Young Teachers (Foreningen Unge Pædagoger). They are not included so far, due to a preliminary assessment that the pedagogical and social forces, which they correspond to, are represented by the scientific construction already.

national NEF conference held in Denmark in 1929 and the institutionalisation of the cultural constructs developed since the late 1920s as it appears in the official teaching manuals of 1960, as mentioned earlier.

The events, and the assumptions and categorisations affiliated with them during this overall period, can be depicted along four threads. The threads express different, but adjoining and partly consecutive themes, which are analytically distinguished according to aspects of prescriptive pedagogical viewpoints and professional groups involved. The threads are:

- ▷ Thread one: The force and potential of objectivity and rationality; civilising all through planning

‘Association in favour of the liberal cultural battle’ (Foreningen for frisindet Kulturkamp) and the journal ‘The cultural battle’ 1935-1939 (Kulturkampen)

The teachers’ division of ‘A liberated Denmark’ 1942-1945 (Frit Danmarks lærergruppe) and the magazine ‘A liberated Denmark’ 1942-1950 (Bladet Frit Danmark)

‘Dialogue – Danish journal of culture’ 1950-1960 (Dialog)

‘Dictionary for educationalists. Pedagogical-psychological-social handbook’ published 1953, planned 1945 (Leksikon for opdragere. Pædagogisk-psykologisk-social håndbog)

- ▷ Thread two: The force and potential of nature; essentialising the child in the coming of a new citizen

‘The Danish division of The New Education Fellowship’: ‘The national association of The liberal school’ 1926-1940 (Landsforeningen Den frie skole), ‘The association of Social pedagogy’ 1940-1960 (Socialpædagogisk forening for ny opdragelse); and the periodicals affiliated with NEF Denmark: ‘The Liberal School’ 1928-1939 (Den frie skole), ‘Pedagogical-psychological Journal’ 1940-1952 (Pædagogisk-psykologisk tidsskrift) and ‘Danish Journal of Education’ 1953-1960 (Dansk pædagogisk Tidsskrift, DpT); represent

‘The educational association’ 1929-1960 (Det Pædagogiske Selskab) and its periodicals: ‘Our Youth’ 1929-1952 (Vor Ungdom) and ‘Danish Journal of Education’ 1953-1960 (Dansk pædagogisk Tidsskrift, DpT);

- ▷ Thread three: The force and potential of culture; expressing and reforming the child

‘The school for kindergarten teachers’ 1928-1960 (Kursus for småbørnspædagoger, called Kursus – a private educational institute until 1960);

- ▷ Thread four: Psychologisation of the school; experts and applied science – civilising the teacher

Royal Danish School of Educational Studies 1930-1960 (Statens hhv. Danmarks lærerhøjskole, DLH)

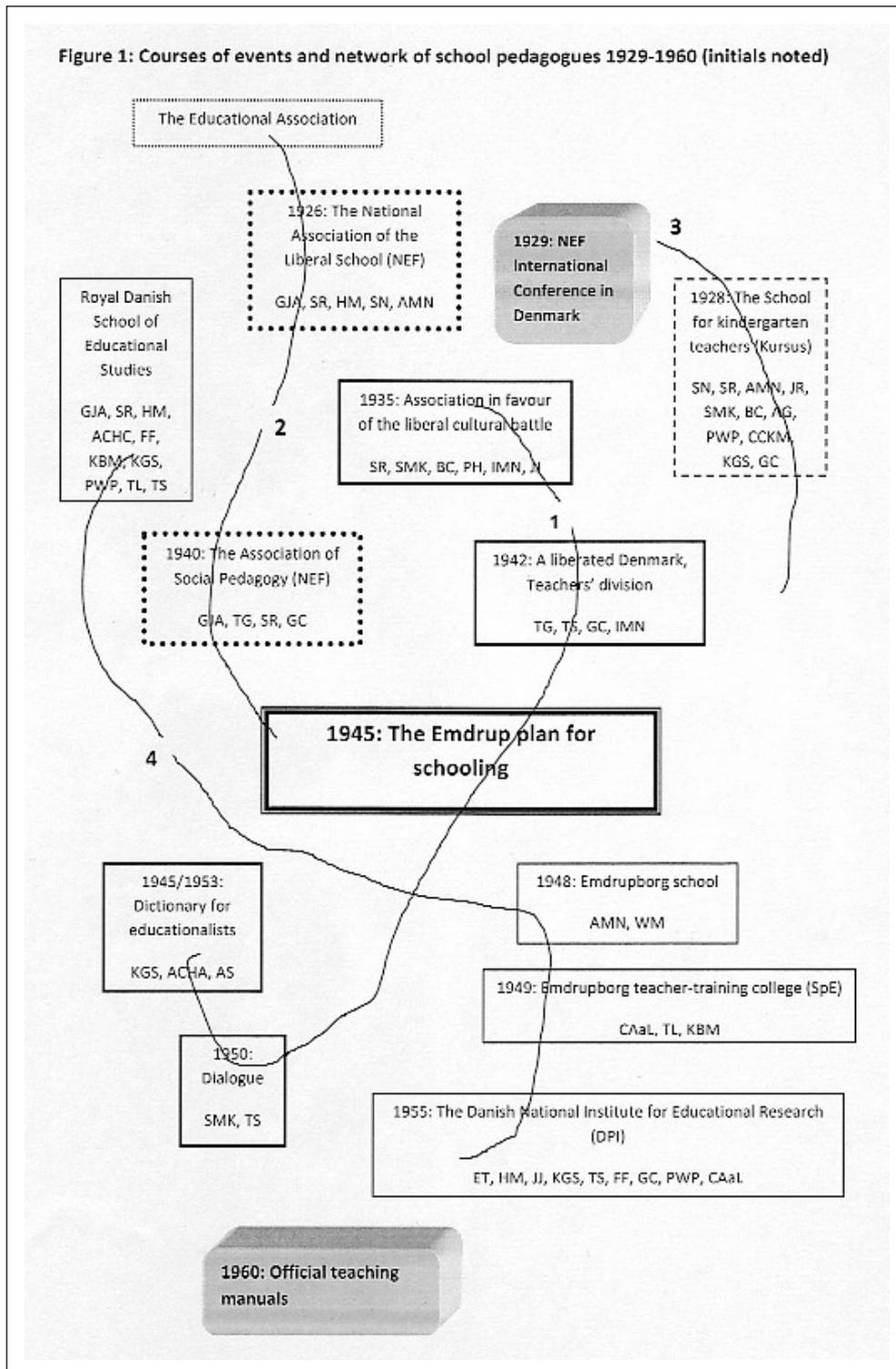
Emdrupborg school 1948-1960 (Emdrupborg skole)

Emdrupborg teacher-training college 1949-1960 (Statsseminariet på Emdrupborg, SpE)

The Danish National Institute for Educational Research 1954-1960 (Danmarks Pædagogiske Institut, DPI).

Figure 1 below portrays the network of events, e.g., societies, associations, institutes and institutions and the way in which they are constructed according to the analytical threads. Moreover, the main figures, i.e., the people circulating and attending significant activities and governing bodies etc., are indicated by initials referring to a record of 27 people: their names, professions, social origin (father’s occupation) etc. – cf. record 1 below as well.⁶ The main figures are selected due to the fact that they were driving forces in a variety of the events or due to the fact that they primarily were a central professional figure as regard one of the significant events.

⁶ In addition, this network is further explored through a collective biography of the approximately 700 school pedagogues that are encircled, using existing biographical dictionaries and other sources. These data concern the individuals and their characteristics, e.g., social origin, educational background, specific points of views regarding prescriptive pedagogical theory, scientific inspiration, the child’s nature, the purpose of school etc. This part of the research examines the history and the structure of the field in detail and is in preparation, February 2010.



