The diversity of 'progressive school pedagogues' 1929-1960:
A space of opposites making society making the child

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Prologue

The purpose of this article is to present a nuanced understanding of the cultural and social forces involved in the changing educational ideas, forms and policies in the period 1929-1960 in Denmark. The changes moved towards a 'collective ideology' of universalist welfare state education for all. The shift was based on general assumptions about state administration as a technical and financial machine, and society as a technological and social phenomenon that could be planned and managed scientifically through the production of socialised and civilised children who as strong individuals would be able to unfold their own and the society's potential in the future. These changes did not fall from the sky. Groups of professionals with their cultural and social forces fought for and gained influence on this policy development. Thus, the purpose of this article is to describe and understand this group of individuals, who participated in promoting this new civil creed, as a *heterogeneous* group. Insights into this heterogeneity, which is often left unnoticed, can help understand the complexity and historicity of this 'collective ideology' which was designed to tackle the Social Question as well as the National Question through compromise, adjustment and bargaining. I understand the group as *a social space* of what I call 'significant school pedagogues' situated in a multidimensional social space structured by hierarchical levels and differentiated forms of cultural, symbolic and social forces (Bourdieu 2006). Using data from existing biographical lexicons regarding 549 individuals who are identified as involved in promoting the new civil creed, the space is described and analysed.

The story of the 'collective ideology' – in brief

Since the 1920s, a heterogeneous group of architects, medical doctors, teachers, economists, civil servants and psychologists, engaged in the provision and organisation of the emerging democratisation scheme of the Danish welfare state, and in 1929 the progressive educational association known as *The New Education Fellowship* (NEF) held its international conference in Denmark. This event marked the mobilisation of Danish professionals and their affiliation with an international analytical space of pedagogy aiming at emancipation (Nørgaard 1977; Ydesen 2010). In this period, preschool teachers and school teachers participated in activities associated with cultural politics, and architects, artists, economists, psychologists, etc., came forward as promoters of school, anticipating that reformed school education had potential as regards the development of the 'small state' of Denmark. These groups gathered, e.g., in the Danish branch of the NEF, and in resistance movements and movements of cultural criticism vis-à-vis the authoritarian character of social relations in schools and elsewhere just before and during WWII, e.g., in *Foreningen for frisindet kulturkamp (Association in favour of the liberal cultural battle)* and the teachers' division of *Frit Danmark (A liberated Denmark)*. All 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 and professions in the development of the population, through e.g. schooling in the new era of the cold war (Nørgaard 2005; Bredsdorff 2009; Bernild 2002; Buus 2008; Petersen 1997; Brante 2005). The ideas and practices that emerged as regards schooling were based on a psychologisation of

the school and a changed understanding of the child and its potentials. In this way, the system of upbringing, teaching and culturing in general were forming a methodological whole, and the idea was to move the school from a traditional academic organisation characterised by exams to a 'healthy, natural and popular' ('folkelig' in Danish) foundation as the prominent progressive teacher, activist and school head master G.J. Arvin stated (Arvin 1951:94). In other words, the school should be based on a common methodological culture as opposed to a traditional academic culture.

During the 1950s and the 1960s, several experimental institutions surfaced and the civilising and democratising projects of this 'collective ideology' gained legitimacy and was institutionalised in different forms in the years to come – in Denmark as well as in Sweden for example (Ydesen 2010; Aasen 2003:114-117; Muschinsky 2004:284; Broady 1979:110). The projects of the civilised 'significant school pedagogues' turned into dominating policy and a standard that other social groups would have to position themselves in relation to and be positioned by. These school pedagogues succeeded in positioning their civilising and democratising missions as ventures of cultural legitimacy, presenting 'elevating' ways of life for all. The official teaching manuals that went along with the 1958 Education Act in Denmark in 1960 were made by this broad milieu (Bregnsbo 1971), especially by school psychologist and civil servants (Ministry of Education 1960: 8-12). The manuals institutionalised and universalised the assumptions developed by these professions, e.g., that focusing on an undivided and expanded school system, social studies, individual instruction, group work, and international understanding for all were important means in the construction of democratic and productive citizens. In Denmark, the state sector school system today still has some traces of this 'collective ideology' and comprehensiveness that was introduced by these early progressives, although regular evaluations and tests for example have been introduced in the 2000s. The public school in Denmark, the *Folkeskole*, is still a fully comprehensive and mixed ability school for 7-16 year old pupils, based on differentiated teaching of the individual child. Children are divided in year groups by age and progression from one year to the next is automatic. There are compulsory school-leaving examinations in seven subjects plus a mandatory project assignment to carry out an interdisciplinary project, and therefore project work is on the schedule throughout the school years to some extent (Borgnakke 1995; Borgnakke 2005:105-115). Finally, the class teacher concept, which

emerged already in the 1880s, is a central feature. The class teacher is responsible for creating group identity, school-home cooperation and monitoring the emotional, social and cognitive learning processes (Ministry of Education 2008). This article delves into the structure and dynamics of this 'collective ideology' that was promoted by these early progressives.

Structure of the article
The article consists of five parts. First, research on progressivism is reviewed as a background to the second part, where the social spacial approach of the article is presented, e.g., the use of a Bourdieusian collective biography called prosopography, and a 'significant school pedagogue' is defined as an empirical category. Third, the data used to represent the constituting elements of the space of significant school pedagogues, e.g., themes and variables, are presented. The fourth and longest part describes the structure of the space, focussing on preliminary interpretations of the social and pedagogical opposites accomplished by the correspondence analysis of the data. The fifth part closes the article by articulating the way in which progressive pedagogy can be described as a middle-class project of consensus, compromise and adjustment to conditions, defending and developing the cohesion of society in a small nation state experiencing dramatic events.

Research on progressivism
The elements of progressivism vary, and they emerged centuries ago. Philosophical investigations have shown that the term 'progress' was popular in England in the 1790s, meaning advancing to a higher level. It was connected to capitalist expansionism, imperialism and ideas of liberal welfare state organisation and democratisation (Baker 1999:815). Around 1900, progressive elements were formed in the American context, where urbanisation, industrialisation, 'wild' capitalism, and immigration from Europe created unrest. Progressivism appeared with its reform and actions, not only pedagogically, but also in terms of the broader government of society. The idea of a 'common good' and a just society for all was proposed to meet the imbalances of society, including the Social Question of the cities, and schooling was identified as the place for socialisation and re-socialisation, e.g., in terms of citizenship education (Popkewitz 2011:9-14). Although progressivism in public education to some extent was abandoned in the American context during the 20th century, it enjoyed renewed vigour within the industrialised West throughout the 20th century. In the 1940s in Denmark

and Sweden for example, much of the impetus derived from American citizenship education (Gregersen 1949, Myrdal & Myrdal 1941; de Coninck-Smith 2002) and from the school education act in England in 1944, which allowed for the creation of comprehensive schools (Nordentoft & Arvin 1946:328).

In research, progressivism has been a contested *concept*, not least among historians of education, who have questioned whether it is possible to define adequately what is studied when the educational actors themselves do not agree on what the term refers to (Cohen 1999). However, according to the historical sociological approach used in this article it is indeed a meaningful term to encapsulate the contradictory formation that emerged, including the 'disagreements' on what the term refers to, thus including the variety of novelties and modernisations that took place in methods of schooling, and as regards the view of the child (Cunningham 2002:218; Brehony 2001:431).