Record 1: 27 significant school pedagogues 1929-1960**– initials and brief description of main figures**

- ACHC** *A. C. Højberg Christensen*, 1888-1972. Father's occupation: Factory owner. MA in German philology, 1913, doctor's degree, 1918. Employed at different private primary schools, at the Royal Danish School of Educational Studies (DLH), and at gymnasiums. The Minister's Inspector of Gymnasiums 1927, Minister of Education during the war, 1942-1945 (The Scavenius Ministry), Co-editor of Dictionary for educationalists (1953).
- AG** *Astrid Gøssel*, 1891-1975. Father's occupation: Architect. Piano-player, educated in Oslo, thereafter music-, jazz- and rhythm-pedagogue. Experimental work in kindergartens and schools inspired by psychoanalysis and new psychology, involved in Kursus.
- AMN** *Anne Marie Nørvig*, 1893-1959. Father's occupation: Teacher. Teacher, 1917, employed as a teacher at the municipality of Copenhagen, 1919-1959. Speech therapist, 1925, associated with the Office for School Psychology in Copenhagen from 1925, and involved in the Liberal School. MA in Psychology, 1947, principal of the experimental school at Emdrupborg, 1948. Associated expert in State Commissions on Population Issues (1935) and Youth (1945).
- AS** *Axel Skalts*, 1906-1970. Father's occupation: Lawyer. Employed as investigator for the municipality of Copenhagen's social system in the 1920s. Lawyer, 1931. Secretary at the Ministry of Social affairs, 1931, head clerk, 1938. From 1942, head of department at the Ministry of Work, vice-chairman of the States Commission of Youth (1945-1948), from 1947, the Ministry of Housing. Co-editor of Dictionary for educationalists, 1953.
- BC** *Bernard Christensen*, 1906-2004. Father's occupation: Typographer. Studied music at the University of Copenhagen, 1926-1929, organ player, 1929, graduated from The Royal Danish Academy of Music. Composer of poly-rhythmic, jazz and folk music. Employed as teacher and jazz-pedagogue, involved in 'the small school' (den lille skole), Kursus and The Cultural Battle (Kulturkampen).
- CCKM** *C.C. Kragh-Müller*, 1914-1976. Father's occupation: Principal. Teacher, 1936, MA in psychology, 1947. Employed at different observatory schools and institutions for children with special needs, manager of the International School from 1951 (Bernadotteskolen), teacher at Kursus, 1945-1956.
- CFV** *Carl Frederik Vorbeck*, 1891-?. Father's occupation: Dairy manager. Teacher, 1912, MA in Danish and English philology. Employed at different gymnasiums, member of A Liberated Denmark.
- CAaL** *Carl Aage Larsen*, 1915-1982. Father's occupation: Teacher. Teacher, 1936, MA in Psychology, 1945, employed at Gentofte municipality as a teacher from 1936, as a school psychologist from 1945. Teacher at Emdrupborg teacher-training college from 1950, head of a department and member of professional advisory boards at The Danish National Institute for Educational Research (DPI) from 1955.
- ET** *Erik Thomsen*, 1909-1974. Father's occupation: Teacher. Teacher, 1930, MA in psychology, 1941. Employed as teacher at the municipality of Copenhagen from 1931, at the Office for School Psychology in Copenhagen from 1937, assistant manager from 1938, manager from 1945. Director of The Danish National Institute for Educational Research (DPI) from 1955.
- FF** *Franz From*, 1914-1998. Father's occupation: Farmer. Studies in medicine, MA in psychology, 1939. Employed at the Institute of psycho-techniques at the municipality of Copenhagen 1937-1939, assistant at The Psychological Laboratory, University of Copenhagen from 1939 and Professor from 1954. Teacher at the Royal Danish School of Educational Studies (DLH) 1951-1963, member of the professional advisory board of The Danish National Institute for Educational Research (DPI) from 1955, member of the Social Minister's committee as regards the establishment of an Institute for Social research, 1955 (SFI).
- GC** *Georg Christensen*, 1877-1966. Father's occupation: Bookbinder. Employed as private teacher at the Earl Ludvig Reventlow's residence, 1895-1896, MA in History of Literature, 1902. Employed at different private institutes as a teacher, the first Danish lecturer at the University of Uppsala, 1923-1924, principal of the State's teacher-training college in Haderslev 1926-1937, principal of the State's teacher-training college in Jonstrup, 1937-1947, manager of Kursus, 1947-1959. Member of A Liberated Denmark and editor of The Pedagogical-psychological Journal, 1940-1952, member of the board of representatives of The Danish National Institute for Educational Research (DPI) from 1955.
- GJA** *Georg Julius Arvin*, 1880-1962. Father's occupation: Teacher. Teacher, 1901, MA in physics and mathematics, 1912. Employed at La Courvejen school in the municipality of Frederiksberg from 1902, principal from 1918, head of the Royal Danish School of Educational Studies, 1939-1950, creator and head of the International School (Bernadotteskolen), 1949-1950. Chairman of The As-

	sociation of Social Pedagogy, 1940-1951 (NEF Denmark). Involved in School radio from the 1940s.
HM	Henning Meyer, 1885-1967. Father's occupation: Merchant. Teacher, 1907 and employed at the municipality of Frederiksberg, section of schools, 1908-1953. MA in theoretical and applied psychology in 1924. In 1934, appointed the first school psychologist in Denmark (Frederiksberg) and a pioneer in this area. Refugee in Sweden, Göteborg, 1943-1945. Lecturer at the Royal Danish School of Educational Studies. Appointed personal member of the professional advisory board of The Danish National Institute for Educational Research (DPI) from 1955.
IMN	Inge Merete Nordentoft, 1903-1960. Father's occupation: Doctor. Teacher, 1923. Employed at schools in the municipality of Copenhagen from 1924-1958, as principal at Katrinedalsskolen, 1945. Involved in The Cultural Battle (Kulturkampen) and A Liberated Denmark (Frit Danmarks Lærergroupe). Arrested by Gestapo and imprisoned, 1943, for five months, where she wrote teaching material. MP for the Communist Party 1945-1953.
JJ	Jørgen Jørgensen, 1894-1969. Father's occupation: Priest. MA in Philosophy, secretary of the Cooperation of Iron and Metal Industries, 1919-1926, Professor at University of Copenhagen, 1926. Involved in The Cultural Battle (Kulturkampen) and A Liberated Denmark (Frit Danmarks Lærergroupe). Member of the professional advisory board of The Danish National Institute for Educational Research (DPI).
JR	Jens Rosenkjær, 1883-1976. Father's occupation: Teacher and archaeologist. MA in chemistry. Involved in folk-enlightenment, folk high school movements as regards the training of workers in the city, e.g., at Borup højskole in Copenhagen. Associated with G. Gregersen's Institute of Technology. Involved in Kursus from 1934. Head of department of Lectures and Cultural Broadcasting, Danish State Radio, 1937. Member of the Danish UNESCO National commission, 1947.
KBM	Kresten Bent Madsen, 1922-2003. Father's occupation: Contractor. Teacher, 1944, MA in psychology, 1950, lecturer at Emdrupborg teacher-training college, 1956, head of department at the Royal Danish School of Educational Studies, 1962, professor, 1964.
KGS	Knud Grue-Sørensen, 1904-1973. Father's occupation: Farmer. Employed as a teacher at the municipality of Copenhagen in the 1920s, MA in Philosophy, 1932, employed at the Office for School psychology in Copenhagen, 1941-1945, Doctor's degree in Philosophy, 1950, Professor in Educational Science, 1955-1973, member of the professional advisory board of The Danish National Institute for Educational Research (DPI) from 1955, Co-editor of Dictionary for educationalists, 1953.
PH	Poul Henningsen, 1894-1967. Father's occupation: vice consul (official), writer (biological). Architect and writer. A key figure in the Cultural Battle (Kulturkampen) and the anti-fascist battle in Denmark as regards the politics of culture. Refugee in Sweden, 1942-1945.
PWP	Poul W. Perch, 1911-? Father's occupation: Photographer. Teacher, 1933, MA in psychology, 1947. Employed at Gregersen's school at Frederiksberg 1933-1934, at Kursus 1950-1956, consultant at the Ministry of Social Affairs as regards the reformatories for 'difficult children' 1951-1958, teacher in psychology at the University of Copenhagen from 1956 and the Royal Danish School of Educational Studies 1959-1969. Member of the professional advisory board of The Danish National Institute for Educational Research (DPI) from 1955.
SN	Sigurd Næsgaard, 1883-1956. Father's occupation: Farmer. Teacher, 1905, MA in philosophy and psychology, 1915, Doctor's degree, 1922. Employed as teacher and psychoanalyst. Published the first volume of The Liberal School in 1928, inspired by Freud and existentialism. Created Kursus together with Ribbjerg in 1928.
SMK	Sven Møller Kristensen, 1909-1991. Father's occupation: Priest. Exams in Danish literature and Song, 1931, Doctor of literature, 1938, teacher at Kursus from 1937 and member of The Cultural Battle (Kulturkampen), involved in jazz pedagogy, editor of Dialogue, 1950-1952, Professor in Nordic literature from 1953.
SR	Sofie Ribbjerg, 1886-1981. Father's occupation: Teacher. Teacher, 1911, MA in psychology, 1925, head of the Office for School psychology in Copenhagen, 1938-1945. Employed at different schools for children with special needs, participated in standardisation of IQ tests. Created Kursus together with Næsgaard in 1928 and managed it until 1947. Key player in both The Liberal School and The Association of Social Pedagogy (NEF Denmark from the 1920s).
TG	Torben Gregersen, 1911-1994. Father's occupation: Director. Studies in music at University of Copenhagen and at The Royal Danish Academy of Music. Teacher, 1935, employed at different schools, e.g., at La Courvejens skole. Involved in A Liberated Denmark and Kursus. Refugee in Sweden, Lund, 1943-1945, employed at the Danish School in Lund and having assignments of administrative nature as regards all the other Danish Schools in Sweden during the war. Key figure in The Association of Social Pedagogy and its periodicals from 1940 (NEF Denmark and NEF International council as well).
TL	Tage Larsen, 1909-? Father's occupation: Cellist. MA in physics, 1939, teacher at teacher-training colleges and the University of Copenhagen, Laboratory of bio-physics. Teacher at the Royal

	Danish School of Educational Studies, 1944-1957, principal of Emdrupborg teacher-training college from 1949.
TS	Thomas Sigsgaard , 1909-1997. Father's occupation: Farmer. Teacher, 1931, MA in Psychology, 1946. Employed at the Office for School Psychology in Copenhagen, 1940-1957. Head of Department of Basic Research, The Danish National Institute for Educational Research (DPI) from 1957, teacher at the Psychological Laboratory, University of Copenhagen from 1946, Professor at the Royal Danish School of Educational Studies 1960-1974. Member of the International Council of NEF, and of The Danish UNESCO National commission in the 1960s. Active member of A Liberated Denmark, and member of the editorial board of the later Dialogue.
WM	Wilhelm Marckmann , 1919-. Father's occupation: Grocer. Teacher, 1940 and employed as such thereafter, MA in Psychology, 1950, Psychologist at Emdrupborg experimental school, 1950-1965.

This network of people, described as participating in the state process of universalisation, is considered a social field of production, i.e., reproducing and producing categories of difference regarding school pedagogy. The concept of field in general implies that the practice examined is considered a multidimensional structured world (Bourdieu 1987). In the following, the categories and assumptions about the child, the social world, the family and the nation, which are universalised, are presented in the four threads mentioned above. Thus, the emphasis is on the different aspects of prescriptive pedagogical viewpoints that are distinguished in terms of threads, but all part of the same field. Each thread is accounted for as opposed to external forces from other social fields and forces inside and outside the nation-state.

The force and potential of objectivity and rationality: Civilising all through planning (thread one)

A flyer dated March 1935, with a headline saying 'CONFIDENTIAL!', calls for a gathering to form the 'Association in favour of the liberal cultural battle'. The purpose is to strengthen humanistic and democratic ideals and points of view, using objectivity and clarity, opposing one-sided and biased perspectives. Assaults on liberals and on advocates of progress were to be fought.⁷ The purpose of the association is supposed to be realised by publishing an independent journal, organising public meetings and encouraging prominent persons to exert their influence on public opinion. Prominent people, such as, Professor Jørgen Jørgensen, architect Poul Henningsen, medical doctor Svend Hoffmeyer and student in literature Elias Bredsdorff, were members of a preliminary board. Furthermore, the programme was already supported by a large number of people, e.g., jurist Alf Ross, head clerk and economist Jørgen Dich, composer Bernard Christensen, piano player Sven Møller Kristensen and school head-master and psychologist Sofie Rifbjerg. The association was established in the 'House of Grundtvig', and the activities at first were informed especially by cultural developments in Germany, supporting German artists and writers to express themselves in spite of bannings and assaults. In 1936, the association had provincial

⁷ Data on the 'Association in favour of the liberal cultural battle' (Foreningen for frisindet Kulturkamp) are retrieved from the depository 'National, patriotic and political committees etc.' ('Nationale, patriotiske og politiske komiteer m.m.'), The Royal Library: The Collection of Pamphlets and Corporate Publications (Det Kongelige Biblioteks Småtryksamling).

groups and professional departments for architects, writers and actors.⁸ A department of teachers was prepared in April 1936; the contact person was teacher and psychologist Sofie Ribbjerg. Furthermore, anti-fascist groups of students at the teacher-training colleges, 'Ranum seminarium' and 'Haderslev seminarium' in 1936, and 'Blågaard seminarium' in 1938, were associated. From an examination of the journal 'The cultural battle' 1935-1939, it appears that the educational debate was merged into and became part of the overall debate on cultural politics.

This thread depicts the ways in which the nation, the culture, the rights of citizens (e.g., women's right to have an abortion), a growing sense of an emerging universal human being and the 'scientification' and 'psychologisation' of educational issues are combined in a joint venture: the development of an educational system that departs from the human being, individual activities and proper working methods is necessary in order to secure the human being within the nation, it was stated. The child should not only have duties, but rights and responsibility too (e.g., Begtrup 1935; Henningsen 1936; Christensen 1936; Lundholm 1936; Egeberg 1936; Kirk 1937). The circle of people that appears here considers themselves enlightened intellectuals, obliged to educate and enlighten the people. It goes without saying that enlightened people are rational and democratic. Throughout the period 1935-1939, the teacher-training colleges, which mainly were driven by religious assemblies, were considered responsible for the authoritarian and fearful school culture – a culture not able to immunise children against Fascism in the future. Therefore, the culture of these colleges was combated. However, due to the sources used to depict this thread, the human being roughly speaking is subjected to a whole range of (other) civilising and disciplining projects that later become welfare state projects: the hygiene movement, architects' construction of gigantic residential areas and, in general, massive structural planning striving to form the population is beginning to be evident. It appears as if the association and the journal dissolved, i.e., withdrew from the public sphere, in 1939. However, some of the people appeared in a comparable association a couple of years later.