Nevertheless, the history of progressivism is often told as a history of an enlightenment project of 'doing good', installing enchanted concepts like 'intention' or 'mentality' to explain history. Research focussing on the 'warm and enthusiastic' endeavours of the emancipating innovations, stressing the humanism of the progressives, has been carried out, e.g., in Denmark (Nørgaard 1977). Moreover, progressivism is often explored as a language system adhering to a cultural history approach. Thus, language becomes the most important parameter representing the processes of change, tracing how psychiatric, therapeutic and psychoanalytical norms, concepts and language disseminate and a 'culture of character' develops into a 'culture of personality' (Cohen 1999:9-153). As pointed out by English historian and sociologist of education Kevin J. Brehony, such an approach does not capture phenomena outside what is intentionally put forth, e.g., classroom logics of practice or societal logics of practice (Brehony 2001:424). Furthermore, sociologists of education have examined the issue of progressive education. The most well-known of them is perhaps Basil Bernstein (Bernstein 2000). He argued that a so-called invisible pedagogy, as opposed to a visible pedagogy, had evolved and was connected to the new cultural middle class. Bernsteinian studies rarely conduct research about the history of progressive education. However, they subscribe to the story of the evolution and increasing role of progressivism. One of Bernstein's students, Celia Jenkins, has however made a case-study of *The New Education Fellowship* 1920-1950, investigating into the social origins of the discourse of progressivism (Jenkins 1989).

An author analysis concerning NEFs magazine *The New Era*, located in London, shows uniformity according to Jenkins: the authors were teachers, university lecturers, teacher-training tutors, psychologists, psychiatric workers and educational administrators. Medical experts, social workers and parents' involvement were minimal, and occupations in production – industry, commerce and finance – as well as professions of law, medicine, the church and politics, did not participate at all in promoting this new discourse (Jenkins 1989:340). I will compare some of these results to my results later.

As will be clarified in the following, this article has a joint focus on the cultural constructions and ideas, on the one hand, and the social structures, on the other hand. In other words, it combines a cultural history approach with a social history approach according to a basic sociological tradition (Callewaert 1984; Fass 1989; Muel-Dreyfus 1986). According to such an approach, structures and social forces are not external conditions unfortunately impinging on progressivism. Instead, structures and social forces impinge on and are expressed in human culture, ideas and forms of conscience – hence expressed in progressivism. This means that pedagogical change is not only a conceptual and cultural phenomenon, but symbolic forms and processes intertwined with structures and social forces.[1]

Several historians and sociologists with an interest in progressivism have already contributed to the understanding of transformations in schooling as complex social and structural phenomena and processes. Hofstetter and Schneuwly have stressed the importance of making a historical reading of the hybridity and plurality of disciplines and professions that became institutionalised as educational sciences in the progressive era of the 20th century (Hofstetter & Schneuwly 2004: 575). Cunningham makes an effort to view progressivism through a so-called prosophographical lens, focussing on the networks and structures through which individual progressives operated, in order to explain how progressives pursued varied but related ideals (Cunningham 2001:442). Such a prosopographical approach has been embedded in much writing on progressivism or educational developments in general, searching for the way in which biographies of individual innovators intersect and

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[1] Please note that this definition of social history differs from the definition Thomas S. Popkewitz uses, which is concerned with 'institutional and social changes of schools ordered through policy and programmatic developments' (Popkewitz 2011:1). The definition I use includes other ordering principles than policies and programs, e.g., hierarchy and relations between groups.

make up a space and a network, referring to the so-called *spacial turn* and methodology in historiography (de Coninck-Smith 2010; Ydesen 2010; Lawn 2004). This type of research emphasises how far networks and associations overlap with and complement each other. However, often socio-biographical histories are missing from these accounts that most often focus on the intentions of individuals and the relations and interactions between individuals and associations. Some centre attention on the international conferences of the NEF as the context in which transformations transpired and manifested themselves (Brehony 2004; Kallaway 2007), and some try to understand the social composition through sociological scrutiny of the biographies of a few prominent participants (Brehony 2004; Cunningham 2001). This spacial turn in historiography only links to a limited degree to the theoretical developments within (French) educational sociology and history, where a concept of *social space* underpins the efforts – and to which I shall return in a moment.

Although sociological uses of biographical material have not been systematic, the above mentioned works all indicate the potential for a larger collective biography, making it possible to show that the space of individuals is rather complex and contradictory due to their different pedagogical points of view and social positions. Thus, in this article a geometric representation of the structure of this social space is exposed.

The social space approach and Bourdieusian prosopography

The analysis of the space of 'school pedagogues' is stimulated by Emile Durkheim and Pierre Bourdieu's sociology of culture and professions and their sociological conceptions of state formation. Following Durkheim, the division of labour in modern differentiated society create societal needs and quests for systematic socialisation and integration. New professional groups that as 'state brokers' are able to negotiate rearing issues between the family and the state, cultivate the moral and social powers of the individual, and work out representations which hold good for the collectivity (Durkheim 1992:79).

These Durkheimian notions are the historical roots of the little-known Bourdieusian and Wacquantian sociological notion of the state as a bureaucratic field, which refers to the state as a structure of institutions and agents struggling – through policy development and institutionalisations – to define and distribute 'the public good' or 'the collective' using symbolic power that relates to socio-material relations of force (Bour-

dieu 1996: 48-77; Wacquant 2009). Thus, in the following, even though it is individuals who are investigated, it is their classified social and symbolic properties, resources and activities that are the focus of attention (Bourdieu 1985:724). Instead of a Marxist conception of class, which privileges substantial 'real' groups and ignores symbolic struggles, I use the multidimensional theory of social space and group-making through symbolic classification struggles as a thinking tool. A social space of forces means that a set of power relations impose themselves on those who enter the space, and those forces are not reducible to either individual agent's intentions or interactions among agents. The social space is thus to be constructed by selecting properties, i.e., power or capital, which are active forces within the social space in question (Bourdieu 1985, 1987).

In order to operationalise these notions, the term 'school pedagogue' refers in this article to a broad spectrum of professionals engaged in the symbolic struggle for the redefinition of education and promoting the new civil creed. Thus, a 'significant school pedagogue' is an individual who displays a specific 'taste' for school pedagogy, i.e., employs specific categories, assumptions, practices, methods and techniques, scientific arguments etc.; has specific personal and social relations; and involves him/herself in specific cardinal institutes, associations or journals etc., in steering committees, extraordinary and experimental projects and in editorial boards. In short, a significant school pedagogue is an individual who joins the battle regarding what good and better school pedagogy consists of through the work of categorisation played out in progressive journals, institutes and associations. I have exposed this network of individuals participating in the redefinition of education from 1929-1960 in Denmark prior to and as a precondition for this article's sociological construction of this network as a social space. I exposed the network through historical work, following chains of persons and overlapping projects, associations, institutes and journals (Øland 2010). In order to get all relevant positions represented, the sample was built on the basis of lists of members of relevant 'societies', etc. (cf. List of relevant 'societies' in Appendix A). Thus, it has been disclosed that the network existed and, consequently, that the social space of school pedagogues that is about to be constructed in this article refers to a logic of practice: the individuals were actually significant members of several overlapping associations, where some sort of unifying spirit and identity formation emerged when arguing about the same overall questions (Øland 2010:65). Seven-hundred and seventy-

one individuals were identified as belonging to this network of progressive school pedagogues in the period 1929-1960.

The battle for the redefinition of education is in this article further explored constructing a specific kind of collective biography, stimulated by the characteristics of a Bourdieusian prosopograhy (Broady 2002; Sapiro 2002). The characteristics are the following: it must be based on a comprehensive collection of data on individuals; the same dataset should be available or be collected for each individual; the individuals should belong to the same field/network/space; and finally, the object of study should not be the individuals as such but the history and structure of the social space. Thus, such a prosopography depends on the provision and preparation of data that are able to represent a multidimensionality of the social space in question. Therefore, data are presented below.