The magazine 'A liberated Denmark', made by an illegal assembly of people named 'A liberated Denmark' as well, was first distributed on April 9, 1942.⁹ Soon thereafter, the teacher K. Rahbek Smidt and an unnamed colleague were approached by this illegal assembly. They requested the teachers' help manufacturing and distributing the magazine (Rahbek Smidt 1946: 168). These two teachers were both part of the former 'Association in favour of the liberal cultural battle', and they now made contact to the teachers' division of this former network and got them involved anew (Ibid.). For three years, this network worked underground, i.e., in villas and cellars in suburban areas of Copenhagen, printing and distributing the magazine, supposedly adding to the liberation of Denmark. Members of the teachers' division of 'A libera-

⁸ Cf. Reading through the colophon of the journal 'The cultural battle' 1935-1939.

⁹ The magazine 'A liberated Denmark' (bladet Frit Danmark) was read through 1942-1951, and scanned for writers and articles on educational issues.

ted Denmark' included, among others, Inger Merete Nordentoft, Torben Gregersen, Thomas Sigsgaard, Ib Hauge, Per Ulrich, C.F. Vorbeck and Georg Christensen.¹⁰ The assembly gathered at least a few years before and some years after the appearance of the Emdrup plan for schooling, and they wrote extensively on progressive education in the magazine (Nordentoft 1945b; Hauge 1945; Lindvad 1946). Before 1945, they prepared papers about 'The experimental school' or 'The democratic school' in separate working units. According to the archives of Torben Gregersen, manuscripts of J. G. Arvin (on the comprehensive school), Georg Christensen (on exams) and Thomas Sigsgaard (on societal goals of schooling) seem to have been circulating at that time. The board of the teachers' division of 'A liberated Denmark' suggested dissolving the assembly in September 1949.¹¹

When it became known that 'A liberated Denmark' was involved in the making of the Emdrup plan, discussions increased, e.g., in the teachers' magazine, 'Folkeskolen', during the summer and autumn of 1945. Other groups had similar plans for a 'new education', e.g., the teachers' union, 'Danmarks Lærerforening', and people linked to the Royal Danish School of Educational Studies. They were waiting for the Ministry to make a move. The editor of 'Folkeskolen', Bahne Jensen, was somewhat astonished that the Principal of the Royal Danish School of Educational Studies, J. G. Arvin, who, as chairman of 'The Danish division of The New Education Fellowship' signed the Emdrup plan, could represent several institutions appropriately. Furthermore, he doubted whether the clarity of the Emdrup plan could be trusted, insinuating that it reflected narrow political purposes (Jensen 1945a-b). During these debates, other people came forward, e.g., the psychologist Thomas Sigsgaard, referring to England which had already passed a new curriculum plan in 1944 reflecting ideas of a comprehensive school for all. He stated that the Emdrup plan was inspired by the English plan and that the teachers of 'A liberated Denmark' during the war had thoroughly investigated educational issues (Sigsgaard 1945). Furthermore, during these debates it was explained how the circle of people gathered from a variety of former assemblies (Nordentoft 1945a: 269). The location for a sort of unification was described as being the weeklong conferences held by 'The Danish division of The New Education Fellowship' each summer ('Socialpædagogisk uge').

Five years after the Emdrup plan, 'Dialogue – Danish journal of culture' (Dialog) emerged, which can be understood as a continuation of the strategy of both 'The cultural battle' and 'A liberated Denmark'. Some of the people involved were individuals from the earlier associations. The purpose of 'Dialogue' was to refigure a broad and united focus on the forming of the population in the spirit of European huma-

¹⁰ At one point in time, there was an archive of the teachers' division of 'A liberated Denmark', including information on people involved. C. F. Vorbeck handed the archive over to Henrik Sidenius in the 1950s. Sidenius was a member of another illegal organisation during the war. However, he threw the archive away after some time. The widow of Henrik Sidenius, Kirsten Lund, told me this in June 2009.

¹¹ Cf. letter to the members of the teachers' division of 'A liberated Denmark' from the board, dated 20.09.1949, retrieved from the private archives of Torben Gregersen, The Danish State Archives (Torben Gregersens privatarkiv, Rigsarkivet).

nistic values, highlighting a productive link between 'the people' and 'the cultural life', the journal being part of the cultural life, obliged to enlighten the people. This circle of people was to combat the vulgarisation and commercialisation of media and literature, as well as an anticipated general neglect towards education, ideas of comprehensive schooling and the opportunities of radio broadcasting. All areas of culture, including science, education and upbringing were dealt with in the journal (e.g., Hoffmeyer 1953: 2-6; Sidenius 1955: 8-10; Sigsgaard 1958: 15-17). The circle of people who made themselves known as belonging to the journal or as members of the editorial board were writers and artists, e.g., piano player and professor of literature, chief editor Sven Møller Kristensen (reoccurring), school psychologist Thomas Sigsgaard (reoccurring), and later on in the 1950s, the teachers Henrik Sidenius and Poul Kærnså joined as well.¹²

The final element of this thread includes the contributors to the 'Dictionary for educationalists. Pedagogical-psychological-social handbook' (Leksikon for opdragere. Pædagogisk-psykologisk-social håndbog) published in 1953 by J. H. Schultz' Publishers (University printing business, Copenhagen). The Dictionary was edited by A. C. Højbjerg Christensen, inspector of instruction at the Ministry of Education;¹³ school-psychologist and philosopher K. Grue-Sørensen (who in 1955 was appointed the first professor of educational science in Denmark), and chief secretary at the Ministry of Housing, Axel Skalts. The dictionary was planned in 1945 and many of the articles were written by head clerks in different Ministries as well as by different professional groups. The purpose of the dictionary was to reach everyone dealing with the forming of children and young people: teachers, priests, police officers, wardens, social workers, foremen, municipality boards etc.¹⁴ The authors was to deliver objective and clear information about topics like legislation, theoretical and practical orientations on every subject or theme, guidance regarding educational and psychological problems; they were to provide answers to personal, juridical, social and professional questions that matter to young people. Thus, the dictionary was 'conceived' in the spirit of the Emdrup plan, and to be nominated as an author is considered as a token of belonging to the circle of people who, according to the logic of the field, were nominated as knowing, entitled to categorise on issues of schooling and education. A variety of the above-mentioned people were authors of articles.

¹² Cf. reading through Dialogue 1950-1961. Sidenius and Kærnså worked together later as inspector and teacher, from 1968 in *Værebroskole* in the northern suburbs of Copenhagen: a school that was inspired by private experimental schools (lilleskolen) and was considered a front runner in the development of the Danish state school in the 1970s.

¹³ Højbjerg Christensen was Minister of Education during the war, and 'outside the parties'. A so-called 'committee of seven' (7-mandsudvalget) was appointed, consisting of school professionals, to guide the Minister as regards schooling. I. M. Nordentoft was among the members (Hilden 2009: 124-125).

¹⁴ Cf. 'The Mission of the Publication and conditions for co-ownership' not dated ('Redegørelse for Værkets opgave og for Vilkaarene ved Medarbejderskab' u.å), Archives of the Ministry of Education: head clerk Ejnar Jensen (Fuldmægtig Ejnar Jensens arkiv, Undervisningsministeriets arkiv), The Danish State Archives (Rigsarkivet). Ejnar Jensen was secretary of the building committee as regards Emdrupborg 1948, later head of secretariat of the Danish State Radio. Jensen wrote 10 articles for the dictionary himself, and corresponded with the writers, paying them their fees etc.

This thread of analyses points to the emerging belief that reason, rationality, matter-of-factness, objectivity and knowledge per se are neutral, universal, trans-historical phenomena, able to promote democracy for all, e.g., implementing a rational comprehensive schooling for all. Therefore, it is with great ease that the enlightenment project vis-à-vis the people is stated, emphasizing the school to be the people's school. This thread of school pedagogues perceived of themselves as able and obliged to govern and guide, not only the child, but also the population towards a better and enlightened future. They believed in socialisation and structural planning to better the future. They thought of themselves as intellectuals first and foremost, stemming from a variety of professions. The dominating professions were philosophers and literary historians, but artists, psychologists and teachers were central players as well.