The classification of data

The construction and processing of data are based on records from a range of existing biographical lexicons and other additional sources, such as books and periodicals. Biographical lexicons hold different information about the individuals and their characteristics and resources (capitals) and are therefore able to represent multidimensionality. The lexicons used are both general ones and specific ones as regards educational professions and other professions (cf. List of biographical lexicons in Appendix B). Out of the 771 individuals listed, sufficient biographical data were found regarding 549 individuals. Seventy of these were members of several of the associations, journals, etc., which tied the network of individuals together. The ones who were 'only' teachers were the hardest to find, as biographical lexicons for teachers are rare. Thus, the individuals from the list of 771 who were not found were mostly 'teachers only'.

All data were stored in a database as text, making it possible inductively to classify the data by variables with modalities (categories) and reclassify if necessary. The 'trick' was to make systematic use of the existing biographical data, which were of assorted character and already constructed and classified in different ways. Thus, the classification of this already classified information on, e.g., 'father's occupation' and 'own occupation' should be as complex and diverse as possible, vertical and horizontal – according to the Bourdieusian definition of society as a multidimensional social space (Bourdieu 1985). Furthermore, the classifications should be historically accurate. The variable 'father's occupation' should for example cover possible occupational positions and professions available at the time, and to achieve this I sought inspiration in Carlsen's study of Danish society's prominent circles in 1970 according to *Kraks Blå Bog* (Danish Who is Who) (Carlsen 1981:18-21). Other variables are constructed and stabilised using other supplementary sources.

The classifications consist of themes referring to variables with modalities (categories), and these classifications set the scene for the specific way of examining the complexity of progressivism. In total 31 variables were included as a basis for the multiple correspondence analyses conducted. The variables are grouped by the following themes: social position (social forces), educational capital (cultural forces) and specific symbolic capital (symbolic forces) (cf. Appendix C for details).

The structure of the space of progressive school pedagogues – the multiple correspondence analyses

The description of the structure of the space is carried out determining relative positions of sub-groups of school pedagogues and the principles of opposition between them. The space is represented geometrically as multidimensional co-ordinate systems, and the determination of sub-groups takes place when *interpreting the axes* of the co-ordinates (Broady 1988:52; Le Roux & Rouanet 2010:10). The axes are the sociological dimensions accumulating most similarity and opposition in data and they are interpretable through a process of identifying the modalities (of the variables) that contribute the most to the positions of the axes.

Mathematically, the classifications of data are transformed into numerical values, which provide the basis for cross tabulations of statistical correlations between variables. These correlations are expressed in geometrical terms as distances between the variables' different modalities. This is created using multiple correspondence analyses (executed via the French programme SPAD) in the sociological tradition of Bourdieu (Le Roux & Rouanet 2010; Hjellbrekke 1999; Hjellbrekke et al. 2000; Lebaron 2001). It is based on a multidimensional geometry-modelling that makes it possible to uncover and visualise patterns in large data sets in terms of correspondence analysis maps. The mathematical procedures are based on a highly hypothetical case, i.e., based on divergence from average means of statistical independence between variables with an equal number of modalities with equivalent frequencies. This is seldom obtained, especially when using existing data where a major

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concern is not to lose the information you have been able to retrieve. Therefore, it is important to stress that the maps give information about relational correlations: poles, hierarchies, distances etc., that should be interpreted and investigated further. The maps do not give information about the absolute strength of variables – here the calculations behind the maps should be consulted.

The analytical structure underpinning the analyses is based on an analytical distinction. The progressive school pedagogues are, according to the Bourdieusian sociological approach, considered affected by their social origin and social position in their pedagogical sayings and doings. Consequently, a distinction is made between a *level of social position* and a *level of pedagogical position-taking*. Pedagogical position-taking is defined as the way in which the individual, through points of view and participation in different associations etc., demonstrates a sense of belonging and affiliation to one sub-group rather than other sub-groups. And in so doing, the individual positions him- or herself in a space of possible pedagogical positions. This analytical distinction is reflected in the selection of active and illustrative variables. The analysis thus seeks to find indications of correlations between the biographies in spite of occasionally incomplete data because the same dataset in some cases was not available for each individual. Thus, the analyses look for patterns of pedagogical positioning, on the one hand, and patterns of social positions, on the other, and they try to sort out what the organising dimensions are of the suggested spaces. Furthermore, they look for how pedagogical positioning may be related to and structured by social positions.

The space of social positions: Opposites of teachers from rural areas versus art professions and biological professions from urban districts
The first analysis is a correspondence analysis regarding the level of social positions (cf. figure 1 below). This space is generated on the basis of three variables and their 37 modalities in total:

- 'geographical place of birth' (GE) with 6 modalities,
- 'father's occupation' (FO) with 18 modalities and
- 'own occupation' (OO) with 13 modalities.

I interpret the first two axes by examining the underlying calculations, emphasising which modalities contribute most to the space, i.e., contribute more than the hypothetical average mean.

The first axis explains 53% of the total variance in the data and the second axis explains 13% of the vari-

ance.[2] Regarding the first axis, the variables GE and FO together explain 40% each and OO explains 20%, while the second axis is explained more equally by all three variables: GE 31%, FO 39% and OO 30%. This shows a fine balance in spite of the imperfect dataset. Looking into the absolute contributions of the modalities that determine the axes' position the most, we can determine which differentiation – which opposites – makes this space. The first axis is on the positive side dominated by 'geographical origin in rural areas' (GErur), which contributes the most (25%), and 'father's occupation in farming' (FOfarm) contributes the second most (21%).[3] 'Own occupation as a school teacher' (OOschteac) and 'father's occupation as a school teacher' (FOschteac) contribute to a lesser extent (8% and 4%). On the negative side of the first axis, 'geographical origin in the capital' (GEcap) contributes the most (14%), while 'father's occupation in urban big business' (FOurbigbus) contributes 5%, 'father's occupation as an academic teacher' (FOacateac) 4%, 'own occupation in biological work' (OObio), which includes all sorts of natural science employment, including medicine, neurology, psychiatry, etc., contributes 3%, and 'own occupation in artistic creative professions' (OOart) contributes 3%. Generally, this axis differentiates between rural area and capital city and to some extent between a milieu of school teachers from rural areas, on the one hand, and a milieu of art professions and biological professions from urban big business and academia, on the other hand. This is a clear dimensioning of data. Please note that the dimensioning of this map is not only representing a structure, but a *structural history*, because it places both 'own occupation', 'geographical place of birth' and 'father's' occupation' in the map. I shall interpret this axis in detail after I present the preliminary interpretation of the second axis.

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[2] In general, one should interpret axes summing up to 80% of the total inertia. However, the third and fourth axes of this analysis only explain 8% and 7%. Thus, I refrain from further comments on these axes.

[3] This is a fact even though FOfarm is placed in a more extreme position in the map. The variables FO and OO are stronger representatives in the space than the variable GE because FO and OO have larger numbers of modalities, which means that they consequently, but forced, create more space. The numbers and calculations compensate for this disproportion and minimise the risk of being 'seduced' by the maps.

The second axis displays a less distinct grouping of modalities along the axis and it provides less opportunity for a clear interpretation of the differentiation. On the positive side, 'own occupation in professions caring for or nurturing people' (OOpeop) contributes 12%, 'geographical origin in foreign countries' (GEfor) explains 7%, and 'own occupation as a librarian/work in museums or archives' (OOlibr) contributes 5%. On the negative side, 'geographical origin in the provinces' (GEprov) explains 15%, and 'father's occupation in urban trade' (FOurtrad), 'own

occupation as a school teacher' (OOschteac), and 'father's occupation as public servant' (FOpubserv) respectively contribute 9%, 7% and 6%. Thus, there is a tendency that data are differentiated along an opposition between being born in foreign countries and being born in the provinces, and between having occupations of a practical humanistic nature versus having occupations as a school teacher and having a father in urban trade or public service. Compared to Jenkins' delimited study of the authors of *The New Era* 1920-1950, the school teachers are vital in both

Figure 1: The space of social positions
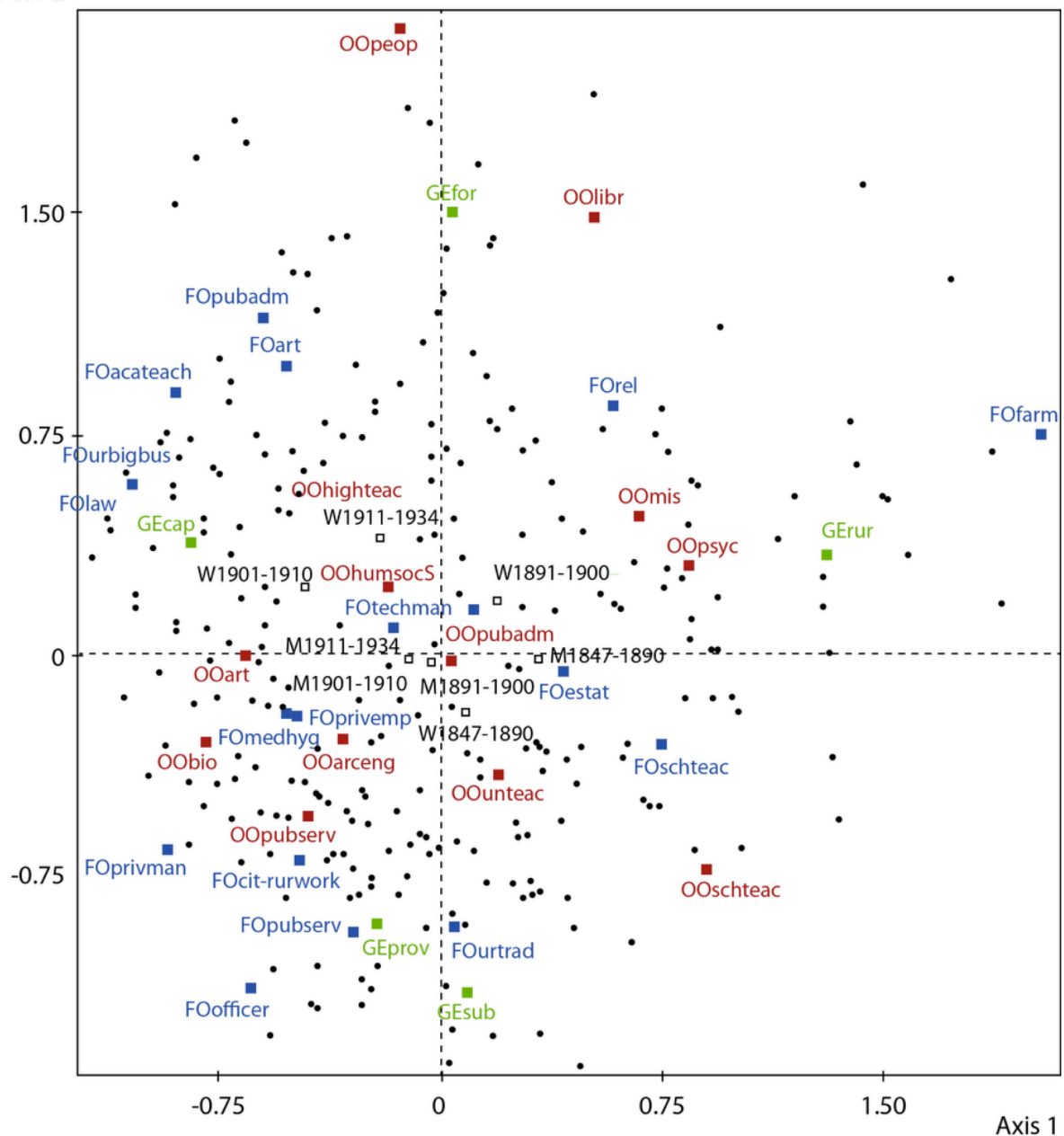
studies, and occupations in production, i.e., different sort of workers, are absent in both studies. In my study though, as opposed to Jenkins' who explicitly mentions that professions of medicine does not play a part (Jenkins 1989:340), it looks as if occupations in 'biological work' (including medicine, neurology, psychiatry, etc.) plays a part. In my study this may refer to the fact that the ones first interested in 'psychology' in Denmark came from the natural sciences of medicine and biology in the period under study (Køppe 1983:23-60). The business of 'caring and nurturing people', doing 'librarian or museum work' or doing 'artistic creative work' furthermore plays a part in my analysis – they are not mentioned in Jenkins' study. This may be explained by the more delimited study of authors compared to my study of a more heterogeneous group of 'school pedagogues'.

Gender and age are projected into the space as illustrative variables in combined modalities such as W1901-1910, referring to women born from 1901 to 1910. The weak trend is that the second axis differentiates between men and women: men are (on the negative side) associated with being born in the provinces, being a school teacher and having a father in urban trade or public service, whereas women (on the positive side) are associated with being born abroad and having occupations of practical humanistic nature such as nurturing people or filing reports about human existence or societal life. This indicates that daughters of for example missionaries or diplomats in foreign countries were attracted to the professionalisation of working with people, and that sons of urban traders or civil servants in the provinces transformed their energy into being school teachers. Furthermore, another weak trend is that the first axis differentiates along year of birth: school pedagogues born in the periods 1901-1910 and 1911-1934 are (on the negative side) associated with the art professions and biological professions from urban big business and academia, whereas school pedagogues born in the periods 1847-1890 and 1891-1900 are associated with a milieu of school teachers from rural areas. This may suggest that the ones who were the initial driving forces in the establishment of this space of progressive school pedagogues were from rural areas; later urban milieus participated too.

Let me now return to the differentiation represented by the first axis. I suggest that the driving forces of this opposition between teachers from rural areas, and art professions and biological professions from urban districts are significant in forming the specific legitimacy of the new civil creed of school pedagogy. In Denmark, agrarian reforms were implemented in the late 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century. This is considered the first sign of the modernisation of Denmark. The reforms were unique in Europe and they implied that the great estate owners' farming, where peasants were tenants, transformed into small scale farming run by peasant farmers (*gårdmænd*) and smallholders (*husmænd*) (Arvidsson 2007:24). The transformation was initiated by enlightened bureaucrats – who might have wanted to avoid revolution – without the peasants' active participation and in spite of resistance from estate owners. The peasants became state created freeholders with rights based on a contract and an ability to pay taxes. When the world market in the late 19th century was flooded by cheap grain and fodder from Russia and the USA, these state created small-scale Danish peasants were able to adjust from grain to high-quality dairy and meat production and to the export of bacon and butter to England. The farmers pooled their strengths in a variety of production cooperatives (Campbell & Hall 2009:558), and Denmark reconfigured and became a sort of region in the English empire's division of labour (Arvidsson 2007:30). The progressive school pedagogues who were teachers, carry these historical traits and were thus predisposed to enter the state's (re-)construction of professional groups, such as the teaching profession, around WWII when the universalist welfare state emerged and developed in the era of the cold war: a period of international alliance making for Denmark instead of neutrality as a strategy (Kaspersen 2006:121). Again a project was contracted, and this time it was about the right and competence to rear and mould the child to become the civilised future citizen. The traditional and conservative peasant culture was transformed into the modern professional pedagogical culture based on a common moral economy that 'favoured safety and security rather than the chance of profit, unless profit could be obtained without jeopardizing security' (Henningsen 2001:274). A self-willed and prudent, but most of all modest habitus is a noticeable feature of the teachers of the 19th century, who were the product of the countryside (Larsen 2005:135). And in the beginning of the 20th century, the teachers were thought of as 'folk teachers', involved in the local community's activities such as the farmers' co-operative movement, the scout movement, being a parish clerk or an active athlete, etc. (Skovgaard-Petersen 2005:248).