The force and potential of nature: Essentialising the child in the coming of a new citizen (thread two)

The second thread of analysis overlaps with the earlier combining of science and philosophy. However, what can be seen here is a tendency to combine the ethical and moral position on 'new education' with a psychological positivism and empiricism that included spiritual dimensions, e.g., exploring the unconscious. The upcoming Danish school pedagogues were from the 1920s part of an international discussion on new education,¹⁵ which through world conferences connected lay enthusiasts from various countries and major international figures in the developing disciplines of psychology and education, such as, Carl Gustav Jung, Jean Piaget and John Dewey. This is described in the Danish sources as well as in international research on the matter, e.g., English research (Brehony 2004: 733-738, Jenkins 1989).

The New Education Fellowship (NEF), its headquarter situated in London, held its first world conference in 1921 in Calais. Until 1936, money to support NEF activities came from the Rockefeller Foundation (Brehony 2004: 747). The purpose of NEF was to engage everybody who was in favour of the individual child and the child's expression of abilities, growth and development (Næsgaard 1928d: 97). The new education was to prepare and form children all around the world, creating and disseminating new pedagogical practices. Thus, the coming of a new citizen, conscious of the dignity of him/herself and others, would come true. The main catalyst behind NEF was Beatrice Ensor, who when founding NEF identified herself as a Theosophist, member of the Theosophical Fraternity in Education and committed to universal brotherhood (Brehony 2004: 735). In general, the emancipatory interests of the New Education derived from different perspectives on freedom, namely stemming from Enlightenment Philosophy, Religious Spirituality and Psychoanalysis (Jenkins

¹⁵ However, there were forerunners to these events. Danish school pedagogues had, e.g., been affiliated with the International Child Study movement in the late 19th century, e.g. Kirstine Frederiksen and Jens Olsen (de Coninck-Smith 1997: 128-137) and from 1919-1923 a commission consisting of politicians, civil servants and educators (Den Store Skolekommission) discussed how to reform the whole school system as regards pedagogy, economy and administration (Nørr 2008: 159).

2000:141). The latter two accorded well: the unconscious of the individual could easily be seen as part of the collective and powerful unconscious of the universe.

In Denmark a group of people, organised through 'The educational association' (Det Pædagogiske Selskab), formed a distinct study group ('Pædagogisk selskabs studiekreds'). Among the members were the familiar figures: J. G. Arvin, Sofie Rifbjerg and school psychologist Henning Meyer. They were interested in experiments on so-called activity pedagogy. In 1926 they turned away from 'The educational association' and formed 'The Danish division of The New Education Fellowship' (Landsforeningen Den frie skole) (Rifbjerg 1950: 133). In 1927, the second congress of this Danish division of NEF was held at Borups højskole in Copenhagen, and in addition to the educationalist J. G. Arvin and the psychoanalyst Sigurd Næsgaard, the head of an American so-called organic school, Marietta Johnson, was among the speakers, as well as Danish free school teachers. The Minister of Education, J. Byrskov, was invited too and he spoke as a participant dealing with and interested in issues of 'new education'.¹⁶ NEF combined lay people with academics, professionals, administrators and politicians in Denmark.

In 1929, as a result of the efforts of Sigurd Næsgaard (Danish psychoanalyst, chairman of the Danish division of NEF and member of the international council of the NEF until 1928), the NEF international conference was held at Kronborg in Helsingør, Denmark (Rifbjerg 1966: 133). The motto of the Kronborg conference was Individual Psychology and the New Curriculum, and it dealt with relationships between the child's nature and the material the child should be exposed to in order to grow. Among the speakers from abroad were the so-called 'doctor-educators', including Dr. Maria Montessori, Professor Ovide Decroly (Brussel) and Dr. A. Ferriere (Geneva). Jean Piaget gave a talk on moral judgement in children and Kurt Lewin talked about Gestalt theory. Moreover Ms. M. Johnsen (Fairhope organic school, USA), A. S. Neill (head of the Summerhill School in Suffolk) and Helen Parkhurst (author of 'Education on the Dalton Plan', USA) lectured. Speakers from Denmark were, e.g., Sofie Rifbjerg, Sigurd Næsgaard and Margrethe Petersen.¹⁷

Already in 1928, Næsgaard began to prepare the readers of the new magazine *The Liberal School* (Den frie skole) to welcome the progressive movement that was about to 'strike' Denmark. He introduced thinking on individual study plans made according to the child's natural powers and gifts (Næsgaard 1928a: 25). He knew about pedagogical experiments from preceding NEF conferences. For example, he sketched out the American Dalton plan that individualises the time, the tempo and the place in which the child wishes to work; the Belgian school of Ovide Decroly,

¹⁶ Pamphlet from the Congress, the depository 'Ordinary Schools' ('Almindelige skoler'), The Royal Library: The Collection of Pamphlets and Corporate Publications (Det Kongelige Biblioteks Småtryks-samling).

¹⁷ Cf. pamphlet about the conference retrieved from the private archives of Georg Julius Arvin, The Danish State Archives (G. J. Arvins privatarkiv, Rigsarkivet), as well as from the private archives of Torben Gregersen, The Danish State Archives. Lists of participants, speakers, papers, pamphlets etc. concerning the NEF international, Danish and Nordic conferences were retrieved from the archives of Torben Gregersen.

medical doctor and educationalist, that departs from 'the living child', abolishing the school subjects and practicing so called 'work of interests'; and Maria Montessori's ideas, Italian medical doctor and educationalist, about getting the right materials and providing these for the children in the quest to grow as much and as richly as possible, intellectually.

Næsgaard and others around The Liberal School wrote extensively on the inner capacities of the child, seeking evidence in different aspects of the science of biology and psychology that the child had these inner forces, sources or 'inner directors' as Næsgaard called them (Nørgaard 1977: 149). Furthermore, the mechanics with which the child's inborn ability 'breaks through', within the child, was depicted in detail: means of action come forth to build up the ability, feeling awakens and brings forth warmth that releases sufficient energy to draw attention from the environment and so on (Næsgaard 1928b: 37-39). The child was ascribed interests, i.e., driving forces of prehistoric existence. The project method is emphasised as an expression of the essence of humankind, which was to decide on a goal, search for means to reach that goal and act goal-directed (Næsgaard 1928c: 8586). This celebration of the power of the individual agency to effect change regardless of context was in tune with the universal context-free values that disseminated from NEF in general.

The biological argument for organising educational processes was also clarified according to psychiatry and the elucidation of instinct: not only should one seek the causes of, e.g., hysteria, one should try to understand the intention of it as well. All utterances of life have an intention (Bratt-Østergaard 1940: 3).

Medical doctors, psychologists, psychiatrists and psychoanalysts all play a part, essentialising the child, ascribing the child pure biology: inner directors, instincts, intentions, needs, interests and motives. These professions provide a variety of vocabulary substantiating human distinction to be a distinction of nature, an inborn mentality, referring to biology in general. They cooperated with teachers in a variety of assemblies. This joint venture of teachers and scientists tried to make itself a negotiable partner in educational issues at both the level of the municipality of Copenhagen and the Ministry of Education (Rifbjerg 1966: 242).

In 1940, NEF Denmark changed its name to 'The Association of Social Pedagogy' (Socialpædagogisk forening for ny opdragelse), and J. G. Arvin was elected chair – he was also head of the Royal Danish School of Educational Studies (Danmarks lærerhøjskole) at the same time, as already noted.¹⁸ Torben Gregersen, a teacher, was a member from the beginning of this new version of NEF Denmark as well.¹⁹ Now, the

¹⁸ The 'Danish Montessori Association' (Det danske Montessori-Selskab), which had existed since 1917 (Mr. and Mrs. Arvin were members from the beginning), joined this new association. Other members of the Montessori association were Thora Constantin-Hansen (Egelundshuset), Margrethe Marstrand, Sigurd Næsgaard and Sofie Rifbjerg. Sources on the Danish Montessori Association is retrieved from the depository 'Ordinary Schools' ('Almindelige skoler'), The Royal Library: The Collection of Pamphlets and Corporate Publications (Det Kongelige Biblioteks Småtryksamling).