One can assume that the teachers, through their teacher training, further developed a cultural view of the social world in a time of democratisation and quests for mass education, because mass education meant continuing schooling as culturing, e.g., for

workers' children in the cities, and an expansion of schooling in the countryside to finally form a comprehensive public school system throughout the period 1929-1960. For the school pedagogues coming from the countryside and becoming teachers, this meant going through a transition that would entitle them to educate children so they too could move from the countryside, using the common culture, knowledge and good manners of the reformed school pedagogy. As Muel-Dreyfus (1986) has stressed, studying the emergence of the French teacher profession, which also derived from the countryside, this might be a key to understand how and why the teachers were attracted to the moral and cultural schooling they received – and to the task of passing it on as school pedagogues with categorising power. Their attitude was permeated by an intense ambivalent distance and closeness to life in the countryside, which made them suited to serve as vehicles of the transformation and modernisation of the countryside, guided by the state. The not yet educated child should be activated and cultivated in a specific, morally right way. At the same time, the cyclical school year and the ideology of the child's free development and natural potential would resemble the earlier family interest in crops and production.

The individuals who were art pedagogues or in biological professions, and at the same time stemming from an urban culture of big business, commerce or academia, brought modernisation into the space in another way. This bears traits of industrialisation, which in general occurred late in Denmark. It was not until the end of the 1950s that the value of export from industry exceeded the value of export from farming (Arvidsson 2007:30). The school pedagogues, who derived from the stratums of business and commerce, were, in other words, stemming from a small industrial 'avant-garde' and at the same time they carried with them the capitalist act of social declassing of craftsmanship. Danish industry was characterised by small enterprises with low mechanisation (e.g., clothing, tobacco and breweries) and a few large companies in commerce and shipping. Denmark did not have raw materials and was a small country, which made it vulnerable, especially in times of crises.

Through Denmark's history, there are examples of an 'internal front' strategy to develop a national identity as the state's defence and survival strategy (Campbell & Hall 2009:557; Korsgaard 2006). One of them was the rise of the Grundtvigian folk movement creating a national system of 'folk high schools' after the 1864 defeat to Prussia which meant that the aca-

demics and educational elite, which were connected to German philosophy, lost its legitimacy within the state structure. Another was the Social Democratic government's establishment of an alliance between farmers and the upcoming industrial workers in 1933 facing Hitler. A compromise was made to amend the effects of the world crisis for Denmark: the farmers got a subsidy scheme, the employers' demand to lower the wages 20% was declined and social benefits to unemployed were introduced. Already in 1929, The Social Democratic Party defined its interests as cross-class national interests and transformed its working class perspective into a general 'folk' and all encompassing 'all perspective' based on growth and alliances. An ideology of social partnership and a culture of political bargaining between interest groups, the state bureaucracy and the political parties were institutionalised. As an indirect consequence perhaps, in Denmark prominent progressive players were members of or related to political parties such as the leading Social Democratic Party, but also The Social Liberal Party called Det Radikale Venstre or Denmarks Communist Party, Danmarks Kommunistiske Parti, DPK (Thing 1993).

In my data, these developments and their driving forces show. Thus, I am suggesting that progressivism can be interpreted as part of an internal front strategy to defend the state in its transition from neutrality to joining forces with its allies. Both the milieu of school teachers from the rural areas, and the milieu of art pedagogues and biological professions from urban areas may have been attracted by the concept of 'folk' and education for 'all' in the territory of Denmark. This signals a specific, common cultural definition of the public school as opposed to a traditional academic oriented school. In other words, a national and market-oriented middle class structure of professional groups emerged within the state structure, and this cooperative structure affected the school pedagogues' ability to perform categorising practices. This is described in further detail below.

The space of pedagogical position-taking: Opposites of scientific rationalisation of the population's potential versus humanistic cultivation of the individual's potential

The second analysis is a correspondence analysis regarding the level of pedagogical position-taking (cf. figure 2 below). Representing a specific point of view or participating and engaging in associations and journals etc., the individual signals affinity to some groups and distance from other groups. This space is produced by means of four variables and their 22

modalities in total: - 'Number of associations' (ASS) with 4 modalities,
- 'Type of associations' (ASS) with 6 modalities distinguishing between artistic, scientific and practical types,
- 'Type of publication' (PUB) with 6 modalities distinguishing between literary, scientific, textbook and other types, and finally
- 'Dominating point of view on school pedagogy' (PVW) with 6 modalities, constructed using supplementary sources when information in lexicons were insufficient.

I interpret the first two axes using the underlying numbers and calculations. The first axis explains 57% of the total variance; the second axis explains 24%. Thus, 81% of the total variance is explained by these two axes. Looking at the variables' contribution to the axes, ASS-number and ASS-type both explain 44% of the first axis, while ASS-type and PUB-type dominate the construction of the second axis. PVW only contributes 17% to the second axis.

Looking into the absolute contributions of the modalities that determine the axes' position the most, it is investigated which pedagogical opposites make the pattern of this space. The first axis is, on the positive side, dominated by 'no information of membership of associations' (ASS_none) and 'no information of number of memberships of associations' (ASS_0), which contribute equally (36% each). On the negative side, the first axis is dominated by 'membership of 1-5 associations' (ASS_1-5), which contributes 6% to the position of the axis. It is generally not desirable to have such a lopsided configuration. However, given the data I can make use of, this configuration suggests that there is a significant group of people, distinguished from the rest of the population, which is not engaged in any associations, including the ones where the possible information is not provided by the source used. This is also presented geometrically in figure 2.

The second axis exhibits a much more balanced distribution of modality contributions. On the positive side, 'dominating publications in prose, poetry, children's' literature etc.' (PUB_prose) contributes 20%, 'member of art associations' (ASS_art) contributes 17%, and 'humanistic cultivation as a point of view' (PVW_hum) contributes 13% to the axis' position.

On the negative side, 'dominating publications in scientific literature' (PUB_scien) contributes 19%, 'membership of more than 11 associations' (ASS_11-) contributes 9%, 'membership of humanistic science associations' (ASS_humS) contributes 8%, and finally 'membership of natural science associations' (ASS_natS) contributes 7%. In the geometric presentation in figure 2, we can see that 'rationalisation as a point of view' (PVW_rat) is associated with this pole of the axis. The distribution of modalities along the second axis suggests an oppositional differentiation of data between, on the one hand, connection to artistic associations and publications, and to a humanistic pedagogical viewpoint, as opposed, on the other hand, to connection to scientific associations and publications, to many associations and to a rationalistic pedagogical viewpoint. In short, this is an opposition between two positions: *humanistic cultivation of the individual* and *scientific rationalisation of the population*. The position 'humanistic cultivation of the individual's potential' believed that the child, and the human, was a being whose inner capacities and outer expressions made a consistent and harmonious whole which should be furthered in creative work (Nørvig 1928; Carstens 1929; Gøssel 1929; Kristensen 1938). Therefore, art and music – especially jazz and folk music – became important elements in cultivating individuals, and boundaries between 'races', cultivated versus not cultivated, were drawn, urging the uncivilised to make a passage to the existing society (Thing 1994; Øland 2012). This position was represented by, e.g., composer Bernard Christensen (1906-2004) and jazz pedagogue Sven Møller Kristensen (1909-1991). The opposing position, 'the scientific rationalisation of the population's potential', considered the child and the human in general as part of a population, and believed that the powers and potentiality of the population – as a raw material – should be optimised rationally according to scientific principles, using statistics and psychological IQ testing in a welfare state perspective, seeking to create and manage a socially engineered society. This position was represented by the first school psychologist in Denmark and the Nordic countries, Henning Meyer (1885-1967), mathematician and physicist R. H. Pedersen (1870-1938) and teacher and psychologist Sofie Rifbjerg (1896-1981).

Figure 2: The space of pedagogical position-takings
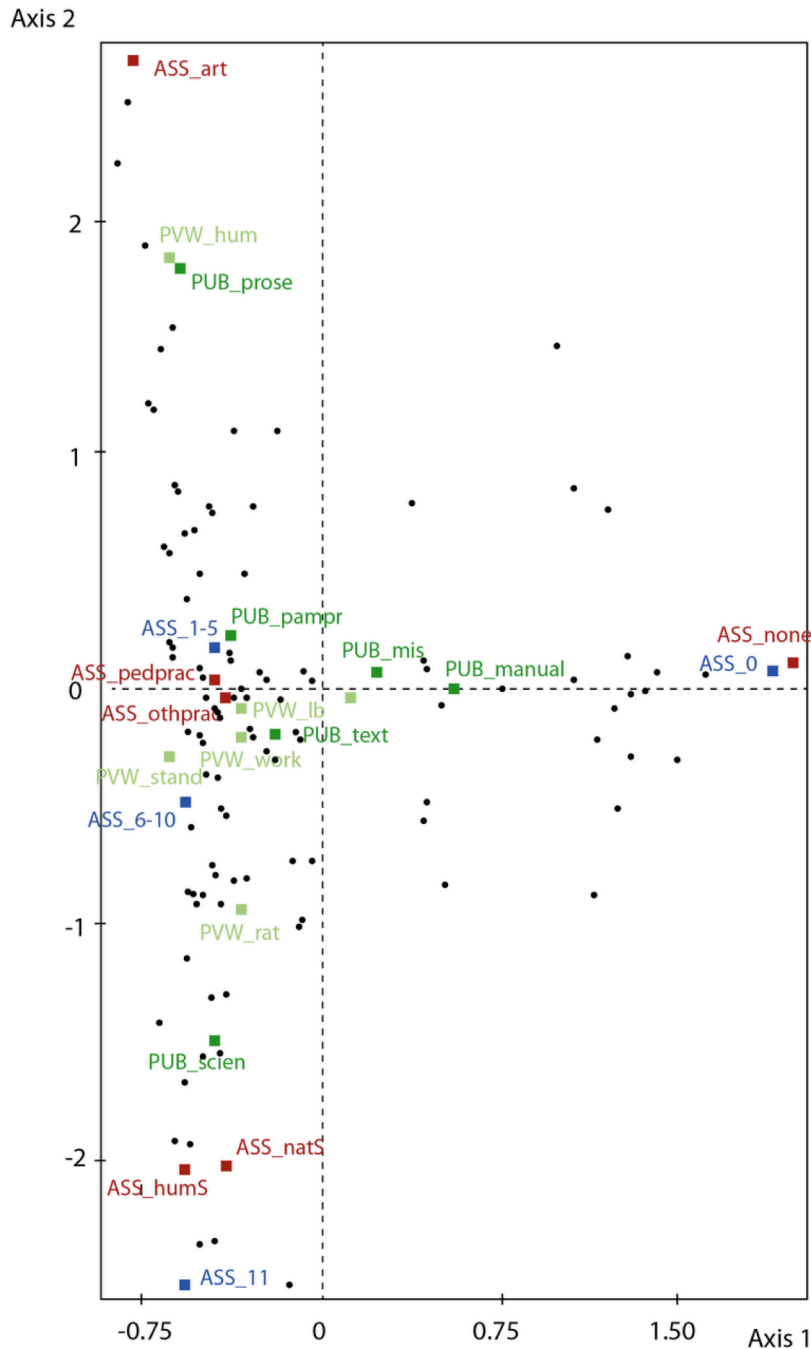
Situated in the middle of the axis is membership of the significant practical associations mentioned in the prologue (ASS_pedprac [4] and ASS_othprac [5]). Analogously, the point of view 'work pedagogy' is positioned in the middle (PVW_work). Thus, in the middle we have a position characterised by a *practical orientation and work pedagogy*: individual instruction, self-work, project work and not least the integration of practical activities into school activities, aiming at a 'folk' school and a comprehensive school without exams. The goal was to include all, strengthen the civil society and construct a democratic society (Nordentoft 1944; Nordentoft & Arvin 1946; Arvin

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[4] These associations are The Danish division of The New Education Fellowship' (NEF Denmark) and 'The educational association' (Det Pædagogiske Selskab).

[5] These associations are 'Association in favour of the liberal cultural battle' (Foreningen for frisindet Kulturkamp) and The teachers' division of 'A liberated Denmark' (Frit Danmarks lærergruppe).

1951; Gregersen 1990). This position was instituted by, e.g., teacher and school head master J. G. Arvin (1880-1962), teacher and secretary of the Danish division of the NEF Torben Gregersen (1911-1994), and teacher (and later school head master) Henrik Sidenius (1921-1987). In conclusion, there seems to be three areas of positions in this space: *a scientific and rationalising area*, a *practical oriented area*, and a *humanistic art oriented* area.

Before I interpret this pattern in further detail, it should be mentioned that I have investigated whether variables related to the individual's social position in any way structured the individual's location in the space of pedagogical position-taking.[6] Thus, 'own occupation', 'father's occupation' and 'geographical place of birth' have been projected into the space of pedagogical position-takings as illustrative variables. The results of these efforts are quite clear: the modalities are to a large extent concentrated around the centre, which suggests that these variables in general are not strong structuring factors in this case. However, 'own occupation in art' (OOart) and 'own occupation in architecture or engineering' (OOarceng) structures the location of individuals, pulling them up in figure 2 (towards humanistic cultivation), whereas 'own occupation in biological work', which includes all sorts of natural science employment, including medicine, neurology, psychiatry etc. (OObio), and 'own occupation in humanistic and social science' (OOhumsocS) structure the location of individuals, pulling them down (towards scientific rationalisation). 'Father's occupation in law business' (FOlaw) pulls to the right (towards low degree of activity), and 'father's occupation in public administration' (FOpubadm) and 'father's occupation as estate owner' (FOestat) pull down (towards scientific rationalisation), but these are very moderate structurations. As regards geography, 'geographical origin in the capital' (GEcap) pulls a bit down (to scientific rationalisation), while 'geographical origin in foreign countries' (GEfor) and 'geographical origin in the suburbs' (GEsub) – which due to the material are mainly northern suburbs to Copenhagen – draw the individuals a bit up and to the right (towards humanistic cultivation and low degree of activity).