¹⁹ Torben Gregersen and J. G. Arvin knew each other from *La Courvejens skole*, Frederiksberg, in the 1930s: Arvin was the progressive principal of the school 1918-1939 (Jensen 1950); Gregersen was a student from teacher-training college and from 1935 a teacher (Gregersen 1990).

centre of attention was not exclusively on the child. The family, the community and the nation were more clearly a focus in the school pedagogues' search for potential to be released than they were before. Moving from accentuating the natural towards including an emphasis as regards the social as well, was a general tendency appearing in other countries in the 1940s (Jenkins 2000:147-151, Lundahl 2006:169-266).

For example, the school pedagogues got involved in caring for younger children. Preventive child care, in the shape of kindergartens inspired by child psychology and social pedagogy, became vital aspects of school pedagogy (Arvin 1943: 149; Ribbjerg 1947: 1; Hauch 1947: 29). Arvin especially embodies this mixture. Arvin was equally influenced by the Danish tradition of Grundtvig-Kold (in opposition to exams), activity pedagogy and self-work (arbejdsskolen), project method and individual instruction (American style), and the kindergarten of Montessori, for which kindergartens were thought of as substructures of the school (Christensen 1950: 129). Simultaneously, parent-teacher cooperation, parent education and community studies surfaced due to American inspiration. The nation and the world depended upon early childhood and early mother-child relations. Ultimately, the international democracy that NEF strived for was dependent on the quality of family life, institutions and schools. Therefore, some efforts were redirected from management of problem children to prevention of all kinds of crises for all: from correcting the few to prevention for all, e.g., spreading the insights of psychology and mental hygiene.

Psychological discussions on the relationship between 'intelligence' and 'environment', biology and sociology were noticeable in these gatherings at this point in time as well. The reliability of the IQ test was being questioned, which became evident from reviewing international research on the matter saying that the testing was socially biased (Sigsgaard 1942: 83). Moreover, the scientific work of psychologists was discussed vis-à-vis the practical world's quest for methods and results (From 1944: 153-154; Farup 1948: 72-73). However, the bottom line is that the concept of intelligence was retained as a central ordering and ranking device in school matters – displayed as a neutral measurement of the child's essential capacities. Again, a joint venture of professions such as medical doctors, psychologists, psychiatrists and psychoanalysts on the one hand and teachers on the other hand, manifested itself in this thread of school pedagogy. Theoretically speaking, i.e., in terms of Bourdieu, these 'alliances' are a sign of an emergence: a multidimensional field is constituting itself, characterised by a hybridity of forces.

The force and potential of culture: Expressing and reforming the child and the people (thread three)

The third thread of the network and the categorisations that go with it roughly speaking are about the outer characteristics of the child's and the human being's inner nature. The professions dominating here, as opposed to the previous threads, are kindergarten teachers and pedagogues attending to young children. Thus, this

thread is intrinsically tied to the previous thread and the psychologists' interest in young children and development.

It is clear that the pedagogy of schooling during the period under study was influenced by the pedagogy of kindergartens, infants and young children, and the understanding of the child that is associated with the insights derived from developmental psychology. 'The child' that emerged drew on psychological understandings of young children. The circle of people that gathered around and took part in activities at 'The school for kindergarten teachers' (Kursus for småbørnspædagoger), called Kursus, thus became part of the overall construction of the field of significant school pedagogues. In the 1920s, Thora Constantin-Hansen and Sofie Rifbjerg – on requests from several female kindergarten teachers – began to lecture about kindergarten pedagogy and psychology in a three-month long course. In 1928, an educational course, having a duration of two years, was initiated (Rifbjerg 1966: 223). The purpose of the course was to develop these young women: to make them independent and liberal pedagogues, respecting the child's spontaneous growth, discovering the powers of the child to let these powers grow.²⁰ Furthermore, the young women were to learn to contain their urge to reprimand as well as their urge to think of specific behaviour as societal damage. They were to respect every act from the child, because the acts were considered the only way to acquaint oneself with the inner characteristics of the child: the mental life of the child. To observe the acts and moves of the child was a prerequisite for arranging activities in order to make sure that further development, academically and as a human being in general, was put on the 'right track'.

Examining the activities at Kursus, it appears that Kursus paid considerable attention to the dawning conception of the human nature that was about to find its way into the school. Creative work and human activity were important elements of the thinking at Kursus, and the lecturers at Kursus reflected this. Thus, the psychologists Sofie Rifbjerg, Anne Marie Nørvig, C. C. Kragh-Müller, P. W. Perch, Inger Kristine Mortensen and Inger Bernth, the philosopher and psychoanalyst Sigurd Næsgaard, the composer and music pedagogue Bernard Christensen, the piano player and jazz pedagogue (and later professor of literature) Sven Møller Kristensen, the 'teacher of rhythms' Astrid Gøssel, the teacher Torben Gregersen, the philosopher Knud Grue-Sørensen and the philologist and historian Elin Appel – and more – all joined Kursus.²¹ Several of them were at the same time part of the circle involved in 'The cultural battle', the teachers' division of 'A liberated Denmark' or another of the already

²⁰ Cf. the pamphlet 'Montessorikursus. Toaarigt uddannelseskursus for småbørnslærerinder ved Sofie Rifbjerg, mag.art., og Sigurd Næsgaard, Dr. Phil.', dated January 10, 1930, the depository 'Ordinary Schools' ('Almindelige skoler'), The Royal Library: The Collection of Pamphlets and Corporate Publications (Det Kongelige Biblioteks Småtrykssamling). Kursus was called Montessorikursus 1928-1933.

²¹ The archives of 'The school for kindergarten teachers', Provincial Archives of Zealand (Arkivet for Seminarier for småbørnspædagoger, Landsarkivet for Sjælland m.v.). From these archives, e.g., a guest book and different historical material, newspaper clippings etc., have been read through. Furthermore, annual accounting reports 1944-1959 have been read through, retrieving information on the teachers employed.

mentioned institutions and associations belonging to the overall scientific construction. At 'Kursus' they discussed questions concerning the characteristics of the child's nature and appropriate upbringing, whereas, the upbringing of the population in general, was the focus of attention of 'The cultural battle'. A shared mission, though, was the emphasis put on the guarding and guidance, i.e., cultivation and rationalisation, of the child's nature.

From 1933 to 1943, in a time of crisis, Kursus was invited to and resided at the Borup folk high school, in the middle of Copenhagen. Looking through the magazine of 'Borup folk high school' 1932-1940,²² it is apparent that the dawning social democratic people's education appears on almost every page. The Swedish 'people's home' of the Myrdals is often referred to, as well as are eugenics, genetic hygiene, Christianity, rules of spelling, liberty, health and hygiene, parent education, involvement of the local community, the socialisation of the individual, establishment of housing areas in terms of 'blocks' and shared activities etc. ('kollektivhuse') and cultural activities such as singing, music, theatre and literature. Kursus had relations with state forming agencies: Kursus was, e.g., visited by Ministers of education, welfare etc., and civil servants and head clerks – both from Denmark and other countries, e.g., civil servants from Japan, Israel, Egypt and Thailand visited Kursus in the 1950s. The wife of Julius Bomholt, the Danish Minister of Social affairs at the time, graduated from Kursus, and the class had a 'cosy get-together' in the residence of the Minister.²³

In 1938, Sven Møller Kristensen, lecturing at Kursus, provided the magazine 'Borup folk high school' with three articles about jazz and folk music (Kristensen 1938a-c). He states the idea that European music had distanced itself from the people, and at the same time, due to social development, a greater proportion of the people now had access to cultural education (Kristensen 1938a: 3). This urge to enlighten and encourage the masses is evident in the writings of Astrid Gøssel as well (e.g., Gøssel 1929). The music that supposedly is able to correspond to the receptive abilities of the people is jazz as folk music, which is characterised as sites for universal laws of music: basic and primitive expressions seen as embodied in 'Negros' and children. The element of improvisation combined the past with the future and showed a way to move forward. The 'Negro' emerged in school pedagogy as providing something worth paying attention to: something new, of high-quality; not necessarily of lower standard. However, the qualities attributed to the 'Negros' were originality, naturalness and primitivity. The latter quality also refers to 'lower' or 'prior to', which made another emergence possible: the emergence of a difficulty deeply embedded in educational thought as well as thinking about cultures comparatively: 'us' versus 'them' (Thing 1993: 2). The positive future could be located in something the 'Negros' pos-

²² The magazine 'Borups højskole' has been read through 1928-1940, retrieved from The Royal Library: The Collection of Pamphlets and Corporate Publications (Det Kongelige Biblioteks Småtrykssamling). List of teachers employed are mentioned here as well.

²³ Press clippings, The archives of 'The school for kindergarten teachers', Provincial Archives of Zealand.

sessed: the spirit and swing of nature. Children and primitive cultures belonged to the area of nature as well, making 'Negros', children and primitive cultures' a sign of emancipation. However, due to the ambiguity of the term 'primitive', civilising practices went along with these statements. The kindergarten pedagogues recommended that pedagogues and teachers should observe the acts of the children in order to gain knowledge about their mental lives, and then intervene to civilise and rationalise, aiming at, e.g., getting their natural rhythm to show. The same pattern was apparent for art education aiming at observing and bringing to light an inborn capacity to create (Nørvig 1928). As a curiosum, I want to mention that graphology was an inspirational source too; suggesting that life itself and the inner life of the child could be accessible by studying the handwriting of the child (Carstens 1929). Inner characteristics of both nature and primitivity are expressed in external movements. This opened a path for reforming the child in the quest to make the child enter the 'social contract'. During the 1950s, several experimental institutions surfaced according to this image and the assumptions developed since the 1920s institutionalised and universalised slowly, finding their way into public schooling for all in the quest to construct democratic and productive citizens. The professions involved in these endeavours were first and foremost the kindergarten pedagogues and the jazz, rhythm and music pedagogues – as well as psychologists.

Psychologisation of the school: Experts and applied science – civilising the teacher (thread four)

The last thread of the network and categorisations concentrates on the scientification and psychologisation of the teacher. Psychologists are the dominating profession in this thread. Examining the annual accounts of the activities of the Royal Danish School of Educational Studies, the location for teachers' continuing education, Arvin's way of thinking regarding school and dealing with the 'wave of psychology' becomes visible.²⁴ He was head of the school from 1939-1950. The former head, Vilhelm Rasmussen, covered the courses in pedagogy in the beginning of the 1930s: he taught the history of education and presented new educational ideas (Montessori, Decroly and Frøbel), and was a member of the 'Danish Montessori Association' as well. When Arvin was appointed head, he talked about the importance of individuality, a liberal 'people's society' and the child's emancipation as the goals of the liberal school. Arvin's first course in pedagogy was about child psychology and its relation to practice in schools. In 1939-1940, he stated that, on top of supporting the teacher-training system, the Royal School of Educational Studies should add to the universally human development of morality and he wanted to establish relations to the university. Starting in 1940, a new subject matter of pedagogy surfaced: Applied psychology. The subject was upgraded considerably: seven academically trained teachers were mentioned, e.g., Henning Meyer, Sofie

²⁴ Cf. accounts on The Royal Danish School of Educational Studies 1930-1964 (Beretninger om Danmarks Lærerhøjskole).

Rifbjerg and Edgar Rubin, and the subject matter covered child psychology, experimental psychology, psychiatry and intelligence testing. At the same time, there were discussions on the danger of 'psychologisation' from above (written by Arvin), and there were pieces on the prospects of a pedagogical-psychological research institute (written by Henning Meyer in 1940-1941, and repeated by Arvin in 1943-1944). 'Educational practice' became a subject matter as well, and eugenics was taught too. From 1946, the accounts included reports on meetings of NEF Denmark, and in 1948-1949 it was reported that the Royal School of Educational Studies moved into the premises of Emdrupborg in Emdrup, the former German school building.

The experimental school, Emdrupborg School, was established in 1948 at Emdrupborg as well. Anne Marie Nørvig, teacher and child psychologist, was appointed head of the school. Nørvig referred to test-psychology, developmental psychology, the psychoanalysis of Sigmund Freud and pedagogical statistics. She characterised Emdrupborg school as progressive and moderate. The school was to be freed of the tyranny of school books; the initiatives of the children should be worshipped and cultivated; every child should be given the chance to build self-respect and so on (cf. Nørgaard 2005). Social studies and creative work were pointed out as important, and the children were observed and tested by psychologists using scientific methods to do so (Nørvig et. al. 1955).

Furthermore, Emdrupborg teacher-training state college was initiated in 1949 (Statsseminariet på Emdrupborg, SpE).²⁵ Thirty-four teachers were employed the first year, some of them holding ordinary full-time positions, most of them holding temporary positions, teaching a few lessons each week. Tage Larsen, teacher and physicist, was appointed head of the college. Among the teachers were literary historian Elin Appel and psychologists K. B. Madsen and Carl Aage Larsen.²⁶ It seems as if this institution was somewhat less affiliated with the other associations and institutions of the scientific construction – the group of people was more distinct, although they overlapped to some extent with, e.g., Kursus, presumably because both institutions employed part-time teachers, and to make a living the teachers needed to be employed in more than one institution.

Finally, the Danish National Institute for Educational Research (Danmarks Pædagogiske Institut) was established as an independent institution in 1955, not directly and physically affiliated with the Emdrupborg system, yet belonging to this system. In 1950, J. G. Arvin, head of the Royal Danish School of Educational Studies at Emdrupborg, was given the job to chair a committee appointed by the Ministry of Education. The committee was to propose to the Ministry the areas of study and the activities a research institute on education should address. In 1953, a thorough report

²⁵ Law nr. 168, March 1949, on the creation of the State's teacher-training college in Copenhagen, The archives of Emdrupborg teacher-training college, Provincial Archives of Zealand(Arkivet for Emdrupborg statsseminarium, Landsarkivet for Sjælland m.v.).

²⁶ Cf. lists of teachers and official registers of employees at the college to be handed over to the Ministry of Education, The archives of Emdrupborg teacher-training college, Provincial Archives of Zealand.

was submitted on the state of the art and how to move forward.²⁷ Five departments were suggested: a department for didactic investigations, a department for pedagogical-psychological basic research, a department for tests and assignments, a department for experimental pedagogy and a department for statistics. These departments were installed, and a board of representatives and a professional advisory board were established as well (DPI 1975: 5-8). Among the members of these boards, and among the employees from 1955-1960, were psychologist and professor Franz From, medical doctor Villars Lunn, psychologist Henning Meyer, philosopher and professor Jørgen Jørgensen, philosopher and professor Knud Grue-Sørensen, psychologist Jesper Florander, psychologist Thomas Sigsgaard, literary historian Georg Christensen, psychologist P. W. Perch and psychologist Carl Aage Larsen.²⁸ Most of these members were trained in the milieu of school pedagogues just described.