All things considered, it must be concluded that the space of pedagogical position-taking is *not* structured in any strong and systematic sense by the space

of social positions, i.e., by objective social positions and interests. According to the Bourdieusian sociological hypothesis of structural homology between a structure of position-takings (preferences) and a social class structure, this is a 'borderline case' that calls for clarification. Drawing on the insights of Luc Boltanski's study of the heterogeneity of *les cadres* – the French middle classes who identifies and organises itself as a group struggling for a particular symbolic representation of society (Boltanski 1987) – one possible explanation could be that the space of significant school pedagogues was characterised by individuals with a sense of being a new generation with a common project which they persistently, individually and together, tried to promote through *symbolic work*, associations, institutionalisations, etc.[7] This means that they formed as a group and in some way became a class as a result of the project they had in common and fought for through symbolic work. Boltanski describes how *les cadres* as a group endured because the cohesion of the group was constituted by sub-groups intertwined with one another, exchanging through interaction, and he states that this allowed individuals belonging to different factions to 'maintain what Goffman calls a "working consensus" that could never have been achieved had all ambiguity been eliminated' (Ibid.:287). Thus, unity of the group of significant progressive school pedagogues may have been a product of diversity and ambiguity – what Boltanski terms 'the cohesion of a fluid group'.

Including the information gained from the positioning of the illustrative variables of social positions, further insights into the sub-groups' symbolic work of position-taking is possible. The *urge to rationalise the population's potential* corresponds to the use of and interest in social and natural sciences; to having a father in public administration and being in the business of biological work, such as medicine, oneself. The methods and tools used in these sciences, their functionalism and instrumentalism, are already part of the state and its use of statistics to plan. This sub-groups' point of view, situated towards the bottom in figure 2, thus speaks for the state and assumes it represents the collective interest. It is oriented towards society as an entity of individuals forming a whole – a flexible harmonious civil society made up of a rational and cultivated population. The subgroup situated in the upper part of figure 2 represents an *urge to cultivate human potential*, corresponding to being in the

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[6] I encourage the reader to plot in the illustrative variables in figure 2 as I go along in the following. Due to lack of space, I do not include all the maps that were made to determine whether illustrative variables made sense or not.

[7] Another possible explanation is that the data were too insensitive to understand how the group of school pedagogues and their extraordinarily differentiated position-takings could have been socially structured.

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art business, and in architecture and engineering one-self, and it has a focal point other than the population: the individual as a person. The individual's personality and uniqueness is guarded and cherished while simultaneously cultivated and activated through music, art and individual guidance.

These two contradictory stances make sense as a 'working consensus' in a state crafting perspective (Kaspersen 2006; Kjær & Pedersen 2001). They may represent a division of labour among the upcoming middle classes: the subgroup cultivating the individuals, respecting the character of each person, makes perfect preparatory work for the subgroup conducting the rational civilisation processes driven by the state. Following this line of thought, the state and its representatives are creating a civil society – a *civilité* – through the creation of cultivated individuals who are able to act in a rational manner in the civil society. In other words, *the state makes society making the child*, subjecting the child to an emerging objective and standardised culture that increasingly is viewed as universally valid.

This incorporation of individual cultivation into the planned rational civilisation project of the state can furthermore be understood in relation to the changes in public administration that occurred in the period under study (Bredsdorff 2009; Kaspersen 2006). A fundamental break with economy as a self-governed system maintaining natural equilibrium in the long run occurred and was replaced by the idea of an overall societal responsibility to create stability for the development of the economy (Pedersen 2011:32). An economisation of the way in which the state thought about its society, emerged through two processes according to Bredsdorff (2009).

On the one hand, new tools, concepts and fields of politics appeared. The technical work to provide data for political planning took place as part of the crisis management in the 1930s, where national accounts for Denmark were outlined. During the administration of the state of emergency in the first half of the 1940s, and during the programme that was developed to be able to gain financial support from the American Marshall programme due to national budgets after the war, this technical work was further developed (Bredsdorff 2009:44). In 1947, a Minister of Economic Affairs was appointed and a national budget was the exact tool with which to adjust elements in the economy taken as a whole. Coordination and administration were used as technical engineering terms.

On the other hand, a political way of thinking about society's economy emerged throughout the central administration. The new public civil servants, often just graduated as economists, e.g., Jørgen Dich, who's biographical details are part of data, joined committees and held positions in different areas of the administration, forming an informal network which overlapped with memberships in associations, e.g., in the civil servants' section of *Frit Danmark* (A liberated Denmark) (Ibid.:59). Politics were generally made into a scientific matter: economy, sociology, social psychology, and technical methods were in the 1950s viewed as equal tools in the great rational planning of society. And The Social Democratic Party was eager to plan and build up the state apparatus and create welfare both to vaccinate against communism and to demonstrate the Danish state's sovereignty in the American alliance of the cold war (Kaspersen 2006:121). The state apparatus was made neutral during these processes and phrased as an overall project of expert assessments having universal value for all.

Thus, it was not only the introduction of scientific arguments into politics that made a difference; it was also civil servants' practical work with statistics and their sense of societal responsibility, the focus on economical thinking, and the establishment of a Minister to coordinate all economic activity in the nation that made a difference. This most likely provided a space where progressive pedagogy's cultivating and activating endeavours for all in an era of welfare state progressivism was appealing and could be claimed as necessary to secure the future.

As we saw earlier, the third position in between the opposites, i.e., *the practical orientations*, work pedagogy, etc., echoes the transformation of the peasant culture into a teacher culture focussing on 'folk' activity and flexibility in dealings with the state. This position can be interpreted as a crystallisation of what it is that makes the space of individuals' struggle about the same, using the same symbolic language of universalism and connecting the diverse and opposing viewpoints in concrete pedagogical projects for all. Especially the school pedagogues that adhered to work and activity pedagogy crystallised a collective feeling of universalism in their fight against the occupying power and for enlightenment and schooling – at great human costs for themselves – during the Nazi occupation. For example, administrator of Danish libraries and later Minister Thomas Døssing (1882-1947) considered folk libraries as cultural institutions to enlighten the people. Døssing openly criticised Nazism and fascism, and was imprisoned for some months in 1942. Teacher and secretary in the Danish division of the NEF, Torben Gregersen (1911-1994) was because of his Jewish family a refugee in Sweden

from 1943-1945. Together with teacher, head master and later MP for the Communist Party Inger Merete Nordentoft (1903-1960), who was arrested by the Gestapo for illegal activity and spent five months in prison in 1943, he created teaching material such as 'my own ABC', 'my own history book', and 'my own dictionary', to promote individual activity. They wanted teaching to be useful and generate spirited activity in the civil sphere, especially in a time of crisis.

Another proponent of work pedagogy, Henrik Sidenius (1921-1987), was a student in economics and an activist working for the illegal press during WWII. He was also captured by the Gestapo and imprisoned for a short time in 1944. After that experience, he quitted university to become a teacher and to work for democratisation of the people through anti-authoritarianism. Sidenius became a prominent educational debater from the 1950s and a progressive school head master in advanced public schools in the 1960s and 1970s when the implementation of progressive school pedagogy in Denmark was at its peak (Sidenius 1956, 1961, 1973; Gade & Øland 2011). In a television programme about one of the high-profiled public progressive schools, *Værebro skole*, where Sidenius as a pioneer was head master in the 1970s, he accounted for the pedagogical viewpoint which he implemented at the school, opposing 'traditional order' in the following way:

> In this school we stress that we, the adults and children who are present, jointly must try to discover and make sense of the world that surround us and is inside us. We must explore it. We must experience that it is very exciting to get to know about things and that there are no definite solutions. We are not supposed to be fed like nestlings, but just like when we were aged 1-6, we need to open up our senses and experience things, learn from things in all the ways we can by approaching them, touch them, taste them, smell them, make experiments with them. We must not suddenly end that process just because we begin to go to school. All those ways of learning are still there. We must say that the letters and the numbers are extra proposals we get, extra chances, and extra tools. But the other proposals need to be developed to become 'whole' human beings, 'round' human beings. (Danmarks Radio 1971).

What Henrik Sidenius furthermore advocated for was cooperation between teachers, pupils and parents, and practical configurations of the school according to local industry, trade and nature. Ever since the 1950s, he fought against central resolutions and against the idea that one individual would be able to find out a 'genius solution' to the question of how to make the school better in order to survive and live in peace in the future. To Sidenius, the only way forward was 'kindness', cooperation between groups and practical experiments in the everyday life of a comprehensive school in the local community. He was well aware that such a school would never be perfect, and he was not interested in perfection. He considered it a human right for teachers and children to make mistakes in schools and to amend them as the mistakes appeared; otherwise inhumanity and the act of putting on a mask would prevail. The school practice Sidenius advocated for tried indeed to answer the Social Question with experimenting progressive moves.

Progressivism as a middle-class culture – consensual and making compromises defending the nation

Closing this article, I will stress that the methodology used is suited both to test and generate hypotheses. Correspondence analyses are working tools and the results (the maps) should not be read realistically. The results are models based on the classification of data. Therefore, all the tentative interpretations that are depicted in the preceding sections could and should be further investigated.

This article's intention has been to provide insights into the complexities, contradictions and structural history of progressive school pedagogy imbedded in progressivism at large, thus contributing to the national and international research field of progressivism. It has done so investigating the subgroups and opposites of the space of school pedagogues – the group that managed to elevate themselves jointly by distinguishing and distributing their vision of 'the collective' because their vision of schooling and upbringing gained state power. The article has substantiated the 'leap' from what goes on in people's heads individually to their objective relations and activities with one another and to what could be termed their objective collective action. Progressivism was designed to tackle the Social Question and was used to tackle what could be termed the National Question as well. The 'economists as civil servants' that is part of this space might express the essence of this move: due to a particular vulnerable situation during and after WWII, they managed to define a 'necessary' way out, using apparently neutral and universal scientific categories that gained legitimacy. They interpreted their own actions according to what they saw as historical-

ly necessary processes – referring to general, and not specific, sectional or self interests. Other subgroups' arguments for cultivating, activating, civilising and rationalising were likewise referring to universalism.

Thus, this article has depicted the space of school pedagogues as a space of middle classes that absorbed the new professionals (architects, psychologists, economists, teachers etc.), the bourgeois artists (in terms of art and music pedagogues), and the farmer and peasant culture that was petit bourgeois and market oriented within a state structure already (transformed within the teacher profession). These moves impinged on the overall political and cultural thinking – which from this moment was characterised by compromise, consensus, bargaining, adjustment, cooperation: it goes by many adjectives.

Hence, the change that occurred did not only refer to a conceptual and cultural change of ideas and intentionality as it is often represented by the orthodox historiographies. It referred to *social and symbolic forms* of power transformation executed by groups that managed to constitute their (particular) points of view as universal, and therefore justifiable and authoritative, guaranteed by the state. This was made possible due to structural changes that modernised and industrialised agrarian life and craftsmanship and urged the surplus population from these areas to reconfigure into those state guaranteed professional positions within the emerging welfare state structure.

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Abstract

This article examines the structure and dynamics of progressive school pedagogues' 'collective ideology' which emerged and institutionalised itself in Denmark in the period 1929-1960. A common methodological culture was promoted as opposed to a traditional academic school culture. The article uses a social spacial approach and depicts a collective biography using prosopographical data from existing biographical lexicons regarding 549 progressive school pedagogues. First, a space of social positions is identified, i.e., opposites between teachers from rural areas versus art professions and biological professions from urban districts. Second, a space of pedagogical position-taking is portrayed, i.e., opposites between scientific rationalisation of the population's potential versus humanistic cultivation of the individual's potential. It is suggested that, in the small state of Denmark, progressive pedagogy developed as a heterogeneous middle-class project of consensus-making within the state structure, seeking cohesion of society in a time of emergency around WWII.

Keywords

Progressivism, social space approach, collective biography, professions, welfare state, nation state

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Appendix A: List of relevant 'societies', etc.

The individuals are members of steering committees of the following associations, employed at the following institutes, driving forces in the following projects and members of the editorial boards of the following journals:

'Association in favour of the liberal cultural battle' (Foreningen for frisindet Kulturkamp) and its 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);

'The Danish division of The New Education Fellowship' (NEF Denmark): '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);

'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);

'The school for kindergarten teachers' 1928-1960 (Kursus for småbørnspædagoger, called Kursus);

Royal Danish School of Educational Studies 1930-1960 – the establishment and transformation of the subjects 'education and educational science', 'social studies and social economics', 'history' and 'upbringing of infants' (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).

Appendix B: List of biographical lexicons

Dansk Biografisk Leksikon [Danish Biographical Lexicon (of the deceased)], various volumes

Kraks Blå Bog [Danish Who is Who (of the living)], 1910-1988

Dansk Kvindebiografisk Leksikon [Biographical Lexicon of Danish Women]

Danmarks Folkeskole [The Danish Public School] 1933

Dansk Skole-Stat, bind I-IV [Danish School-State] 1933-34

Dansk Magister-Stat [Danish Graduates-State] 1951, 1962, 1967

Den Danske Lægestand [The Danish Medical Doctors] 1949-57

Dansk Håndværkerstat [Danish Craftsmen-State] 1932

Juridisk og Statsvidenskabelig Stat [Danish Juridical and State craftsmen-State] 1952

Vor tids hvem skrev hvad [Who wrote what in our times] 1914-1964

Dansk Økonomisk Stat [Danish Economical-State] 1966, 1981

Weilbachs Kunstleksikon [Weilbach's art lexicon]

Dansk Skønlitterært forfatterleksikon [Lexicon of Danish Writers of Fiction]

Dansk forfatterleksikon [Lexicon of Danish Writers]

Appendix C: Classification of data: Themes and variables

Theme	Variable and code
Social position (social forces)	1. Father's occupation *FO* 2. Own occupation *OO* 3. Geographical place of birth *GE* 4. Gender *M/W* 5. Year of birth
Educational capital	6. High-school graduation *GCSE*

(cultural forces)	7. Type of exams in professional education *PROF* 8. Type of exams in higher education *HE* 9. Doctor's degree *DOC* 10. Studies abroad *STABR*
Specific symbolic capital (symbolic forces)	11. Type of associations *ASS* 12. Number of associations *ASS* 13. Dominant point of view on school pedagogy *PVW* 14. Dominant type of publication *PUB* 15. Employed at the Royal Danish School of Educational Studies *EmpRDSE* *16.* Employed at the School for Kindergarten teachers *EmpKurs* 17. Employed at Emdrupborg Experimental School *EmpEBex* 18. Employed at Emdrupborg teacher-training state college *EmpEBcol* 19. Employed in the Ministry of Education *EmpMoE* 20. Employed in the Danish state radio or emerging publishing companies *EmpRadPub* 21. Member of state commissions or committees *ComStat* 22. Involved in UN organisations, e.g., UNESCO *UNinvolv* 23. Member of state examinations or inspections *InspecStat* 24. Member of the steering committee of Association of the Cultural battle *Cbattl* 25. Member of the committee of representatives of the Danish National Institute for Educational Research *DIER* 26. Member of the steering committee of NEF Denmark and of its journal's editorial boards *NEFdk* 27. Member of the teacher's division of A liberated Denmark *LIBdk* 28. Member of the steering committee of the Educational Association *EDAss* 29. Active in the resistance movement *WWIIresist* 30. Author of articles in Dictionaries for educationalists *DICedu* 31. Member of the editorial board of Dialogue *FORDIA*