In closing this section, it can be concluded that during the 1930s and onwards, psychologists etc. delivered arguments about the universal child that were absorbed and reproduced by school pedagogy. The child was ascribed pure biology, i.e., inner directors, instincts, intentions, needs, interests and motives – as if these phenomena were universals. Furthermore, ‘outer’ signs and the child’s acts and movements (referring to the inner child) called forth intervention, reform and civilising practices. In the Emdrup plan for schooling of 1945, the child’s human and natural potential were furthermore assumed to be accessible for rational planning of society and the nation. Thus, the cultural politics of progressive school-pedagogues from 1929-1960 served to legitimise social differences, explaining differences by reference to natural gifts: psychological and biological powers within the child. Slowly, this universal way of thinking was universalised through the categorizing practices that went along with the universal child, and gained state support, officialising the universal child, circulating and spreading the universal child via the ideology of the comprehensive school.

School pedagogy, inspired by child pedagogy, social psychology and a focus on the development of the (child’s) human potential, is pointed out as a welfare state developmental area that should expand. During the 1950s, experimental and research institutions to form the teacher and school-pedagogy surfaced according to this image. The teaching manuals that in 1960 and 1961 went along with the Education Act of 1958, as well as the Education Act, were visible signs of institutionalisation and universalisation of the assumptions developed since the 1920s (cf. Nør 2008: 225), e.g., that focusing on social studies, individual instruction, group work and international understanding were important means in the construction of democratic and productive citizens (Undervisningsministeriet 1960 and 1961). Furthermore, the manuals emphasised the importance of an undivided and expanded school system, although the Education Act only concerned five years in primary

²⁷ Report on the foundation of an Institute of Education (Betænkning angående oprettelse af et Pædagogisk Institut), submitted by a committee appointed by the Ministry of Education August 28, 1953.

²⁸ Archives of The Danish National Institute for Educational Research, The Danish State Archives (Arkivet for Danmarks Pædagogiske Institut, Rigsarkivet), minutes from board of representatives, meetings 1-8, and from the professional advisory board, meetings 1-35.

school and two years in a (somewhat divided) secondary school, i.e. a comprehensive school system of seven years (Nørr 2008: 216-224). During the political struggle over the Education Act, there were unresolved controversy regarding a divided versus an undivided system, voiced by respectively so called elitist points of views, a social egalitarian point of view (e.g., voiced by Minister of Education 1953-1957, J. Bomholt) and a Grundtvigian viewpoint (Bregnsbo 1971). However, the Act introduced a common system as regards both the town school and the countryside school. Thus, there was equal access to further schooling, exceeding the seven years.

The teaching manuals stated in general that the educational system should be raised in standard so that Denmark could develop as a cultural nation. The manuals were prepared using the insights of a whole range of persons from the milieu of school-pedagogues just accounted for, e.g., using experts from The Danish National Institute for Educational Research (Undervisningsministeriet 1960: 8-12). Thus, it is possible to conclude that capital is concentrated into symbolic capital that turns into common law and official guidance.

School pedagogues:

A social field producing universal categories out of the particular

To close this article, the social, cultural and historical categorisations about the universal human nature and schooling are contextualised in a societal structure in order to describe the societal powers that constitute and, at the same time, are certified by the state.

Using the sociology of Bourdieu and investigating into state issues, school pedagogy has been considered a state process that concentrates, unifies and universalises values. Following this, the current article has used historical analyses in order to grasp the state as an emerging order employing universalisation and monopolisation to order. It is evident that the legitimate natural child and culture, dressed in the objectivity, rationality and neutrality of science, have been universalised and made valid for all, codified by official guidance in 1960. In this development, the ambiguous process of monopolisation unfolds in two ways.

First, the universal child and culture are particularities referring to societal powers that gained and created the strength to dominate using universal – and therefore legitimate – categories (Bourdieu 1996: 61). However, this is not recognised or spoken of due to the force of symbolic violence. When the dominating culture is inculcated as legitimate, it enchants: all other cultures and categorisations of, e.g., the child are, using the ‘magical move’ of universalisation, destined to be thought of as particular. At the same time, the particularity of the dominating and ‘acquired universal’ culture is hidden. The universal is monopolised by dominating forces. How does this work? It works exactly due to mechanisms of the state. Through the educational system, the state manages to create a civil religion and a legitimate national culture that stipulates that it includes all, especially via history lessons and literature (Ibid.: 60), but also via general forms of pedagogy and organisation, e.g., progressive school pedagogy. It

succeeds in telling the story of the existence of a universal, disinterested point of view – that of the state. The circularity is complete and it is the result of a long historical process: those that (re)created the state are dominating just because they (re)created the state and were able to constitute their point of view as universal, because they (re)created the state (Ibid.:73). In other words, the effects of the universal can be interpreted as extensive. Thus, the spread of universal values via the ideology of comprehensive schooling for all is a process of universalisation that hides the differentiating power and the particularity inscribed in the state. This brings me to the other dimension of monopolisation.

Second, one could ask which societal powers, groups and interests are involved in the making and remaking of the welfare state progressivism? What are the structural characteristics of the emerging area of the state's progressive school pedagogy?

Looking at the 27 significant school pedagogues (the main figures cf. record 1), their professional backgrounds are mixed; many of them are both teachers and psychologists, a few are teachers only, some are academics only – philosophers, psychologists, literary historians and physicists – and some are musicians only. Consequently, it is possible to conclude that the universalising processes are monopolised by an upcoming bourgeois culture. Looking at their fathers' occupations, it is possible to retrieve an indication of the school pedagogues' social origin, i.e., of the societal powers involved in the making of progressive school pedagogy from 1929-1960.

The main figures of the school pedagogues 'originates' from an environment of teachers and from an environment of small and large scale trade, grocers and merchants. Furthermore, they derive from a milieu of farmers. A few come from a religious or artistic environment. Thus, it is a somewhat heterogeneous picture just as the upcoming bourgeois middle class culture is in general. Adding to this heterogeneity, but at the same time delimited picture of the social origins, some societal forces are almost not represented in these welfare state universalising processes: different sorts of landowners and workers.

Thus, the social groups and the interests refigured by the welfare state through school pedagogy, hereby generating and forming the state, become visible. The social history approach points to the social conditioning of Danish school pedagogy; the social interests linked to a modernised and scientifically legitimised school for democracy and welfare. Some social groups reproduce their positions relatively, conquering school pedagogy and defining school pedagogy in ways that gain recognition, as if they know what is about to take place structurally. To understand these processes as processes of social conquest makes it easier to understand the strength with which the school pedagogues argue and practice: it seems as if it is a matter of life and death, e.g., to demonstrate that the child has inner characteristics according to biology.²⁹

²⁹ The systematic collective biography is in preparation. Here, I seek to distinguish between different social groups and their different projects and missions; their different social force, colouring school pedagogy differently. For example, what are the specific relations between pedagogical forces

The civil religion that the school disseminates is a mixture of those groups and their emerging and conflating characteristics that unite and form the state: the urban middle classes and its enterprising drive for 'potential', the academic high culture stipulating clarity and objectivity, and the new teachers' and the new school's common culture. The teachers in the field of schooling are the ones to implement the civil religion and the spread of knowledge and common culture to the people. At the same time, the teacher is positioned as a cultural and legitimate project with cultural views as opposed to the barbarian environment of the peasants' way of life (that some of the school-pedagogues and many of the teachers originate from) and other forms of hard, practical life (cf. Muel-Dreyfuss 1987). The universal is indeed a socio-historical particularity.

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corresponding to relations between social forces? In this manner it should be possible to picture a field of school pedagogues as capital structures. In other words, the endeavour of universalisation is to be broken into atoms (capitals), which make it possible to describe state formation as a social history concentrating symbolic power in further detail.

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